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THE EMPEROR'S HOUSE

PALACES FROM AUGUSTUS TO THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM

URBAN SPACES

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The Emperor's House

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Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism

Edited by Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gülru Tanman and Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt

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Foreword

With the establishment of the principate and the de facto autocracy of Augustus in 27 BC, Rome was in need of a new type of building: a residence for the first man of the Empire. Originally not very different from any other patrician *domus*, the emperor's residence on the Palatine became the centre of the imperial administration. Symbol of the state, it grew into a vast architectural complex which was continually augmented and embellished by the reigning sovereign. Within the *palatium* – as it came to be called, and from which the word palace/palais/Palast etc is derived – elaborate ceremonial regulated access to the imperial family with relation to rank, thus creating a system of privilege which strengthened the centralised power. Already by the end of the first century AD the Flavian complex came to be called a second capitolium, where the emperor clearly demonstrated his power as ruler of the Roman world. In counterbalance to this remoteness of the palace proper, the adjacent Circus Maximus became an integral part of imperial ceremonial, where the emperors received the acclamation of the populace and thus legitimised their power. The arrangement palace-cum-circus, or hippodrome, became standard during the Tetrarchic period in new seats of power such as Milan, Nicomedia, Thessaloniki; and Constantine was to follow the same model in his city on the Bosphorus, under a Christian veneer. The divine attributes of the Late-Antique imperial office were refashioned, with the emperor as God's representative. The palace and its ceremonial was sacred. It was, as one source called it, "Heaven on Earth."

In the centuries after the loss of the empire in the West and the Arab conquest, the palace in Constantinople remained standing, adapted and augmented according to the conditions and usages of the times, and was a model for palaces in former Roman territories, in the Visgothic, Lombard, Merovingian, Carolingian and Islamic states. Subsequently, during the Renaissance, European rulers would draw inspiration for their residences directly from ancient ruins and Roman literature, but ceremonial influences came also from the Late-Byzantine court. With the development of Absolutism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the palace was again a symbol and instrument of power within vast centralised states. Tellingly, there was renewed interest in Roman and Byzantine imperial tradition and ceremonial.

The papers of the present volume were first presented at a colloquium under the sponsorship of the Alexander v. Humboldt Foundation, the Suna and İnan Kıraç Istanbul Research Institute and the German Archaeological Institute, held in Istanbul at the Pera Museum in October 2012. Spanning the broad chronological and geographical limits of the subject, the papers treat the interaction of various functional and ideological aspects of architecture and ceremonial, in particular the identification of the palace with the state and the individual's place within this latter as defined – and made visual – by his relation to the ruler.

The editors would like to thank the sponsors of the colloquium, as well as the Pera Museum and the German consulate for their hospitality and unforgettable evening receptions, and the publishing house de Gruyter for their help in producing this volume.

Michael Featherstone – Jean-Michel Spieser – Gülru Tanman – Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt
Berlin, Januar 2015

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Part I: **Antiquity and Late Antiquity**

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Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt

The Palace of the Roman Emperors on the Palatine in Rome

„Es war jedoch erst der Flavier Domitianus, der auf dem Palatin den Palast erbaute, der von nun an die zentrale Residenz der römischen Kaiser werden sollte. Der Palast bestand aus der Domus Flavia, dem öffentlichen, und der Domus Augustana, dem privaten Bereich. Beide waren um jeweils ein Garten-Peristyl gruppiert, in der Nähe befand sich ein großer, ornamental angelegter Garten, hippodromus genannt. Hohe Fassaden mit Säulen, die zu riesigen Vestibülen und monumentalen Audienz- und Speisehallen führten, charakterisierten den Palast, der seine Umgebung weit überragte“[1]. Thus the Palatine is briefly described under the entry of “Palast” by Inge Nielsen in the encyclopedia *Der Neue Pauly*.

The new building which the emperor Domitian erected on the highest point of the Palatine and inaugurated in the year A. D. 92[2] has always been regarded as a counterweight to its predecessors, in stark contrast to the residence surrounded by an extensive park built by the Emperor Nero after the great fire of A. D. 64 (Tacitus, Annales, 15,42)[3]. Completely new concepts of architectural space were developed, especially in the Domus Aurea where, for instance, elements of bath architecture were first introduced into domestic architecture through the building of an octagonal, domed hall[4]. The Domus Aurea on the Oppian Hill, modelled as a “mega-villa”[5] after a type of suburban villa, served rather as a retreat and was part of what Marianne Bergmann called Nero’s “concept of *otium*” (Fig. 1)[6]. According to prevailing scholarly opinion, the Flavian Domitian could not and did not want to take over Nero’s palace for political reasons. The concept of the palace was changed radically and the Palatine returned to its original significance as the only official residence.

Already in antiquity the building complex of Domitian was described as the second Capitolium, a building with which the emperor could clearly demonstrate his power as ruler of the Roman world[7]. Many ancient writers, such as Statius, Martial and Plutarch[8] admired the large size, the grandeur and the luxury of the palace, and described it as a great work of Domitian and his architect Rabirius[9]. Even to this day, researchers still accept as valid the ideas of Alfonso Bartoli, who excavated the Domus Augustana at the beginning of the 20th century but never published the results in detail. He stated that the Domus Augustana, together with the Domus Flavia, was the centerpiece of the palace buildings erected by the emperor Domitian[10].

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1 Nielsen 2000, 180.

2 See: Richardson 1992, 114–117; D’Elia 1995; Beste/von Hesberg 2013, 322–328 with further literature.

3 Cassatella/Panella 1995.

4 Wulf-Rheidt 2013b. In general, the octagonal dining room of the Domus Aurea is connected with the round dining hall described by Suetonius (Suet. Nero 31,2) with a ceiling, revolving perpetually day and night as the universe. Through excavations conducted by the École Française de Rome in the northeast corner of the Vigna Barberini a round structure was revealed, which the excavators want to combine as a substructure for the rotating dining hall. Villedieu 2009, 84–85; Tomei 2013, 74–76.

5 Bergmann 2013, 357.

6 Bergmann 2013, 355–358. See also Beste/von Hesberg 2013, 326–327.

7 See also Winterling 1999, 70–71; Zanker 2004, 97. Haensch 2012, 272–273.

8 See for example Scheithauer 2000, 147–149.

9 See also Klodt 2001, 35; Winterling 1999, 70–71.

10 Bartoli 1929; Bartoli 1938.

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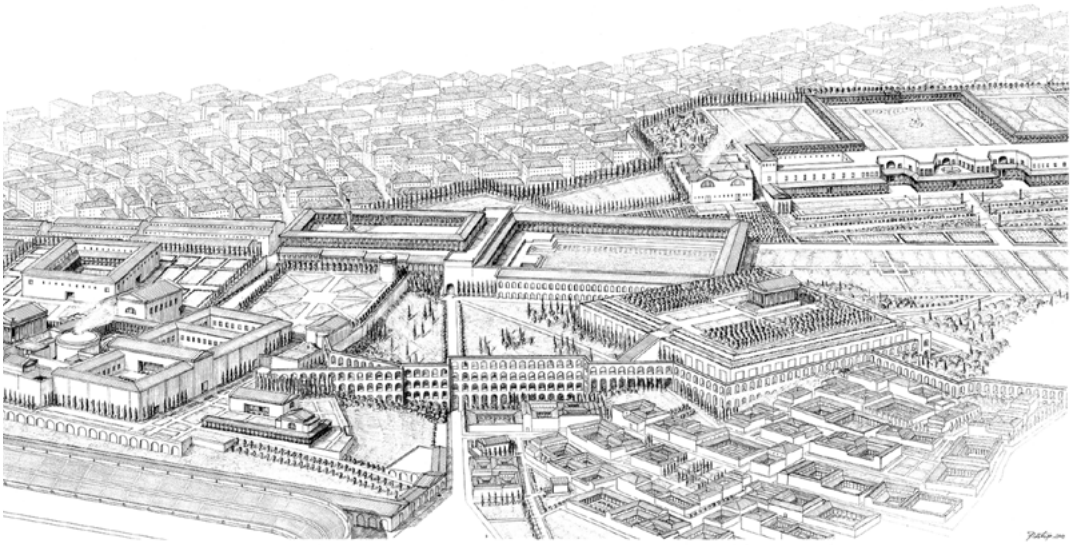

Fig. 1 Domus Aurea. Hypothetical reconstruction of the "Mega-Villa".

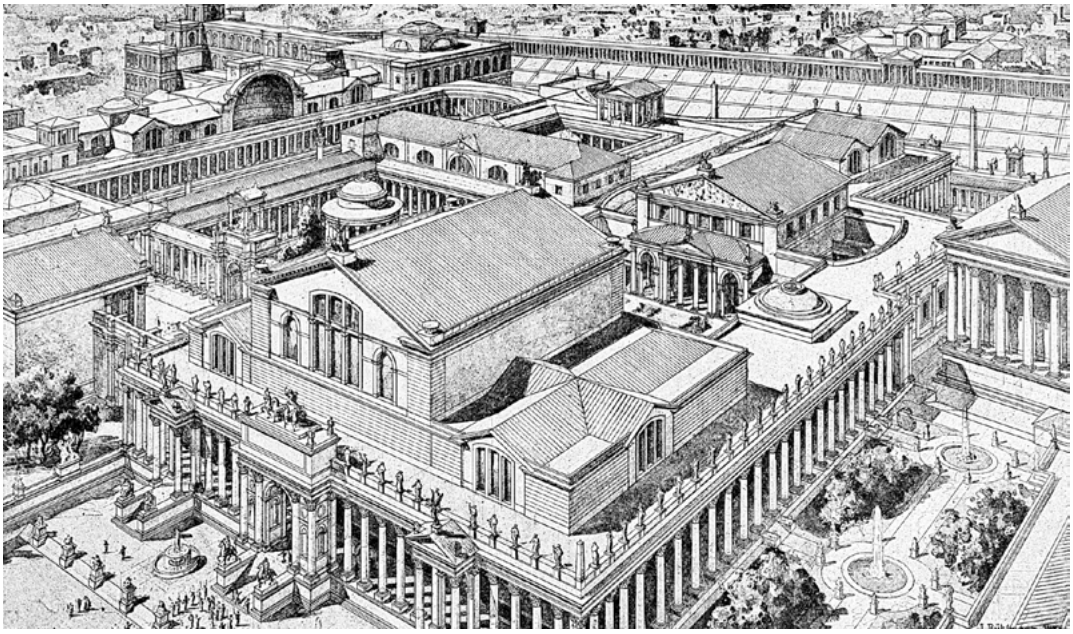

Fig. 2 The palaces of the Roman Emperors on the Palatine. Reconstruction after Bühlmann 1908.

Formed by these descriptions and the imaginative reconstruction drawings of the 19th and early 20th century (Fig. 2)[11], the picture of a uniformly planned and executed Domitianic palace complex is firmly established in all handbooks of Roman architecture and consequently also in our minds[12]. The scholarly literature considers this the quintessential prototype of a Roman imperial palace. Moreover, it emphasizes the presumed design, in which rigid symmetrical axes unite the sequence of rooms to form a harmonious, block-like, closed and introverted complex[13]. So far this opinion has hardly ever been questioned.

11 For example F. Dutert 1871, published for example in Zanker 2004, 90, Abb. 131, Tognetti 1900 published for example in Haugwitz 1901 or J. Bühlmann 1907/08 published by Bühlmann 1908, Taf.

12 See for example: Rakob 1967; Liedtke 1999, 688–691; Nielsen 2000; Gros 2001, 252–260 Entry: Le Palatin des Flaviens); Höcker 2004, 185–187 (Entry: Palast C. Rom).

13 See for example Rakob 1967, 157. 189; Liedtke 1999, 688–691 or, with a few differentiations but without a reliable assignment of the individual building phases, Mar 2009.

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Fig. 3 Domus Flavia, Domus Augustana, "Gardenstadium" and "Domus Severiana". The building phases of the main level.

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Despite the importance of the Domus Flavia and the Domus Augustana for the understanding of the Flavian Palace, they were almost entirely unexplored prior to Bartoli's first documentation[14]. The same is true for the adjacent parts, like the so-called Gardenstadium and the so-called Domus Severiana (Fig. 3). At the request of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma and under the aegis of the Departments for the History of Architecture and Survey at the Brandenburg Technical University of Cottbus and also, since 2004, the Department of Architecture of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, we were given the opportunity to investigate large parts of the palace[15]. Until 2013 we had the opportunity to compile detailed documentation and to analyse the structures of the "Domus Severiana", the "Gardenstadium", the Domus Augustana and the Domus Flavia, thus the major part of the palace structures on the Palatine. It was particularly this architectural investigation that has helped us to better understand the development of the palace of the Flavian to the Maxentian period[16]. It has also revealed new and unexpected results for the Flavian phase of the palace.

The Flavian Phase of the Palace

From the new results, it is clear that the so-called core of the Flavian palace is not based solely on the plans made during Emperor Domitian's reign[17]. The key insight for a better understanding of the building phases, which has shed new light on the area of the Domus Augustana, comes from the analysis of the so-called sunken peristyle of the Domus Augustana, generally regarded as a project of Domitian. Since this complex could be entered only through a narrow staircase, it is usually seen as a private retreat area[18], but there is convincing evidence on the basis of several criteria, that there was an earlier Flavian construction phase, probably dating to the time of the reign of Domitian's father, the emperor Vespasian (Fig. 4)[19]. This phase comprises the entire northern area around the "sunken peristyle", to which the row of three rooms to the north also belongs, exceeding the complicated layout of the rooms of Nero's Domus Aurea[20]. In the western wing was a group of rooms with a central *oecus*, a large banquet room, surrounded by further dining rooms. The rooms were orientated towards a huge water basin with a rectangular island in Flavian times. The striking form with the pelta motif is a change, which most likely belongs to the Hadrianic period[21]. This part of the palace should not be interpreted as the private rooms of the emperor, but as a separate series of dining rooms for use in larger banquets, together with large halls and more

14 With a few exceptions, such as the *Cenatio Iovis* of the Domus Flavia (Gibson/DeLaine/Claridge 1994) or the so called sunken peristyle of the Domus Augustana which was explored by Gisella Wataghin Cantino 1966. But reliable plans of the different building phases are also missing Watagin Cantino 1966.

15 The project would not be possible without the support of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. We thank therefore the Soprintendenti Adriano La Regina and Angelo Bottini for the opportunity to carry out investigations and, for their support in particular Maria Antionetta Tomei and Irene Iacopi. The work was begun in 1998 on intermediation of the former director of the Rome Department of the DAI Paul Zanker under the leadership of Adolf Hoffmann, at that time professor of architectural history at the BTU Cottbus. He and all participating directors of the DAI Rome (Paul Zanker, Dieter Mertens and Henner of Hesberg) also deserve thanks for support. The international and interdisciplinary project has received much financial support. For this we thank the DFG, the DAAD, the Gerda Henkel Foundation and the Thyssen Foundation.

16 For the first results see for example Hoffmann/Wulf 2004; Wulf-Rheidt/Sojc, 2009; Wulf-Rheidt 2011.

17 For a detailed description of the first results for the Flavian phases of the palace see: Wulf-Rheidt/Sojc 2009; Wulf-Rheidt 2012a; Wulf-Rheidt 2012b; Pflug 2013.

18 For example: Liedtke 1999, 689. 691–692; Zanker 2004, 91–92.

19 Sojc 2005/2006, 345–348; Wulf-Rheidt/Sojc 2009, 268–269; Pflug 2103, 190–193.

20 Wulf-Rheidt 2013b.

21 The water installations are examined by Andrea Schmölder-Veit. For the first results see: Schmölder-Veit 2012.

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Fig. 4 Domus Augustana. The building phases of the "sunken peristyle".

private rooms[22]. They provide an ideal banquet opportunity to accommodate a great number of guests in different, interconnected rooms, while giving the emperor the chance to visit these rooms in succession[23]. The problematic distinction between the various parts of the palace as public and private, as appears in various publications, is therefore not correct[24]. There is also considerable evidence that this area was originally planned with one story, which would have emphasised even

22 Sojc 2005/2006, 341–342; Sojc/Winterling 2009, 294–296.

23 For the different ways these rooms can be visited see Pflug 2014, 374–378.

24 Against a strict separation of public and private sector argued already Zanker 2004, 92. After Vössing 2004, 267, the emperor had no "private life". See also Wulf-Rheidt 2012a, 106–108.

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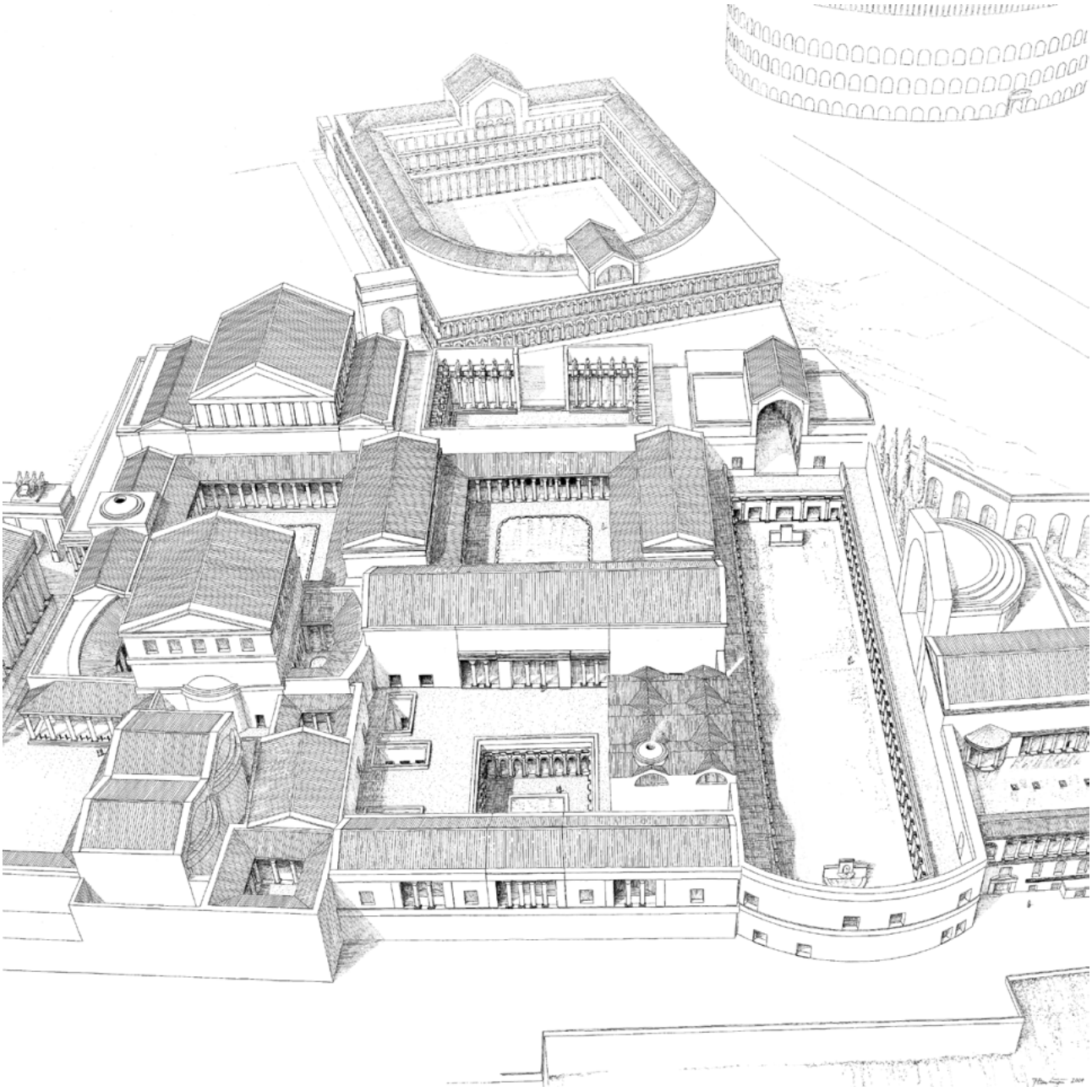

Fig. 5 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Flavian phase of the palace.

more the concept of a sunken peristyle (Fig. 5)[25]. Despite these aspects for this early Flavian phase, the southern half cannot be reconstructed with certainty. This area was clearly closed off by a straight wall, and no connection existed between the Circus Maximus and the level of the "sunken peristyle" (Fig. 5).

Even more surprising than the early Flavian phase are the conclusions that can be drawn from the brick stamps found *in situ* in the large exedra in front of the "sunken peristyle". The exedra could not have been built prior to the early 2nd century A. D. and therefore must date to a phase of modification (Fig. 4)[26]. Only during this expansion of the palace towards the Circus Maximus was

25 Pflug 2013, 194.

26 Sojc 2005/2006, 345; Pflug 2013, 198; Wulf-Rheidt 2013a, 289–290.

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Fig. 6 Domus Flavia, Domus Augustana, "Gardenstadium" and "Domus Severiana". Reconstruction plan of the main level in the Flavian phase.

the two-storied columned portico added. Until then the Flavian palace, behind a solid wall (at least on the lower story), turned its back, figuratively speaking, on the Circus Maximus.

There is also evidence that the main level of the Domus Augustana was not built in one single phase (Fig. 3)[27]. It seems that the peristyle courtyard with the huge rectangular water basin was conceived in the time of Domitian, as was the general plan of the Domus Flavia. Extremely difficult to interpret are the remains of the structures between this peristyle court and the Vigna Barberini, the so-called "no man's land"[28]. The most conspicuous structure is a more than 2 m wide foundation

27 Pflug 2013, 194–197.

28 Helge Finsen, who investigated this area for the first time in the 1960s, not being able to interpret the few architectural remains named it "no man's land". Finsen 1969, 5. 8.

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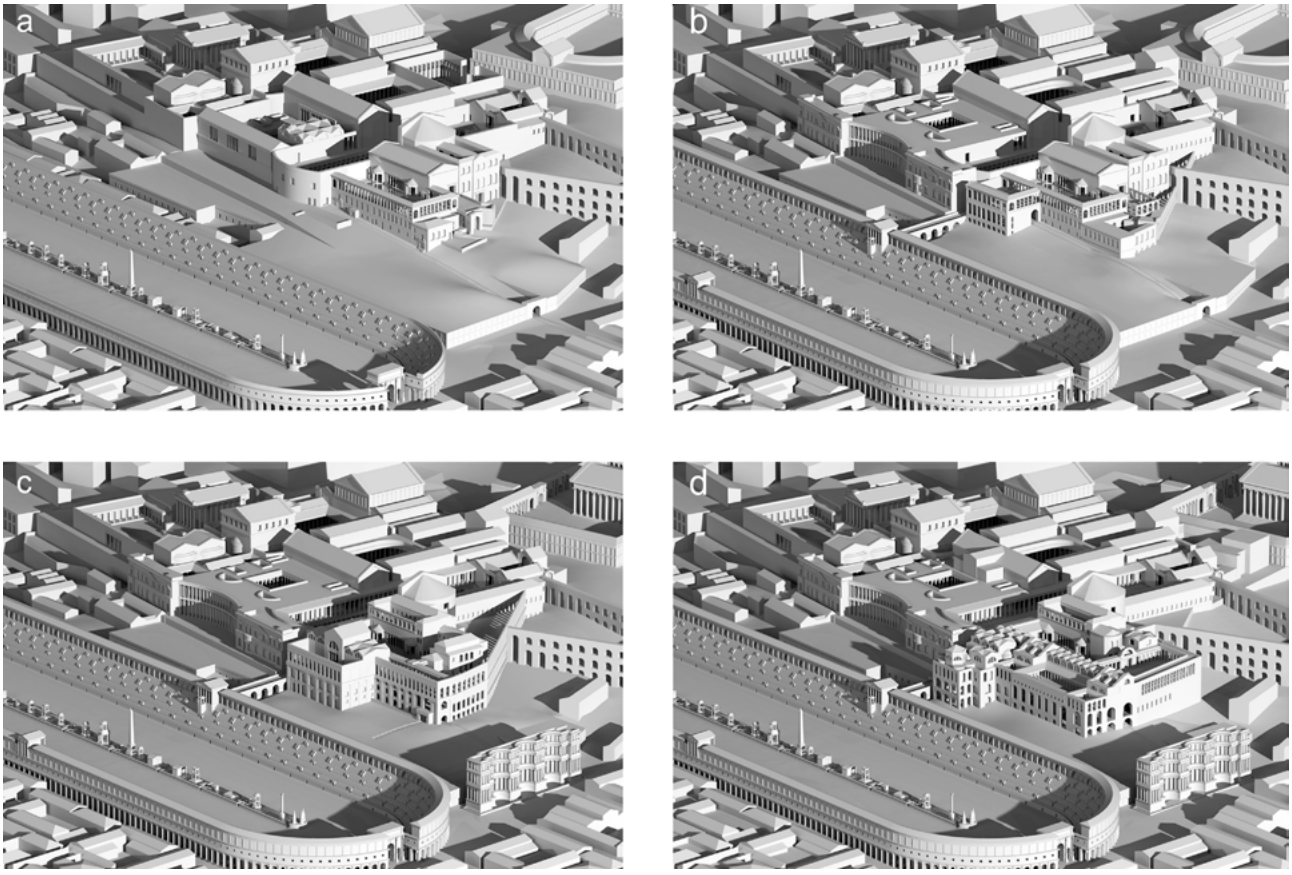

Fig. 7 Development of the palace on the Palatine.
a: Flavian,
b: Trajanic,
c: Severan and
d: Maxentian time.

with huge holes, originally filled with travertine blocks. The only explanation for this *opus caementicium* foundation, which can be dated by its characteristics to the Domitianic period[29], is that it supported a wall with pillars next to it, a building type we know very well from the Forum Transistorium[30]. Therefore we suggest that a huge courtyard with architecture comparable to the Forum Transistorium was planned here (Fig. 5. 6). It is a striking idea to interpret this as a huge vestibule for the whole palace, a place where separate groups of people could gather to wait for the *salutatio*, and where they would catch a glimpse of the interior of the palace.

The initial results of the investigation of the Domus Flavia suggest that the rooms around the great peristyle, with the rectangular water basin of the first phase, were all built at the time of Domitian. To the north of the peristyle is a row of three huge rooms. The central one with over 1000 square meters, the largest room of the palace complex, is called the Aula Regia, a kind of throne room and reception area, while the west room, the so-called Auditorium, would have served for holding imperial deliberations and court sessions, an interpretation that is not without controversy[31]. As Paul Zanker has pointed out, it is more likely that the rooms had a multifunctional purpose[32]. To the south lies a further large hall, more than 800 meters square, the *Cenatio Jovis*, a large

29 The *opus caementicium* foundations are examined by Martin Fink and Pierre Wech. Iacopi/Tedone 2009, 243, Fig. 6 assigned the foundations to the recesses for the travertine on the west and east sides of a construction of the time of Vespasian. The foundation is certainly built in all its width uniformly, and all indications are clearly indicating a Domitian dating.

30 See for example Viscogliosi 2009, 203, Fig.1. 206, Fig. 5.

31 Malmberg 2003, 36–39 with the citations of all relevant literature.

32 Zanker 2004, 95 with fig. 138.

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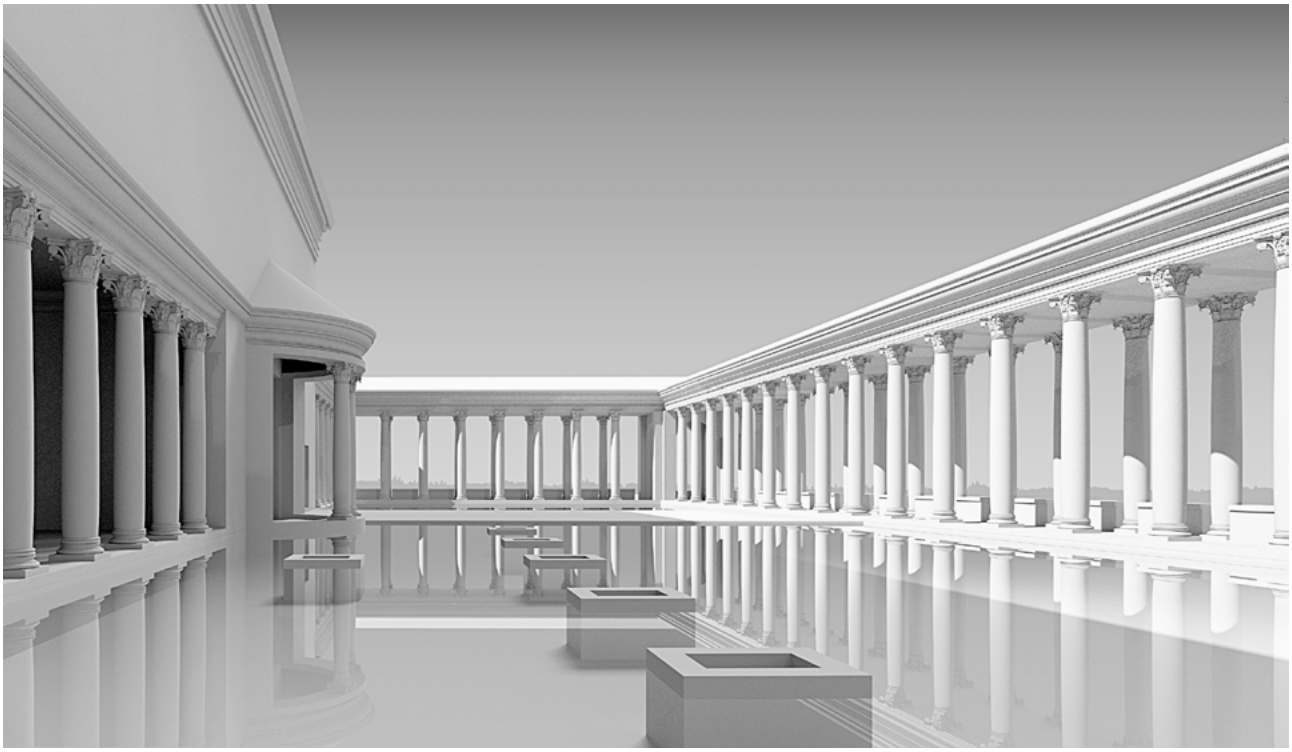

Fig 8 "Domus Severiana". Hypothetical reconstruction of the Flavian phase of the main level with the huge water basin.

dining room and banquet hall[33]. The Aula Regia, the "Auditorium" and the *Cenatio Iovis* have apses on the central axis (Fig. 6). Whether each of these was a place reserved for the Emperor is much debated in current research[34]. Nevertheless, these huge rooms surpass in their dimensions and certainly in their luxurious decoration every aristocratic arrangement hitherto known, including all Neronian rooms. With the Aula Regia and *Cenatio Iovis* huge new rooms for imperial self-representation had been created. This new dimension is probably not only to be explained by the fact that the imperial banquet had reached an ever-larger scale. This vastly increased space surely created a very special, imperial aura, emphasising the strength of the Emperor and the hierarchy and distance between him and his guests. Thus in Domitian's time an entirely new element was integrated into palace architecture, which now clearly distinguishes the palace from rich aristocratic houses[35].

One of the most surprising results of the building analysis of the "Domus Severiana" is that the Flavian palace has to be reconstructed on a considerably larger scale and in greater detail than previously assumed. As early as the first century A. D. the Flavian imperial palace extended far beyond the dimensions of the Domus Augustana and the adjacent "Gardenstadium" (Fig. 7a)[36]. In the southeast its outer borders lay about 120 meters away from the "Gardenstadium". In order to reach the level of the central area of the Domus Augustana, two-storied substructures were needed. This substructure formed a huge platform to the main storey. This can be reconstructed for the Flavian phase with a vast courtyard area with a large water basin (Fig. 8). The analysis of

33 Gibson/DeLaine/Claridge 1994, 67–69. 92.

34 After Vössing 2004, 350 the semicircle was not used to highlight a single kline or even for the sacralization of the emperor, rather it was a very profane eye-catcher for all guests and the background for performances. Notwithstanding this, once again Zanker 2004, 99. Ziemssen 2011, 97.

35 See also Wulf-Rheidt 2012a, 106.

36 For the different phases, the dating and the first reconstructions see: Hoffmann/Wulf 2004, 153–172; Wulf-Rheidt/Sojc 2009, 275–277; Wulf-Rheidt 2012a, 108–110. The fact that parts of the "Domus Severiana" have to be dated to Flavian times had already been recognized by Massaccesi and Carettoni. See Massaccesi 1939, 130–133; Carettoni 1971.

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the vault heights in the lower storey reveals that the water basin extended up to the rooms of the main storey. Accordingly, a row of viewing rooms adjacent to the yard surface opened their tall windows directly in front of this water surface. During excavations in the 1970s, Filippo Carettoni had noted a row of foundations, proving that this area ended with a 4-meter wide colonnade facing the Circus Maximus[37]. Towards the southeast, this colonnade might have opened with a column or pillar arrangement that allowed a view of the Circus Maximus and the landscape beyond (Fig. 7a). Built on an artificial platform, the repertoire of rooms of the imperial residence was extended by huge, lofty rooms that allowed for a view over large water areas, and, with their concluding colonnades – as in the Domus Aurea – were reminiscent of landscape architecture. Just as Nero before him, Domitian apparently also wanted the luxury of having a "villa in town".

According to the excavation results of the École Française de Rome, another huge landscaped garden had been laid out, as early as the Flavian period, in the area of the Vigna Barberini[38]. On a similarly high substructure that formed an impressive façade towards the valley of the Colosseum, another "hanging garden" existed, surrounded by porticoes, which end in a large semicircle. Consequently, already in the Flavian era, the imperial palace occupied the entire eastern half of the hill (Fig. 5. 7a).

These conclusions about the "Domus Severiana" also shed a new and different light on the so-called Gardenstadium. A natural depression in this location was used to create a garden in the shape of a racetrack. It is a sunken garden, however, with enormous dimensions, which, according to the investigations of Alexandra Riedel, was in Flavian times probably surrounded by only a single-storied colonnade in form of an arcade[39], giving the impression of a cryptoporticus, allowing one to promenade in the shade looking at a green garden with water basins and possibly *vivaria* (Fig. 5. 7a).

In a nutshell: on the basis of new studies on Domitian's palace it is certain that this is not a single new building. What formerly appeared to be a new Domitianic concept of palace architecture of the Roman emperors seems rather a palace under constant development. It is very likely that Domitian continued or integrated a part of an early Flavian palace into his new palace concept and that he simply continued the plans of his predecessor and brought them to a preliminary conclusion. The remains make it certain that the Flavian palace was more spacious and employed a more differentiated building style than was previously thought. It was a highly complex combination of many different buildings, with elements taken from large gardens and villas. The ensemble with its very individually shaped wings – the Domus Flavia with its huge meeting and dining rooms, the Domus Augustana, with its variety of multifunctional audience and banquet rooms, the "Domus Severiana" with its artificial lake for banquets in an *otium*-atmosphere – together with the gardens, was suitable for all imperial rituals, ceremonies, protocols, duties and the requirements of daily life.

The Trajanic and Hadrianic Phase of the Palace

As already pointed out, many things suggest that the palace was completed only during the era of Trajan and was partly altered in the Hadrianic period. We must thus get used to the idea that the Flavian project was not entirely completed under Domitian, but that in some places he left his

37 Carettoni 1971, 312, Fig. 16, Taf. 2.

38 André/Villedieu 2004, 114–122. Abb. 162. 163. 170. 172. Villedieu 2013, 158–164. In my opinion, the findings are not sufficient for the reconstruction of a large temple already in Flavian time, as proposed by Villedieu 2013, 175–178. Fig. 5.

39 Riedel 2008.

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successors with a construction site[40]. We are now able to say that the Palace complex, generally thought of as a new building of the emperor Domitian, was in fact the result of a long-term process of modification and expansion.

A closer connection between the Palace and the Circus also does not belong to the Domitian phase, but was first realized with the expansion of the Circus Maximus during the time of Trajan[41]. With the exedra and the rooms situated off the "Gardenstadium", there now existed places, cleverly arranged in terms of their architecture, from which the ruler could show himself to the people in the Circus Maximus. We also have evidence for a close connection between the palace and the Circus Maximus at this time. Substructure walls indicate the existence of a bridge connecting the palace with the *pulvinar*, or "imperial box" for the members of the imperial family (Fig. 7b)[42]. This new close connection between palace and Circus, a model which was very important for late antique palaces and of course also for the palace of Constantinople[43], attests to the importance of the Circus in the imperial propaganda in the time of Trajan.

In the second half of the 2nd century there was apparently need for more space on the main floor of the palace. Thus, the courtyard of the "no mans land" was diminished and on the narrow sides additional rooms were added (Fig. 3. 7b). Until now we were unable to say whether these additional rooms were also used in the context of the *salutatio*, as assumed for the Flavian period. In the "sunken peristyle" many openings were closed or narrowed[44]. The rooms were now orientated to the inner courtyards where water basins were installed. According to the dating of the decorated elements, the "sunken peristyle" was laid out in the Hadrianic period with a two-storied peristyle (Fig. 7b). It is probably only with the transformation of the peristyle that the former garden was built-up, thus creating additional space[45]. It seems as if the requirement of space increased between the time of Domitian and Hadrian and the Flavian palace had thus to be further compacted.

With this building, modified again in the 2nd century, a spatial arrangement was found that more than 100 years after the installation of the principate adequately reflected the hegemonic structure of the imperial palace. Apparently, this hybrid satisfied all the needs of the ruler, such as prestige, living and administration so well, that on the whole it remained unchanged. The fact that large parts of the "Gardenstadium" and the "Domus Severiana" from the Flavian ground plan were renewed following their thorough destruction, speaks for the excellent functionality of the palace arrangement from this time on.

Further Development of the Palace[46]

Further development of the palace after the modifications in the 2nd century was required after destruction caused by a massive fire in the winter of 191/192 A. D.[47]. The main story of the "Domus Severiana" was almost completely rebuilt, with the exception of the water basin, which was abandoned in the Severan period. Under Septimus Severus the palace was also extended by the addition of a large substructure in order to create space for a bathing complex (Fig. 7c. 9). It appears that

40 Wulf-Rheidt 2012c, 267–269.

41 Sojc 2005/2006, 345; Wulf-Rheidt/Sojc 2009, 269; Pflug 2103, 198.

42 For the *pulvinar* see: Humphrey 1986, 80–83. For the connection between palace and *pulvinar*: Wulf-Rheidt 2013, 289.

43 Humphrey 1986, 579–638, Heucke 1994, 314–404. Wulf-Rheidt 2013, 293–295.

44 Sojc 2005/2006, 345, Abb. 7. Pflug 2013, 199.

45 Pflug 2013, 197–200.

46 See also: Hoffman/Wulf 2000; Hoffmann/Wulf 2004, 162–170.

47 Chausson 1997, 34–35.

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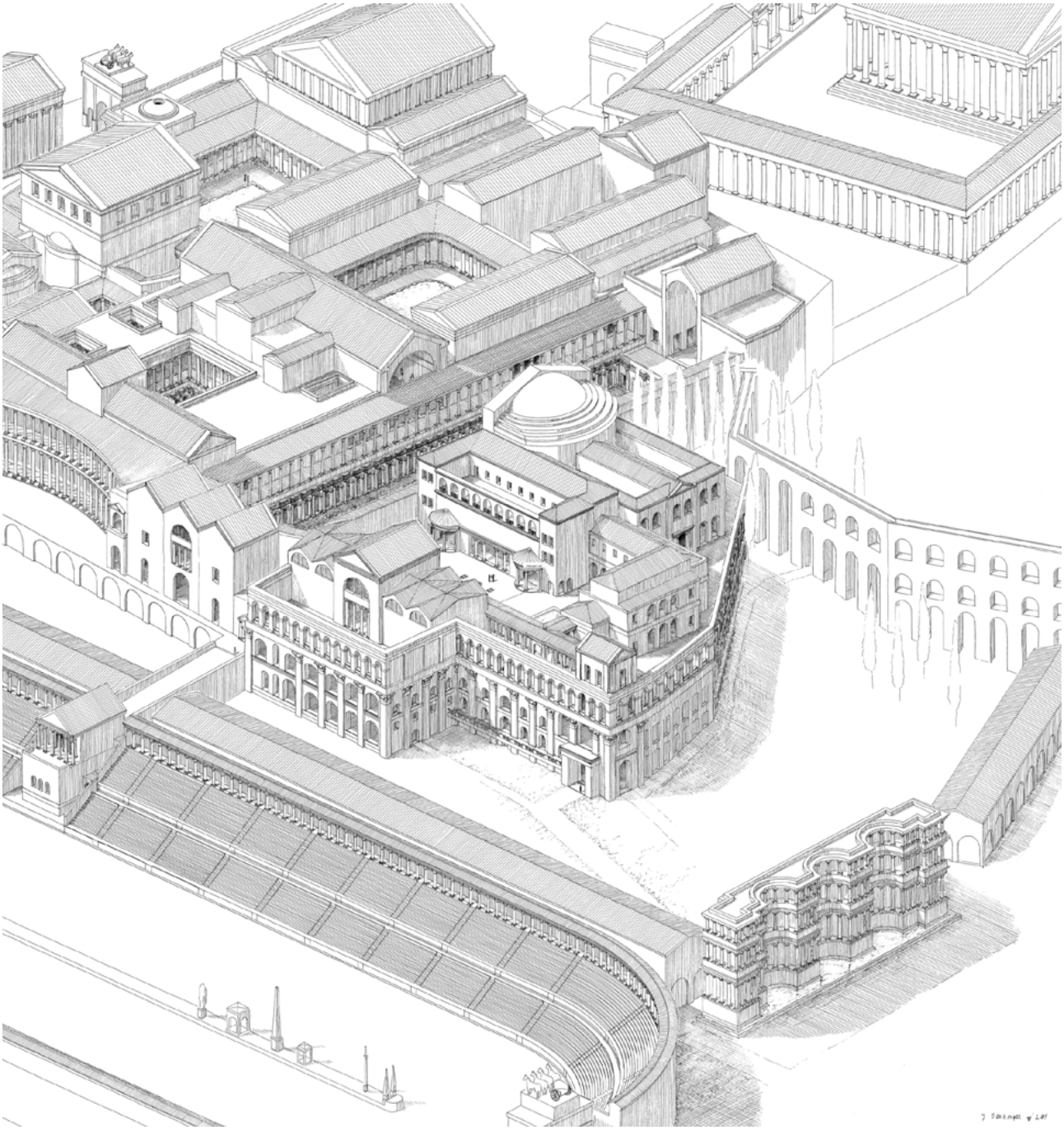

Fig. 9 "Domus Severiana". Hypothetical reconstruction of the Severan phase.

the villa-like architecture was refined once again during this period with this bathing complex overlooking the Circus Maximus. The equally destroyed "Gardenstadium" was renovated with a two-storied porticus. At the southeastern edge of the hill a huge fountain, the Septizodium, was dedicated in A. D. 203 (Fig. 9)[48]. This now gave the palace, at least in parts, a prestigious façade along the previously neglected eastern side, as well as an architecturally designed, monumental aspect when viewed from the Via Appia (Fig. 10).

48 For the Septizodium see for example Lusnia 2004, 534–538.

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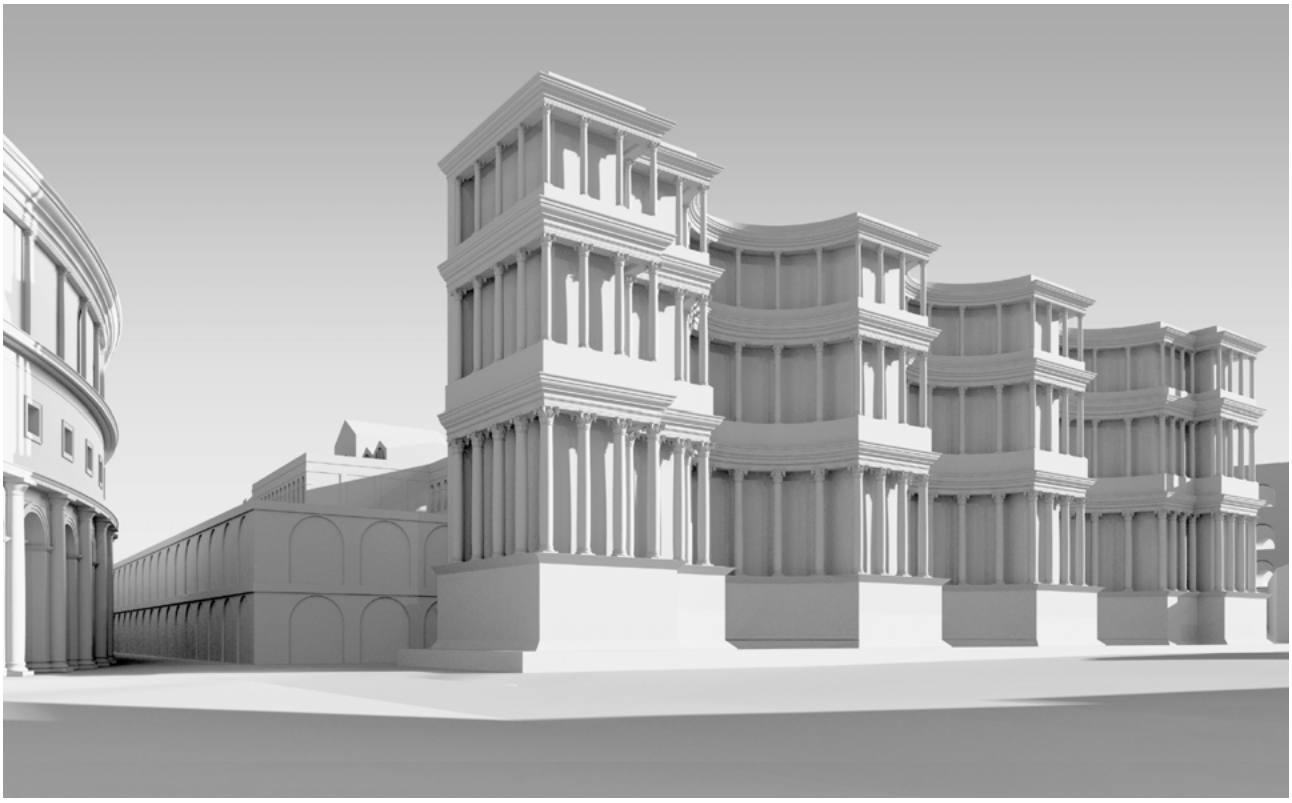

Fig. 10 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Severian phase of the palace with the Septizodium.

In the 3rd century A. D., in the area of the Vigna Barberini, a large new temple was built for Elagabalus (Fig. 7c. 9)[49]. Thus the Severan palace, on the side orientated towards the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum, was an effective eye-catcher. In the 3rd century A. D. the religious component of the palace was increased with this new temple, which surpassed in size even the Augustan Temple of Apollo[50].

An additional generous extension of the Severan bathing complex marks the end of the antique building activities on the Palatine. Once again, the platform was considerably extended, nearly to the Circus Maximus (Fig. 7d). The installation of numerous staircases and wastewater receptacles on the lower storey indicates that the bathing rooms occupied a large area of the platform, and that the former viewing rooms were incorporated into the architecture of the bathing complex. The chronicler of the year 354 A. D., who reported the building of a new *thermae* from the time of Maxentius[51], must have had in mind this extensive bathing installation which hovered above the 20-meter high substructure and gave a glamorous finish to the imperial palaces on the southwest.

A replacement for the lost viewing rooms was created on top of the building. The complex and diversely arranged new viewing rooms formed a projecting belvedere, lending additional and unusual attractiveness to bathing in this extreme position high above the Circus Maximus. From these rooms events one had a bird's eye view of events in the circus and could enjoy the vast panorama of the landscape exactly as intended in the original Flavian building.

These new insights into the development of the Imperial Palaces on the Palatine clearly reveal that the expansion of the Palace reflects also a stronger urban accentuation of the build-

49 André/Villedieu 2004, 129–139; Villedieu 2013, 164–175.
50 Wulf-Rheidt 2013, 296–297. For the religious component of the Augustan Palace see Wulf-Rheidt 2012a, 37–38.
51 Carettoni 1972.

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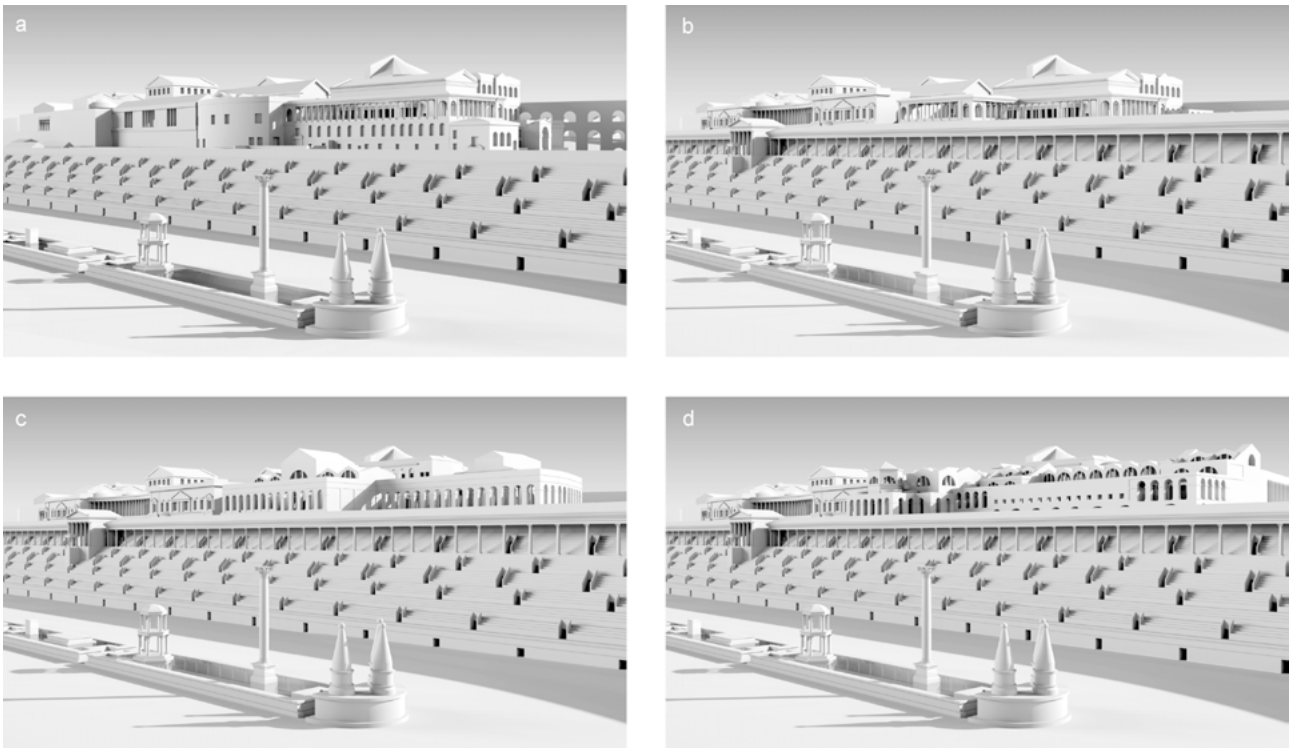

Fig. 11 Development of the palace on the Palatine looking from the Circus Maximus.
a: Flavian,
b: Trajanic,
c: Severan and
d: Maxentian time.

ing (Fig. 11). For centuries the Palace on the Palatine was the symbol of both the highest power in the Roman Empire and Rome's dominance over the world. The Palace was a metaphor for the imperial presence, indeed, for the Empire in general, and was indeed understood and perceived as such.

As such a symbol of the highest power, the Palatine model survived even the final relocation of the capital and fall of the Roman Empire in a particularly distinct shape in the new residence at Constantinople.

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Jean-Michel Spieser

Réflexions sur le Palais de Galère à Thessalonique

Lorsque les organisateurs du colloque sur les palais, m'ont demandé d'y participer et d'y parler du palais de de Galère à Thessalonique auquel je m'étais intéressé il y a un peu plus de trente ans, j'ai accepté avec plaisir de voir comment les connaissances sur cet ensemble avaient évolué[1]. Un certain nombre de travaux sur le terrain effectués par les archéologues de Thessalonique ont permis de considérablement avancer sur cette question. Ces recherches sont connues essentiellement par des rapports publiés dans l'AEMTh et n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'une publication systématique qui serait d'ailleurs certainement prématurée. Je voudrais simplement présenter ici, après d'autres, quelques réflexions qui m'ont été suggérées par la lecture de ces rapports et par quelques autres articles en attendant qu'une publication d'ensemble ne fasse véritablement le point sur ce palais[2] (Fig. 1).

Si on revient d'une trentaine d'années en arrière, quelques idées semblaient s'imposer sur ce palais, dont l'exploration avait commencé dans les années 1930 grâce à E. Dyggve qui avait fouillé en particulier la zone immédiatement au Sud de l'arc de Galère[3]. Des fouilles, dans les années 1950 et 1960, ont permis d'en retrouver des vestiges, d'une part sous la rue Gounaris, qui avait été tracée par l'architecte Hébrard dans le cadre de la reconstruction de la ville après l'incendie de 1917 dans l'axe de la Rotonde, peut-être parce qu'il pensait que cela correspondait à un axe ancien, ce qui s'est révélé ne pas être le cas; d'autre part grâce à la découverte des vestiges de la place Navarinou en lien avec l'Octogone (b) qu'un article de Ch. Makaronas de 1950 avait fait connaître[4]. On pensait alors que ce palais, avec l'hippodrome (k) qui l'accompagnait, avait été édifié dans cette zone au Sud-Est de la ville parce qu'elle était vide de construction. Deux questions étaient alors essentiellement débattues, celle de la chronologie, non pas de la chronologie absolue du palais, mais de sa relation avec le rempart oriental de la ville et, d'autre part, la question, plus générale, de la relation entre hippodrome et palais impérial. Il me semble que ces deux questions ont trouvé leur réponse. La mise en évidence d'un rempart qu'il faut attribuer au milieu du IIIe siècle, indique que le tracé du rempart est antérieur à la construction du palais et donc que le décrochement du rempart, un peu au Nord de la Rotonde, ne signifie pas que la partie Sud du rempart oriental ait été mise en place pour tenir compte de la présence du palais[5]. De même, la relation privilégiée entre palais impérial et hippodrome ne fait plus problème et paraît acceptée par la communauté scientifique[6].

Mais les fouilles récentes ont mis en évidence un élément important, moins pour le palais lui-même, que pour l'histoire de l'urbanisme de la ville, à savoir qu'il a été construit dans une zone qui était déjà bâtie antérieurement. À l'époque hellénistique, des ateliers étaient présents dans le Sud-Est de la ville. Les vestiges les plus proches chronologiquement du palais montrent une occupation plus riche, mais détruite par un incendie sans doute au milieu du IIIe siècle[7].

1 Spieser 1984, 97–123.

2 D'autres réflexions sur ce que l'on pouvait dire du palais ont été publiées. Il faut d'abord rappeler Moutsopoulos 1977 qui avait le mérite de publier un premier plan d'ensemble (auquel manquent évidemment les découvertes les plus récentes, essentiellement au sud de l'Octogone); Mayer 2002, 39–47 fait une brève synthèse; récemment Mentzos 2010 dont certaines conclusions seront discutées ci-dessous. Sur le vocabulaire et la notion de palais, voir les utiles remarques de Mayer 2002, 39–42.

3 Pour les contributions de Dyggve à l'exploration du palais de Galère: Duval 2003, 277–278; Torp 2003.

4 Makaronas 1950. Les lettres minuscules entre parenthèses et en gras permettent de repérer les ensembles mentionnés sur la fig. 1.

5 Pour des précisions sur cette question et pour les références antérieures, Spieser 1999. Pour la supposition qu'il existait un rempart plus ancien, situé plus à l'Ouest que le rempart actuel, Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 395.

6 Pour Thessalonique, Spieser 1984, 104–110.

7 Karaberi/Hristodoulidou/Kaïpha 1996; Karaberi/Hristodoulidou 1997; Karaberi/Hristodoulidou 1998; Karaberi 2001, 209.

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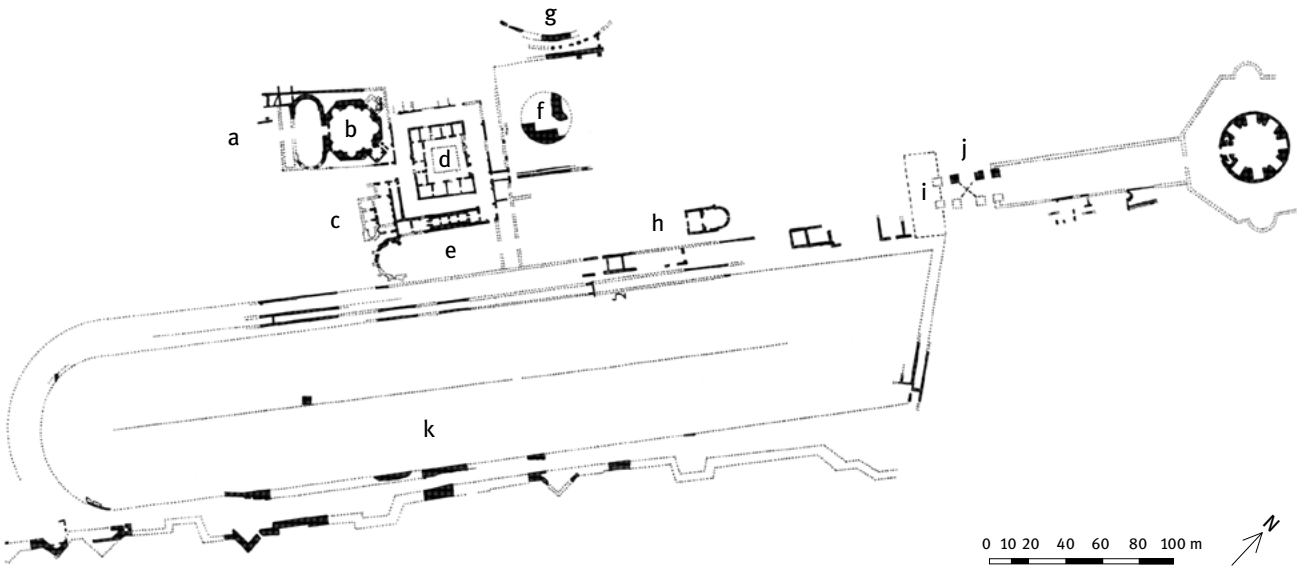

Fig. 1 Plan du quartier du palais de Galère.

Les limites de ce palais ne sont pas encore complètement fixées. Au Nord, on peut penser qu'une limite est indiquée par la grande salle, contiguë à l'arc de Galère et fouillée par E. Dyggve, même si l'appartenance de cette salle au palais est parfois mise en doute (i)[8]; à l'Est, la contiguïté du palais et de l'hippodrome donne une solution sans équivoque. Au Sud et à l'Ouest, les choses sont moins claires. Le vestibule de la grande salle octogonale, qui est un des vestiges les mieux conservés de cet ensemble, se trouvait à moins de 150 m. de la mer comme l'a montré la découverte de restes du rempart maritime[9]. Mais ce vestibule s'ouvre sur une cour à péristyle qui aurait 88 m de long et 47 m. de large (a)[10]. Cette indication de longueur conduit à une cinquantaine ou soixantaine de mètres de la mer, si bien qu'il est parfois admis que le palais s'étendait jusqu'à celle-ci[11]. Mais le parallèle établi à ce point de vue avec Spalato, dont plan et fonction sont très différents, n'est pas très solide. L'existence possible d'un mouillage situé dans la partie orientale du rivage – peut-être *l'ekklèsiastiki skala* dont parlent les *Miracula Demetrii*[12] – n'est pas un argument décisif[13]. Si le palais s'ouvrait directement sur la mer, cela impliquerait que le seul accès public à l'hippodrome se fasse par le Nord et, plus étonnant encore, qu'il ne soit pas possible de sortir de la ville entre la mer et la porte immédiatement au Nord du palais, plus tard appelée porte Cassandréotique[14].

L'extension Ouest du palais pose encore plus de problèmes. Un mur très épais, incurvé, a été mis à jour dans cette zone (g). Il a été proposé qu'il s'agisse du mur du stade de la ville, dont l'exis-

8 Pour cette salle, voir ci-dessous, p. 24.

9 Cette indication de distance, comme celle qui concerne la distance entre le péristyle et la mer sont données très approximativement d'après les plans publiés. Cela suppose aussi qu'il n'y avait pas de port construit à l'Est de la ville antérieurement à celui de Constantin. Aucune source ne mentionne un tel port. *Contra* (avec les références antérieures): Vitti 1996, 132–133.

10 Pour les dimensions de ce péristyle, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a, 242–244; voir le p. 243, fig. 2. Des restes de mosaïques ont été mises à jour dans la partie nord des portiques Est et Ouest de cette cour: Asēmakopoulou-Atzaka 1998, 79–80 et pl. 8–16.

11 Karaberi 2001, 206. Mayer 2002, 46, partage le même point de vue.

12 L'*ekklèsiastiki skala* est mentionnée dans les *Miracula Demetrii*, I, 186 (Lemerle 1979, 172 et n. 9). Pour une discussion sur cette question, Spieser 1981, 481–482 avec les références antérieures.

13 Voir sur ce mouillage, Karaberi 2001, 206, mais dont les remarques paraissent devoir être discutées. Elle le considère comme un port impérial et, ce qui me paraît le plus discutable, pense qu'une rue donnant accès à la porte sud de la ville n'a été ouverte qu'aux environs de 620–630.

14 Pour la porte sud du rempart oriental et pour la porte Cassandréotique, Spieser 1984, 49–51.

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tence est impliquée par les *Miracula Demetrii*[15]. Les escaliers aménagés dans l'épaisseur du mur contredisent cette idée: ils ne peuvent pas servir d'accès public ; ce sont des escaliers de service qui n'auraient pas beaucoup de sens dans le mur extérieur d'un stade. Il paraît avoir une courbure trop faible, pour appartenir à un monument couvert, même par une voûte et une épaisseur trop importante pour être le mur de fond d'une simple exèdre; pourrait-il s'agir d'une exèdre particulièrement monumentale – un écho de l'exèdre qui domine le Circus Maximus à Rome? Très près de ce mur, un autre mur a été mis à jour qui est interprété comme le mur d'enceinte d'une rotonde (f), appartenant peut-être au palais, mais dont l'interprétation échappe. Ce monument, pour autant qu'on le connaisse avec certitude, aurait un diamètre de 29 mètres; seules ses fondations ont été retrouvées et ne paraissent plus visibles. Il apparaît pour la première fois sur les plans publiés du palais en 1966, mais il est évoqué assez rarement dans la bibliographie[16]. Une meilleure compréhension de ce monument et de la zone qui l'entoure serait essentielle, mais elle ne paraît guère possible en raison des nombreux immeubles qui se sont édifiés à cet endroit. Quoiqu'il en soit, on doit avoir de cette manière la largeur approximative du palais. Cette largeur pourrait rester à peu près constante vers le Sud, mais le détail échappe complètement[17]. Davantage vers le Nord, il est impossible de savoir si la largeur du palais reste la même ou non[18]. Si c'est le cas (et si, par ailleurs, il ne se prolonge pas jusqu'à la mer) nous aurions un palais d'environ 120 m. sur environ 415 m., soit environ 50 000 m^2.

Est-il possible, dans l'état actuel des connaissances, de se faire une idée approximative sur les différentes parties du palais, leur aspect et leur fonction? La cour à péristyle sud (a) fait penser qu'un accès important du palais se faisait à travers celle-ci, que ce soit latéralement par l'Ouest ou, au Sud, dans l'axe de l'octogone et de son vestibule[19]. Le portique oriental de cette cour se situe dans l'axe d'un escalier qui conduit vers un autre péristyle sur lequel nous reviendrons ci-dessous. C'est près de la limite nord de ce portique que se trouvait une niche dont l'ouverture était sans doute couronnée par un arc sculpté découvert dans les fouilles et qui porte un portrait de Galère et une personnification de ville, peut-être la Tychè de Thessalonique[20].

Mais un élément essentiel pour l'interprétation, non seulement de cette zone, mais de l'ensemble du palais manque: c'est la connaissance de ce qui se trouvait entre ce grand péristyle sud et l'hippodrome. Un escalier monumental, de quelques marches, mais large de huit mètres, donne accès de cette zone inexplorée à la zone centrale du palais. Il ne peut pas s'agir d'une entrée du palais proprement dit, en raison de la position de thermes (c) qui font clairement partie du palais et dont l'entrée se situe au sud-est de l'escalier considéré. Mais l'ampleur de cet escalier semble indiquer qu'il relie deux ensembles importants[21].

15 Velenis/Adam-Velenis 1997.

16 Petsas, Ph., *ArchDelt* 21, B2, 1966, 332 fig. 1; Vitti 1996, 215–216. Voir aussi Mentzos 2010, 352–354 et ci-dessous, p. 25.

17 Une rue à portiques a été découverte à l'extrémité de la rue Grigoriou Palamas, à proximité de l'Octogone. Elle confirme sans doute la largeur du palais dans sa partie sud-ouest: Karaberi/Hristodoulidou 2002.

18 Pour un mur Nord-Sud, situé à l'Ouest du bâtiment à abside évoqué ci-dessous et parallèle à lui, il a été suggéré qu'il pourrait être une enceinte du palais dans cette zone: Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 406. Cela supposerait un palais moins large dans sa partie Nord.

19 Stephanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 408 mentionne un seuil monumental de 10 m de large, à proximité de l'Octogone qui serait considéré comme une entrée Ouest du palais, permettant un accès au péristyle au Nord de l'octogone en renvoyant à Karaberi/Hristodoulidou 2002, 307–313, mais cet article parle plutôt de la découverte, sur une longueur de 25 m, d'une avenue, de 10 m de large, pavée de marbre et bordée de portiques. Elle semble se diriger vers la zone au Nord de l'octogone et il est effectivement vraisemblable qu'elle conduisait à une entrée du palais, sans qu'on puisse déterminer à quelle distance se trouvait celle-ci de la partie fouillée.

20 Despinis/Stephanidou-Tiberiou/Voutiras 1997, 184–189 (n 141) et fig. 359–367. L'auteur de la notice pense remarquer des traces de réfection sur la tête féminine et suggère qu'elle représentait originellement l'Augusta Galeria Valeria. Voir aussi Stephanidou-Tiberiou 1995. Voir aussi ci-dessous n. 49.

21 Sur cet escalier: Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 1997, 402. Pour une photographie, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004, 254, fig. 6.

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Au nord de ce péristyle se trouve l'octogone (b), vestige le plus spectaculaire et le mieux conservé du palais. Il n'y a pas lieu ici d'en faire une description détaillée[22]. On n'a guère d'élément sur son utilisation précise, mais sa position par rapport à la cour à péristyle aussi bien que sa forme convie à y voir soit une salle d'audience, en l'occurrence une salle de trône, soit un triclinium monumental. On est en tout cas, à une autre échelle certes, dans la gamme des salles luxueuses, servant de salle d'audience ou de salle à manger qui sont bien connues par les villas de l'antiquité tardive.

En continuant ce cheminement, on arrive à ce qui, pour l'instant apparaît comme un espace central du palais par lequel la circulation est redistribuée. Il s'agit d'une petite cour à péristyle, sur laquelle s'ouvrent des pièces qui ne sont pas très grandes non plus. L'ensemble est entouré sur les quatre côtés par de larges corridors qui bénéficient d'un pavement de mosaïques (d)[23] (Fig. 2). Le péristyle, comme les pièces qui l'entourent, n'a qu'un modeste pavement de briques[24]. Celui-ci, en partie du moins, appartient à une seconde phase, mais aucune indication n'est donnée sur la nature du pavement primitif. Dans la mesure où ces pièces sont les seules, dans l'état actuel des connaissances, à pouvoir passer pour des pièces d'habitat, certains chercheurs en ont conclu qu'il s'agissait des appartements impériaux. La modestie de ces espaces, même si on peut supposer qu'ils ont été réaménagés, ne semble guère convenir à une telle utilisation. De plus, la cour à péristyle était, dans sa première phase largement ouverte sur le corridor nord, ce qui ne correspond pas bien non plus à l'usage supposé. Faut-il penser à un ensemble administratif? Cela ne paraît pas exclu, mais n'est pas sans poser problème non plus.

Nous ignorons ce qui se trouve au Nord de cet ensemble; une porte dans le mur Nord conduit vers cette zone pratiquement inconnue. C'est là que se trouvait la rotonde déjà évoquée. Une autre porte conduit vers l'Ouest dans une zone où l'on doit être proche de la limite du palais, mais qui reste aussi inconnue. Elle est munie d'un seuil en marbre.

Il me semble qu'on peut faire l'hypothèse que ces couloirs étaient destinés à redistribuer la circulation officielle du palais, en permettant l'accès à l'octogone, à une salle basilicale sur laquelle nous reviendrons, mais aussi aux parties sud et nord du palais. L'escalier monumental qui s'ouvre au sud et qui a déjà été évoqué pourrait faire le lien entre la partie officielle du palais, octogone, espace central, basilique et la partie privée qui se serait située dans la zone non explorée au Sud des thermes. La position même des thermes n'est pas décisive; elle permettrait de les mettre en relation aussi bien avec les pièces autour de la cour à péristyle qu'avec un ensemble de pièces plus au Sud.

Le seul rapprochement possible, si les recherches étaient plus avancées, serait la résidence de Galère à Gamzigrad dont la signification des différentes composantes reste encore discutée[25]. La principale question, pour la comparaison avec l'ensemble de Thessalonique, serait celle de la relation entre les deux palais ou les deux parties du palais qui occupent la partie nord de cet ensemble fortifié[26]. Parfois, ces deux ensembles sont considérés comme deux résidences distinctes, à l'Ouest, celle de Galère, à l'Est, celle prévue pour sa mère, mais parfois aussi on considère qu'elles constituent une seule structure. Le problème de la zone d'habitat se pose aussi: on peut faire remarquer que, dans l'ensemble Ouest, il n'y a guère de pièce destinée à cette fonction (les pièces dans l'angle Nord-Ouest sont unanimement reconnues comme des pièces de service) sauf si on reconnaît ce rôle aux deux espaces chauffés, l'un triconque, l'autre tétraconque, situés à l'Est de ce premier

22 Après l'article déjà cité de Makaronas 1950, à l'occasion sa découverte, l'article de base est Knithakis 1975. Il est régulièrement complété dans des rapports sur les recherches faites dans la zone du palais ; voir, en particulier, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a et 2004b, Ci-dessous p. 25–26.

23 Pour ces mosaïques, Asēmakopoulou-Atzaka 1998, 81–85 et pl. 17–31.

24 Sur le pavement en briques de cet ensemble, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 1997, 402–405.

25 Pour Gamzigrad, voir maintenant les articles consacrés à cette résidence dans Brandl/Vasić 2007 et Popović 2011. Pour une comparaison entre les différentes résidences des tétrarques, Wulf-Rheidt 2007.

26 Voir Čanak-Medić/Stojković-Pavelka 2011, 87–98.

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Fig. 2 Péristyle central (d) et couloir Ouest.

ensemble. Mais leur plan ne convient pas bien à cet usage et ils sont plutôt considérés comme de petits triclinia. Pourtant une série de pièces, visibles sur une photographie, à proximité des triclinia, pourrait remplir ce rôle[27]. On pourrait aussi considérer tout l'ensemble Est, pratiquement non fouillé, comme une résidence privée correspondant à la résidence officielle à l'Ouest. Cela serait possible si ces deux parties étaient reliées, ce qui est suggéré par un plan publié, mais pas confirmé par ailleurs[28].

En revenant au palais de Thessalonique, il est à peine besoin d'insister sur la salle basilicale (e); elle a des dimensions proches de la grande salle basilicale de Trêves qui appartenait aussi à un palais impérial de la Tétrarchie[29]. Elle a donc le rôle d'une grande salle d'audience; la nuance éventuelle entre son rôle et la salle octogonale ne peut pas être établie de manière sûre, mais sous une forme différente – avec uniquement des pièces basilicales, on observe un phénomène du même genre dans le Palais de Domitien sur le Palatin. Les résidences de Dioclétien à Spalato et de Galère à Gamzigrad présentent aussi des dédoublements de cette nature. Les sources, à défaut de vestiges monumentaux, qui concernent le palais de Constantinople vont dans le même sens.

Les vestiges au Nord de la basilique restent peu explicites. On connaît essentiellement une pièce à abside située dans l'axe de la basilique, avec une large ouverture de l'abside (9 m.), et orientée dans le sens opposé, l'abside au Nord et non au Sud (h). Elle a été considérée comme un sanctuaire, mais il n'y a guère d'indices qui permettent de conforter cette hypothèse, parfois comme un triclinium, avec des arguments qui retiennent l'attention[30]. On ne peut rien dire de quelques murs isolés retrouvés dans la même zone.

27 Čanak-Medić/Stojković-Pavelka 2011, 87, fig. 46; une partie de ces pièces, réparties autour d'un péristyle, ne sont pas reportées sur les plans XXXIV et XXXV, p. 89, tout en se trouvant sur le plan V, p. 53.

28 *Ibid*., 53, plan V.

29 Sur la salle basilicale de Thessalonique, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 1998; pour Trêves, Goethert/Kiessel 2007; Goethert, notice 1.15.41 du catalogue sur cd-r dans Demandt/Engemann 2007, avec les références antérieures.

30 Si la localisation proposée par Torp 2003, 244, des sondages de Dyggve, est exacte, cette salle pourrait être mise en rapport avec les vestiges qui, d'après Dyggve, étaient ceux de la loge impériale. Mais la documentation fournie ne permet pas de juger de l'exactitude de l'interprétation de Dyggve. Voir Torp 2003, 242, fig. 3 et Dyggve 1941, fig. V, 15. L'interprétation comme triclinium est proposée par Karydas 1996, 583–584, et acceptée par Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 404 n. 76.

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On se retrouve sur un terrain plus solide, mais qui pose aussi des problèmes, à proximité du tétrapyle complexe connu sous le nom d'arc de Galère[31] (j). Une salle monumentale, déjà évoquée ci-dessus (i), pavée de mosaïques, s'ouvre immédiatement sur ce monument[32]. Ses dimensions, le soin de son aménagement, le fait d'être relié à l'arc qui est un monument impérial ont fait penser, depuis sa découverte, qu'elle fait partie du palais. Rien ne vient contredire cette impression, mais peu d'indices sûrs permettaient de le démontrer, même si des marches à sa limite Sud montrent qu'elle est reliée à un ensemble plus vaste, vraisemblablement le palais. Des réflexions récentes sur la réorganisation de l'ensemble de cette zone, liée à l'érection de l'arc de Galère, semblent définitivement prouver que c'est bien le cas[33].

Reste la question de la chronologie de l'ensemble palatial. L'attribution à Galère, du moins un lien avec Galère, ne me semble plus contestée et ne l'a été en fait que très peu. Mais variantes et hypothèses sont encore nombreuses. Sans les discuter ici en détail, je préfère mettre en évidence les conclusions qui me semblent le plus vraisemblables.

Parmi les deux séjours de Galère à Thessalonique, entre 299 et 303, puis, peu avant sa mort, de 308 à 311, c'est, je pense, le premier séjour de Galère qui doit être mis en rapport avec le palais[34]. Mais on a aussi voulu mettre sa construction en relation avec son second séjour à Thessalonique[35]. Il n'y a guère d'argument solide pour cette seconde date, mais elle permet, à ceux qui la proposent, de mettre l'interruption que l'on pense pouvoir observer dans les travaux en rapport avec la mort de Galère. Cela permet, dans un deuxième temps, d'attribuer leur reprise au séjour de Constantin à Thessalonique, une dizaine d'années plus tard[36]. Il paraît néanmoins difficile de penser que la construction du palais ne soit pas en rapport avec la construction du tétrapyle (j). Des premières recherches sur les briques utilisées semblent aller dans ce sens, mais elles doivent être précisées pour devenir vraiment probantes[37]. Il paraît évident que la construction d'un ensemble aussi important a pris un certain temps et qu'il faut supposer que plusieurs équipes y ont travaillé en même temps. Ces circonstances peuvent suffire pour expliquer des variations dans les dimensions des briques, mais qui ont toutes des marques de doigt. Des briques ainsi marquées se trouvent largement utilisées dans toutes les parties centrales du Palais, mais aussi dans l'Arc de Galère, comme dans la Rotonde. En attendant d'éventuelles précisions supplémentaires sur leur emploi, il semble qu'on puisse conclure que le début de la construction du palais, mais aussi de la Rotonde Saint-Georges, est contemporain de l'érection de l'arc de Galère. S'il est possible, à certains endroits, d'observer une chronologie relative, il s'agit plus probablement de deux étapes d'une même phase de construction, séparées peut-être par quelques semaines ou quelques mois[38].

Il a en particulier été observé que certains murs du noyau central (cour à péristyle et couloirs qui l'entourent) s'appuient contre le mur de la basilique et contre l'enceinte de l'octogone sans

31 Sur l'arc de Galère, l'étude de base reste Laubscher 1975. Voir maintenant Mayer 2002, 47–65, avec les références postérieures à Laubscher.

32 Sur les mosaïques de cette salle, Asèmakopoulou-Atzaka 1998, 77–79 et pl. 2–5. Pour des détails sur son aménagement, Lioutas/Mandaki, 1997; Torp 2003, 248–271.

33 Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 394–404. Pour une autre interprétation, Velenis 1996.

34 Pour le premier séjour à Thessalonique, voir, par exemple, Bowman/Cameron/Garnsey 2005, 84; pour le deuxième séjour: Barnes 1982, 61–62.

35 Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a, 252.

36 Cette argumentation servira aussi à attribuer la construction de la Rotonde à Constantin (Ćurčić 2000), ce qui me semble peu probable, mais ne peut pas être absolument exclu sans étude approfondie de l'ensemble du palais. À partir de là, on a aussi voulu attribuer à l'époque de Constantin, les mosaïques de la Rotonde (Bakirtzis/Mastora 2011), ce qui est, par contre, impossible: voir Spieser 2014. Pour ne pas dépasser les cadres de cette contribution, je ne discute pas ici en détail la question de la Rotonde, mais les deux problématiques sont évidemment liées.

37 Pour les briques utilisées dans le palais et dans la Rotonde, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2006; Theoharidou 1991–1992.

38 Contre l'interprétation qu'il ne s'agit que d'étapes d'une même phase de construction: Mentzos 2010. Voir ci-dessous pour une autre série de briques qui permettent de localiser des transformations postérieures.

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leur être liés. La conclusion en a été tirée que le palais – mis d'ailleurs, par les mêmes chercheurs, en rapport avec le second séjour de Galère à Thessalonique – était beaucoup moins développé. On a supposé que soit le noyau central se composait d'une grande cour à péristyle située entre l'octogone et la basilique (mais le fait de considérer le mur qui ferme en partie le péristyle au Nord comme le plus ancien semble s'opposer à toutes les observations faites sur le terrain), soit qu'il y ait une rue à colonnades qui conduirait vers la basilique (mais il n'y en a guère de trace), flanquée de deux temples circulaires, dont l'un serait un premier état de l'octogone, question sur laquelle je reviendrai, et dont l'autre serait la rotonde située plus au Nord, déjà évoquée auparavant. Une autre hypothèse, elle non plus vérifiable, voudrait faire de cette rotonde le mausolée prévu pour Galère, ce qui reposerait la question de l'actuelle Rotonde Saint-Georges. Cette interprétation de l'évolution du palais ne semble, dans l'état actuel des connaissances, ne reposer sur aucune donnée sûre[39].

La question la plus difficile reste celle de l'Octogone. Bien qu'il s'élève au-dessus d'une fondation circulaire, il est peu vraisemblable qu'il y ait eu un premier bâtiment circulaire à cet emplacement, comme il a été supposé dans l'évolution hypothétique de l'ensemble palatial rappelée ci-dessus[40]. Mais il semble bien avoir connu deux phases. La seconde phase serait marquée d'une part par ce qui semble être une réfection ou une reprise des travaux sur l'ensemble du bâtiment, visible par un changement dans l'appareil du mur à environ 1,2 m. au-dessus du sol, d'autre part, par un agrandissement de la conque Nord[41]. Il semble que ces deux transformations soient liées. L'agrandissement de la conque nord paraît attesté, car les fondations de l'ancienne conque (ou du moins son tracé) sont toujours en place[42]. De plus, la nouvelle conque déborde de la fondation circulaire qui porte l'ensemble du bâtiment et qui est élargie à cet emplacement par plusieurs blocs de marbre[43]. Mais là aussi, la durée de l'interruption n'est pas connue. On peut éventuellement penser à un arrêt des travaux entre les deux séjours de Galère. Il peut sembler surprenant, mais on ne peut pas l'exclure, que cette salle n'ait pas été achevée pendant les séjour de Galère à Thessalonique. On a donc aussi suggéré que la première phase de l'octogone, comme celle du reste du Palais datait du second séjour de Galère à Thessalonique, la deuxième phase étant mise en rapport avec le séjour de Constantin. La question est compliquée par la présence d'un ornement en briques en forme d'une croix dans la conque nord, qui n'était certes pas visible sous le revêtement, mais qui, malgré quelques récits plus ou moins romanesques qui ont été inventés, n'a guère pu être mise en place

39 Elle a été développée par Mentzos 2010, 352–354. Elle se trouvait déjà, sous une forme différente dans Mayer 2002, 44–46 uniquement pour ce qui concerne la chronologie relative des couloirs centraux et du péristyle qu'ils entourent par rapport à l'Octogone et à la basilique. Pour la basilique, Mayer donne un argument qui mérite considération: la présence d'un bâtiment à l'Ouest de la basilique pourrait paraître contradictoire avec l'éclairage de celle-ci. On peut objecter à ce raisonnement que la construction ultérieure d'un bâtiment poserait le même problème sauf à supposer que ces couloirs ont été construits lorsque la basilique était hors d'usage, ce qui paraît impossible. Par ailleurs, à Trêves, les fenêtres inférieures sont à environ 7,60 m au-dessus du sol intérieur (voir notice de Goethert, I.15 dans Demandt/Engemann 2007). Il n'est pas impensable de supposer qu'elles aient été situées quelques mètres plus haut à Thessalonique de manière à laisser une hauteur suffisante pour un bâtiment relativement bas s'appuyant contre la basilique.

40 L'existence d'une rotonde, ensuite détruite pour faire place à l'Octogone, est supposée par Mentzos 2010, 342, 346–352. Il semble difficile d'accepter la séquence chronologique proposée par Mentzos dans ces pages: une Rotonde, supposée être un temple construite à cet emplacement au temps du Galère, puis abandonnée et suffisamment endommagée par des »tremblements de terre ou d'autres causes naturelles« (348) pour être démolie jusqu'aux fondations et être remplacée par un Octogone, au VIe siècle (346–347), pour servir de triclinium impérial, puis un changement d'utilisation à la période médio-byzantine. Il serait trop long de discuter ici en détail de cette argumentation et des rapprochements proposés, mais cette séquence semble bien improbable, compte tenu de l'histoire de l'ensemble du palais.

41 Mentzos 2010, 339–340 nie l'existence de ces deux phases. Les photographies publiées ne permettent pas de vérifier l'exactitude de l'une ou l'autre interprétation. Mais, comme on il a été mentionné ci-dessus, je ne partage pas les conclusions de Mentzos sur l'Octogone.

42 Karaberi 2001, 209; Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a, 241–242.

43 Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a, 242.

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sous Galère (Fig. 3). Faut-il aller jusqu'au séjour de Constantin à Thessalonique? C'est possible sans que cela puisse être démontré, mais cela n'implique en rien que l'octogone ait été alors transformé en église. L'idée d'une transformation en église était apparue assez vite après la découverte de l'octogone, liée à celle d'un ambon dans la fouille. Mais il a été rapidement souligné que cet ambon se trouvait dans des déblais bien au-dessus du sol de l'octogone. Il est surprenant de voir cette théorie ressurgir en l'absence de tout aménagement liturgique ou de tout élément de décor qui indiquerait cette transformation. Il faut aussi rappeler l'existence d'une phase plus tardive du palais, peut-être du milieu du Ve siècle, qui a aussi pu concerner l'Octogone[44].

Que l'on inclue des développements qui auraient encore lieu sous Constantin ou qu'on s'en tienne à une phase principale limitée au temps de Galère, on peut dire que nous sommes dans une longue phase de développement organique d'un palais impérial dans une situation historique où les empereurs se déplacent beaucoup et où il y a donc une réelle nécessité d'installations de ce genre. Pendant toute cette durée d'une vingtaine d'années au maximum, les briques employées sont des briques sans marques ou avec de simples empreintes de doigts, comme dans la première phase de la Rotonde et dans l'arc de Galère.

Mais, en d'autres points, une utilisation de briques clairement différentes, confirme l'existence d'une seconde phase, nettement postérieure à la première. Des briques, marquées de lettres isolées, de croix, de monogrammes sont utilisées dans certaines zones, en particulier dans la fermeture partielle de la large communication du côté nord de la cour à péristyle avec le couloir qui longe cette zone centrale, dans le pavement du péristyle central et de certaines des pièces qui l'entourent, ainsi que dans la surélévation de la partie Ouest du pavement de la basilique. Ces mêmes marques ont aussi été trouvées dans la seconde phase de la Rotonde ainsi que dans des monuments dont la date reste encore discutée, mais qui ne sont certainement pas antérieurs à 450, comme les remparts ou l'Acheiropoiètos[45]. Il s'agit donc bien d'une phase liée à des réfections et à des transformations, qu'il faut séparer de la construction du palais. C'est à ce moment qu'un pavement de marbre recouvre une partie des mosaïques des corridors qui entourent le péristyle central[46] (Fig. 4). Ce terminus *non ante quem* serait confirmé par deux monnaies découvertes entre deux niveaux de sol[47]. D'autres transformations, dans le détail desquelles il est inutile d'entrer ici,

44 *Ibid*., 250. C'est la date aussi qu'on attribue parfois à une tombe trouvée dans la conque nord de l'Octogone: *ibid*., 241–242. Voir aussi Markè 2006, 189, fig. 147 et 220 n 40. Pour une photographie, voir Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 2004a, 254, fig. 1. La description donnée par E. Markè ainsi que son dessin font effectivement penser à une tombe paléochrétienne, éventuellement datable du début du Ve siècle, même si cette date ne paraît pas très assurée. Néanmoins elle pose problème si elle est datée d'un moment où le palais est encore en usage; elle ne peut guère être mise en relation avec une éventuelle transformation du bâtiment en église: on ne peut pas imaginer l'ensevelissement d'un corps saint sans autre aménagement (Markè, *loc. cit*. la situe sous l'autel de l'Octogone, mais aucun autel ne semble attesté). Par ailleurs, dans une interprétation très différente, Karaberi 2001, 211 considère que la tombe date d'un moment où l'octogone étai ruiné. Cette tombe, fouillée en 1964, aurait contenu plusieurs squelettes, trois vases et une monnaie de bronze attribuée au règne d'Alexis Ier (communication orale de M. Karaberi à A. Mentzos: Mentzos 2010, 352, n. 59). Cette description semble plutôt convenir à une situation d'urgence. Pour la datation, il ne faut peut-être pas surévaluer la découverte d'une monnaie qui n'est pas nécessairement en lien avec les ensevelissements. D'autres interventions tardives sont liées à l'abandon du palais : le vestibule de l'Octogone a été transformé en citerne, peut-être au VIIe siècle (*ibid*.). Elle serait restée en fonction jusqu'au XIVe siècle: Karaberi 2001, 208. Des précisions supplémentaires sont nécessaires pour tirer cette question au clair.

45 Pour le débat sur les remparts: Spieser 1999; pour l'Acheiropoiètos, voir maintenant Fourlas 2012.

46 C'est sans doute ce dallage qui est mentionné dans Karaberi/Hristodoulidou/Kaïpha 1996, 539, mais les auteurs le datent de la première moitié du Ve siècle; voir aussi Karaberi/Hristodoulidou 2002. Il n'est guère vraisemblable que des travaux soient en relation avec le passage de Galla Placidia et de Valentinien III à Thessalonique où ce dernier fut proclamé César le 23 octobre 424: Martindale 1980, s.v.Placidus Valentinianus 4, 1138–1139.

47 Les articles publiés ne sont pas très clairs à ce sujet: si je comprends bien, Mentzos 2010 mentionne deux monnaies de Marcien et de Léon Ier découvertes entre le pavement de marbre et les mosaïques du corridor au Nord du péristyle central. Il renvoie à Karaberi 1990–1996, 126, mais à cet endroit, l'auteur mentionne deux monnaies de la première moitié du Ve siècle qui ont été trouvées entre deux sols, dans un couloir sud dont la localisation n'est pas évidente.

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Fig. 3 Octogone, conque Nord.

Fig. 4 Couloir au Nord du péristyle.

sont sans doute à peu près contemporaines ou même postérieures. Elles concernent les thermes et un bâtiment, dont la première utilisation n'est pas très claire, mais dont le premier étage est alors transformé en citerne[48]. Cette transformation n'a de sens que s'il y a des changements dans l'alimentation en eau, dus sans doute à la fin de l'utilisation de certaines conduites, et, sans doute, des changements dans l'utilisation du palais. Ceux-ci pourraient concerner la partie du palais au Sud de ces thermes; il pourrait même s'agir, mais il faut reconnaître que nous sommes là dans le pur domaine de l'hypothèse, de l'abandon d'une partie du palais qui ne sert alors plus de résidence impériale. Nous sommes alors au plus tôt environ un demi-siècle après que le palais ait été occupé par Théodose Ier, mais nous pouvons aussi bien être déjà au VIe siècle.

D'après le contenu de l'article, il paraît plutôt en rapport avec le péristyle au sud de l'octogone qu'avec l'ensemble au Nord. Il est difficile donc d'en tirer des conclusions précises assurées, mais cela implique bien, si l'identification des monnaies est exacte, des travaux importants datés au plus tôt du milieu du Ve siècle.

48 Sur ces thermes, Athanasiou/Malama/Miza/Sarantidou 1999; pour le bâtiment mentionné, *id.*, 1997, 412–414.

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Ces remaniements tardifs sont certainement à mettre en relation avec une seule et même phase, quelle que soit sa date précise, mais le milieu du Ve siècle est un terminus post quem. Ils ne sont plus liés à un séjour impérial; mais ils montrent que le palais était toujours utilisé, peut-être comme structure administrative, peut-être, mais cela reste de l'hypothèse, comme résidence du préfet de l'Illyricum. Les conditions de la fouille n'ont pas permis de déterminer la durée de l'utilisation du palais; une date du VIIe siècle est parfois indiquée, mais sans argument solide. *A contrario*, la venue de Justinien II à Thessalonique n'est évidemment pas une indication sur une utilisation de cet ensemble encore au VIIIe siècle.

Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, telles qu'il est possible de les appréhender à travers les publications des fouilles, on saisit un palais dont la construction de manière évidente s'étale sur une assez longue durée. Cela n'a au fond rien de surprenant pour un ensemble aussi important. L'utilisation des mêmes briques dans le tétrapyle, »l'arc de Galère« et dans le palais, me fait paraître raisonnable et prudent d'admettre que la construction du palais est en relation avec le premier séjour de Galère; peut-être interrompue à l'occasion du départ de Galère, elle a été reprise pour son deuxième séjour[49]. Il faut quand même envisager la possibilité que cette chronologie doive être décalée, avec une première étape durant le second séjour de Galère et un achèvement sous Constantin, mais cette possibilité devrait être étayée plus solidement. Elle ne devrait surtout pas être un prétexte pour, par une sorte de raisonnement circulaire, donner une importance décisive aux interventions de Constantin à Thessalonique, qui n'ont laissé aucune trace dans les sources sauf en ce qui concerne la construction d'un véritable port[50]. Enfin, il faut souligner l'importance des découvertes montrant que le palais, même quand il ne servait plus de résidence impériale, était encore suffisamment utilisé pour justifier d'importants travaux, y compris la mise en place dans les couloirs de la zone centrale d'un dallage de marbre. Son abandon définitif n'est pas encore vraiment documenté. Le VIIe siècle est souvent suggéré, mais c'est moins en raison de données spécifiques assurées que parce que cette date a été proposée pour d'autres transformations observés dans des monuments de Thessalonique, mais qui ne sont pas non plus toujours établies avec certitude. Cette date, pour l'abandon du palais, ne peut certes pas être exclue, mais ne peut d'aucune façon être considérée comme prouvée.

49 C'est en particulier la conclusion de Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 393–394 qui s'appuie sur la datation et l'interprétation qu'elle propose de l'arc sculpté auquel il a été fait allusion ci-dessous: la représentation de l'Augusta Galeria Valeria entraînerait une datation 308–311 de cet arc. Il faut faire remarquer que, même si on accepte cette interprétation de l'arc en question, sa mise en place n'est pas nécessairement liée à un important ensemble de travaux dans cette zone. Il pourrait aussi bien s'agit d'un remaniement localisé. Comme il n'a pas été trouvé *in situ*, il est difficile de trancher cette question. Malgré cette restriction, l'hypothèse d'une reprise des travaux dans le palais pour le second séjour de Galère reste possible.

50 Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle*, éd. Paschoud (collection Belles-Lettres), Paris 2000, II, 22, 1.

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Philipp Niewöhner

The late Late Antique origins of Byzantine palace architecture

Introduction

Byzantine palace architecture is commonly conceptualised as part of the Middle Ages, a world apart from its Roman and late antique predecessor.[1] The caesura was brought about by urban decline and barbarian invasions that plunged the empire into a Dark Age. This put an end to the ancient palace tradition of large urban complexes with one or several peristyle courts, tall and imposing reception halls and a sprawling array of interior passages and rooms. In contrast, later Byzantine palaces are typically centred on a single block-shaped unit that is often several storeys high and deploys an exterior façade. The striking difference is thought to have come about through imitation of the new Medieval court cultures that had emerged in the lost parts of the Roman Empire.

R. Krautheimer and others before and after him have suggested a Western influence on Byzantine palace architecture,[2] for example from Venice, where block-shaped palaces are attested from the thirteenth century onwards and one of the oldest, the Ca'da Mosto, is associated with Byzantium through its marble façade.[3] Another example is the *Palatium Comunis* or town hall of the Genoese colony at Galata/Constantinople that was erected in the thirteenth century and rebuilt in the fourteenth.[4] A parallel case has been made for bell towers that became a common feature of Greek churches from the thirteenth century onwards and seem to have been inspired by the older Latin tradition.[5] Alternatively, S. Çağaptay and others have more recently proposed Eastern, Armenian and/or Seljuk models for Byzantine palaces.[6]

Both these scenarios are focused on late Byzantine palaces at Nymphaeum, Constantinople, Mystras and perhaps at Syllaion and Eskihisar/Niketiaton, but do not account for similar middle Byzantine palaces, for example the tenth century palace at the Myrelaion in Constantinople and the rock-cut mansions of the Cappadocian aristocracy.[7] These date from a period when the Venetians, Genoese, Armenians and Seljuks had yet to become rival powers and erect comparable palaces of their own.[8] Instead, T. Mathews has advocated an Arab origin for the middle Byzantine palace architecture of Constantinople and Cappadocia.[9] Mathews's argumentation is based on similarities in ground plan and façade articulation rather than on the block form that is central to Krautheimer's and Çağaptay's comparisons. Otherwise the logic is the same: the Byzantines must have imitated their neighbours, and it stands to reason that they should have looked to the Arabs first and to the Venetians, Genoese, Armenians and/or Seljuks later, as these powers replaced each other over time.

1 I would like to thank Michael Featherstone for the invitation to participate in the colloquium and for editorial revision of this text, Urs Peschlow for advice on Eskihisar/Niketiaton as well as Fig. 8 and Marek Jankowiak for Fig. 9 and 10.

2 Krautheimer 1986, 449–450; Ćurčić 2010, 271, 353f., 528–531.

3 Schulz 1999; Schulz 2004.

4 Müller-Wiener 1977, 243 fig. 274.

5 Mparla 1959; Hallensleben 1966; Ousterhout 1987, 106–110; Berger 2004; Ousterhout 2006, 751f., 762; Niewöhner 2010a, 222–229. Others argue for an older tradition of Byzantine bell towers from the middle Byzantine period: Ćurčić 1988, 68–73; Bouras 2001, 257; Ćurčić 2010, 831–833.

6 Asutay-Effenberger 2008; Çağaptay 2010; Cf. Hunt 1984, 147.

7 See below notes 56 (Nymphaeum), 55 (Constantinople), 54 (Syllaion), 66 (Myrelaion), 25 (Cappadocia), and Kalligas/Kalligas 1985/1986; Ćurčić/Hadjitryphonos 1997, 242245; Ćurčić 2010, 584586 (bibliography).

8 Kittell/Madden 1999; Edwards 1987; Redford 1993.

9 Mathews/Daskalakis-Mathews 1997.

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All this results in a good narrative that is rich in intricate detail and has an appealing comprehensive story line. The mix of various influences reflects our own contemporary experience and meets the current academic trend towards interdisciplinary co-operation. Thanks to the material evidence Byzantium emerges as a melting pot of various Levantine cultures and as an exciting subject for modern scholarship, although the literary sources may frequently give the impression of a hermetic society with a fixation on antiquity. To see the often haughty and elitist Byzantines tacitly acknowledging the superiority of their new barbarian neighbours by imitating their palaces is a matter of great satisfaction to everyone. Whilst pretending to uphold the monolithic tradition of the Roman Empire, the Byzantines in fact appear to yield to post-Roman pluralism.

It is with mixed feelings that I shall in the following suggest a different story, simpler and more homogenous, a purely Byzantine development that reaffirms Romano-Byzantine hegemony. This face is the result of new archaeological discoveries that appear to narrow and close the gap between late antiquity and Byzantium, with neither necessity nor room for any barbarian influence. I shall first discuss urban mansions and the late antique roots of Cappadocian rock-cut architecture, secondly the evidence of some late antique monasteries, thirdly rural houses and the late antique origin of the block form, fourthly defensive features and the legacy of rural tower-houses; and finally, I shall turn to the special case of Constantinople in an attempt to establish the relation between aristocratic and imperial palaces. In the end, middle Byzantine palaces appear to continue a late antique tradition that runs parallel to Arab architecture, but does not depend on it. Later, the Romano-Byzantine tradition seems to have been imitated in East and West just as the church of San Marco in Venice was also inspired by Byzantine architecture rather than the other way round.[10]

Urban mansions and the late antique origin of Cappadocian rock-cut architecture

Mathews's main point of comparison between middle Byzantine and Arab palace architecture is the combination of a transverse entrance hall that gives onto a longitudinal reception hall with perpendicular orientation, the so-called inverted T-plan.[11] The entrance hall often has arcades that give onto a courtyard. The same occurs already in the late antique Bishop's Palace at Miletus on the west coast of Asia Minor (Fig. 1). This large urban mansion incorporates an oratory of St Michael, that identifies the complex as the Episcopal residence and was rebuild in the early seventh century.[12] The residence underwent major remodelling already in the first half of the fifth century, changing it from a more modest late Roman peristyle house into an imposing early Byzantine palace.[13] The former peristyle court was enlarged, roofed and turned into an extraordinarily large reception hall of approximately 12 × 21 m, which was accessed through a transverse entrance hall of roughly 5 × 30 m terminating in an apse. On the other side, the entrance hall seems to have had an arcade that gave onto an unpaved courtyard.[14] The complex is located in the city centre that was newly fortified in the seventh century and may have been in use into the middle Byzantine period.[15]

10 Demus 1960; Papacostas 2010; Barry 2011. Schulz 2004, 13–17, 74–76 dismisses any Byzantine influence on the development of Venetian palace architecture, but also admits to arguing *ex silentio* from a lack of knowledge about middle Byzantine palace architecture.

11 Mathews/Daskalakis-Mathews 1997, 304–309.

12 Müller-Wiener 1977/78.

13 Müller-Wiener 1988.

14 The courtyard was excavated in 2013.

15 Niewöhner 2011a; Niewöhner 2013b.

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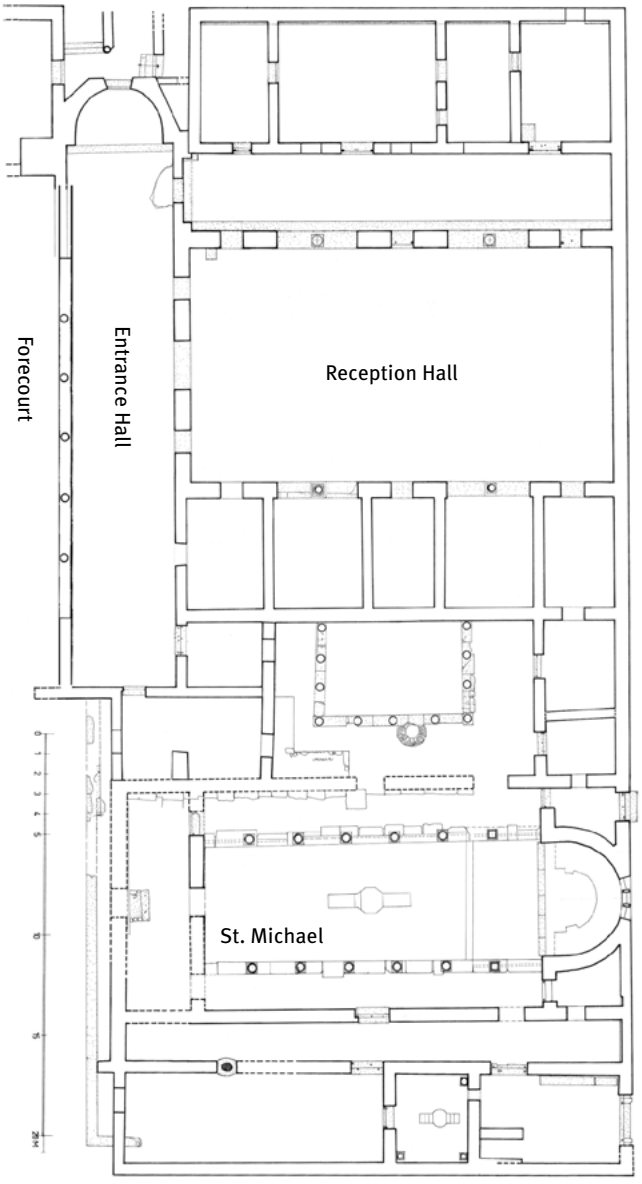

Fig. 1 Miletus, Bishop's Palace with forecourt, transverse and arcaded entrance hall and perpendicular reception hall.

Similarly, the "Byzantine Palace" at Ephesus further north along the west coast of Asia Minor was also centred on a tall and partially domed reception unit and an even longer transverse entrance hall with apses, an arcade and a courtyard.[16] The palace dates from the fifth century and was in use at least into the seventh and possibly the tenth century, when it was partially dismantled and subdivided into smaller units. The palaces at Miletus and Ephesus cannot have been the only late antique residences of their kind; others must have also remained in use over a longer period of time, and it is more likely that middle Byzantine palaces followed this tradition rather than imitated Arab architecture.

The argument for a purely Byzantine tradition is further strengthened by a late antique starting date for some of the Cappadocian complexes under consideration, for example the settlement in the vicinity of the Canlı Kilise. Some outlying parts of the settlement contained only late antique pottery and seem to have been abandoned before the middle Byzantine period. The main

16 Pülz 2010, 554–556.

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settlement was clearly in use in the middle Byzantine period; it may also originate from late antiquity, but any late antique sherds would of course have been cleared away and superseded during the later occupation.[17]

The characteristic arcaded decoration of many Cappadocian rock-cut façades has also been traced back to late antiquity, and this touches on Mathews's other point of comparison with Arab architecture. Mathews observes that horseshoe arches occur in Cappadocia and in the Islamic world, in particular in Spain, where he identifies the closest parallels for the Cappadocian façades and argues that they should all have been inspired by Arab architecture.[18] It goes without saying that Byzantine Cappadocia cannot have been influenced directly from Islamic Spain, but that the two cultures must share a common archetype. More recent research suggests that the archetype is more likely to be found in late antiquity than in early Medieval Arab architecture.[19] Horseshoe arches are well attested in late antique Anatolia,[20] as are façades with arcaded decoration. In the special case of Cappadocian rock-cut architecture some horseshoe arches and numerous arcades have recently been ascribed to late antiquity through their association with datable features like crosses.[21] Turning to constructed architecture, the arcaded façades of middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia can also be linked to late antique predecessors,[22] and the hypothesis of a Muslim Arab influence seems arbitrary in comparison.

The evidence of some late antique monasteries

The rock-cut complexes of Cappadocia are sometimes likened to late antique peristyle houses, because in both cases rooms are arranged around a courtyard,[23] but there are differences. Whilst the late antique houses were typically centred on interior peristyle courts,[24] most Cappadocian complexes consist each of a low courtyard that gives on and is overlooked by the façade of the main tract.[25] Consequently, most courtyards have only one portico that abuts the main façade and doubles as the transverse entrance hall of the reception room. Whilst the peristyle houses can be seen to turn inwards, thus avoiding the hustle of their often busy urban locations, the Cappadocian complexes communicated with the outside, as the upper storeys of their main façades overlooked the low courtyards and afforded the inhabitants splendid views across the countryside in keeping with their rural locations.

Similar combinations of low courtyards with taller arcaded façades also occur in late antique monasteries of central Anatolia. At Germia in Galatia and on Karacadağ/Binbirkilise in Lycaonia late antique monasteries are centred on a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by living quarters and on the fourth by the church with a tall, two-storeyed narthex façade (Fig. 2 and 3).[26] At Germia, where the monastery is probably to be identified with St Mary of Aligete, the courtyard is rectangular and the church on the east side as well as a central gateway on the west side are

17 Ousterhout 2011, 93–215.

18 Mathews/Daskalakis-Mathews 1997, 299–304.

19 Arbeiter 1996.

20 Arbeiter 1996, pl. 6. 7 (Binbirkilise, Demirçiören); Donabédian 2008, fig. 8. 66. 98. 104. 388. 389. 392 (Armenia and Tao-Klarjeti).

21 Lemaigre Demesnil 2010, 159 and passim.

22 Niewöhner (in press).

23 Warland 2013, 38, uses the term "atrium house", but what he has in mind are clearly the many late antique houses with peristyle courts, not the older Etruscan tradition of simple interior courtyards without peristyles.

24 Baldini Lippolis 2001; Manière-Lévêque 2006; Lavan/Özgenel/Sarantis 2007; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2007; Rautman 2008; Berenfeld 2009; Pülz 2010, 553f.

25 Kalas 2007; Warland 2008; Ousterhout 2011, 165–181; Warland 2013, 33–41.

26 Bell/Ramsay 1909, 199–209, fig. 164; Niewöhner 2013c, 105f.

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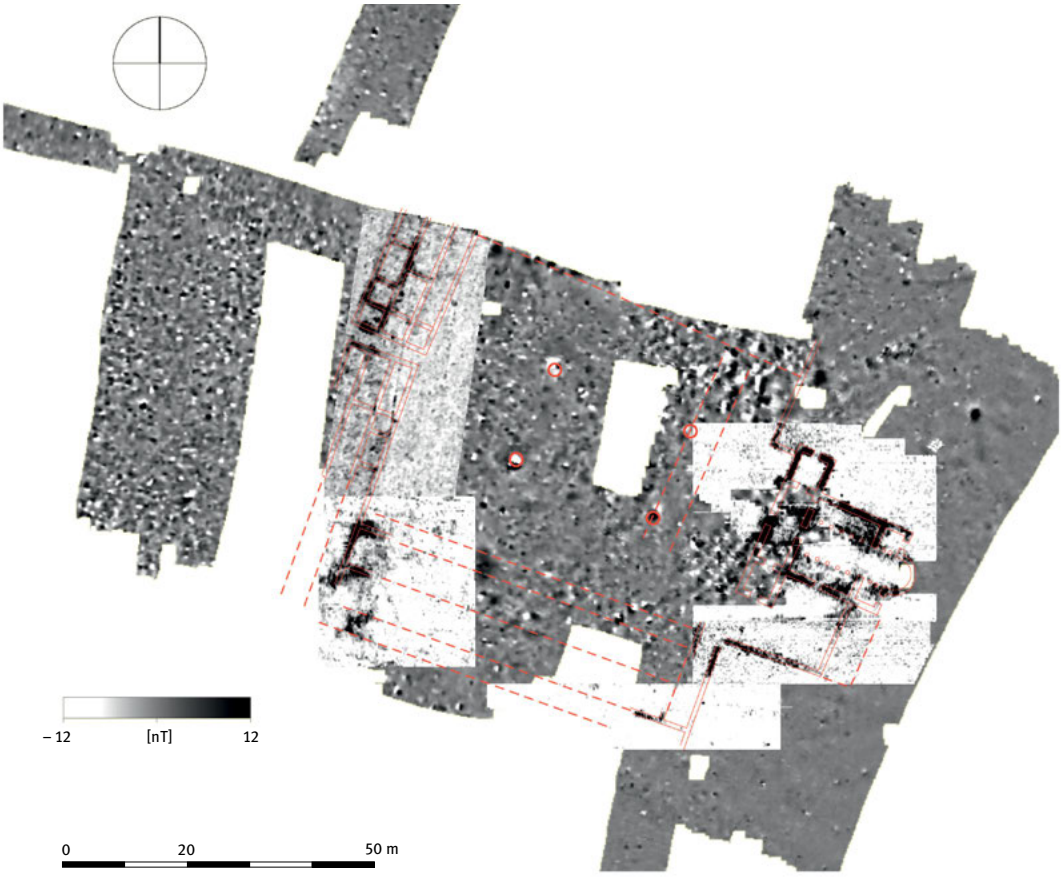

Fig. 2 Germia in Galatia, geophysical prospection of a late antique monastery, probably St Mary of Aligete.

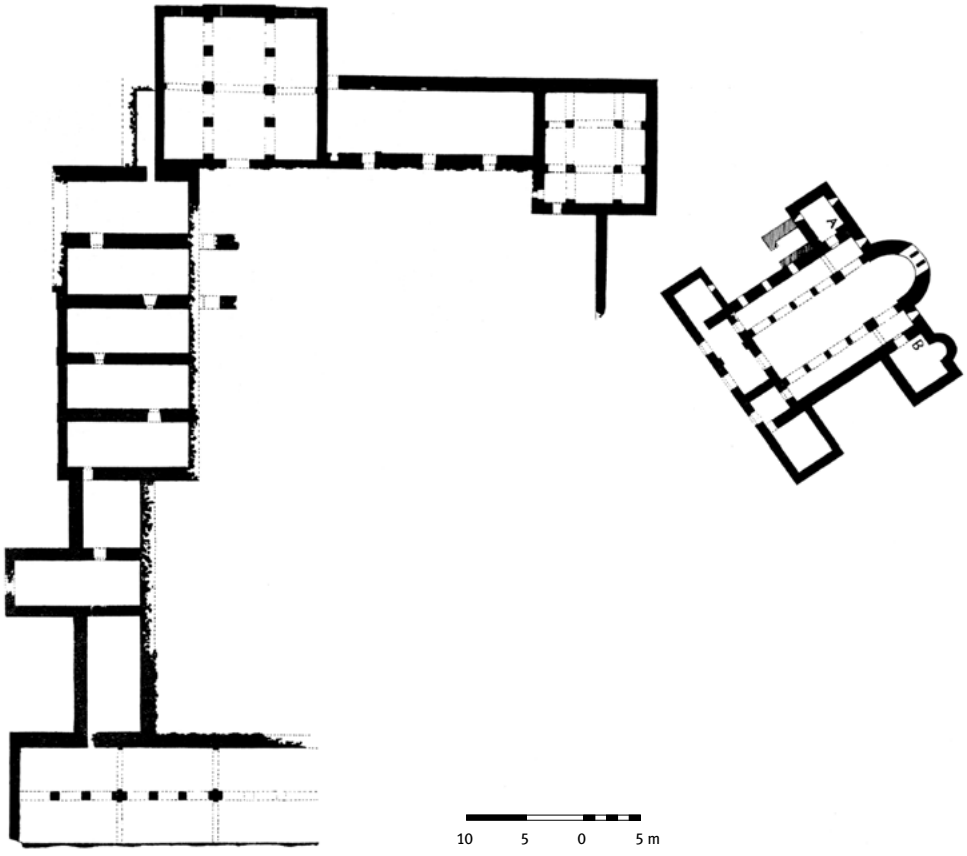

Fig. 3 Monastery no. 43 on Karacadağ / Binbirkilise in Lycaonia.

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aligned to the same axis. The overall symmetry and the large dimensions of the square and the surrounding buildings suggest that the monastery was laid out and build systematically according to a master plan and with considerable funds, possibly donated by the otherwise unknown Aligete. The church was built on higher ground above the courtyard and must have been visible from afar. The narthexes at Germia and at Binbirkilise are of the same extra wide regional type with outer compartments that housed staircases and indicate upper storeys. At the church of St Michael also at Germia the same kind of extra wide, two-storeyed narthex survived into the 19th century and had an arcaded façade.[27] The narthex façade of St Mary of Aligete may have been arcaded, too, because it has the same buttresses as St Michael.

The overall layout of the monasteries with large courtyards that give onto tall, arcaded façades compares to the Cappadocian rock-cut complexes as well as to the urban mansions or "palaces" at Miletus and at Ephesus, where the position of narthex-cum-basilica is instead taken up by a similar combination of transverse entrance hall and longitudinal reception hall. The parallels may not be coincidental. Macrina, the sister of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, turned their ancestral estate into one of the first monastic foundations of its kind in Cappadocia;[28] this may have established a precedent that was later followed by other aristocratic donors like Aligete even when building anew.

Rural houses and the late antique origin of the block form

Similar combinations of low courtyards with taller houses have been a common feature in the Anatolian countryside at least since late antiquity. This is best attested in Lycia and Cilicia along the south coast of Asia Minor, where many such houses have survived thanks to lasting lime mortar masonry and an inaccessible topography.[29] The Cilician monuments are mostly farm houses with no palatial aspirations, but some more ambitious specimens include porticoes in their courtyards, and as in Cappadocia the side that abuts the house and main façade was typically the first also to receive a portico. The living quarters were always on the upper floor and had a view across the courtyard, whilst the ground floor often contains agricultural installations. Similar tall houses and low courtyards with or without porticoes are also attested in the late antique villages of the north Syrian limestone massif, and there the main façade of the living quarters on the upper storey is sometimes also sumptuously decorated with stone carving.[30]

A few late antique houses in rural Cilicia, Lycia and Caria stand out for their simple block form without courtyards or agricultural installations, but with relatively large, up to five meter high rooms; for sophisticated features like large multiple windows, balconies, arched niches and apses, toilets and even baths; for an extraordinary building quality and carved as well as painted decoration; and also for an unusually good state of preservation. One house, the so-called Sinekkale in Cilicia, has tentatively been identified as the residence of a local squire.[31] Another house that is called Kirse Yanı and lies in Caria may have served a similar purpose, as it also occupies an isolated location in the centre of a larger tract of cultivated land (Fig. 4 and 5).[32] It stands next to a brook and had its own bath with three heated rooms integrated into its block form (Fig. 6).

27 Niewöhner/Rheidt 2010, 137f., fig. 1; Niewöhner 2013c, 128f., fig. 50, 56, 58. For other such narthexes see for example Morganstern 1983; Ivantchik/von Kienlin/Summerer 2010, 128–131.

28 Callahan/Cavarnos/Jaeger 1986, 377, 24/378, 8; Hornung/Rubenson 2012, 1043–1046.

29 Varinlioğlu 2007; Ceylan 2009; Eichner 2011; Işler 2013.

30 Eichner 2009 (bibliography).

31 Dagron/Callot 1998, 58–61; Eichner 2008; Eichner 2011, 287–313.

32 Giese/Niewöhner (forthcoming).

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Fig. 4 Kirse Yanı in Caria occupies an isolated location in the centre of a larger tract of cultivated land, from west.

Fig. 5 Kirse Yanı, main room looking north: three high windows on the ground floor and one large panoramic window on the first floor.

A third such house sits on a low elevation next to the harbour of Andriake in Lycia.[33] Andriake was neither a polis nor an agricultural village, and few, small and barred windows on the ground floor may indicate the storage of goods and thus perhaps involvement in trade (Fig. 7). The overall block

33 Niewöhner 2012, 228–231.

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form and layout, large panoramic windows on the upper floor and a general superiority over all other houses at the site are in keeping with the aforementioned monuments and would appear to indicate elite occupancy also at Andriake. A private bath was not a necessity, as a public one was available nearby.[34]

The three houses attest to a late antique elite presence outside the cities in a format that has more in common with the palaces of the later Byzantine period than with the peristyle houses of the Roman tradition. The abandonment of the peristyle may in part be explained by the rural setting with appealing surroundings and no need for a protected interior courtyard. The rural houses also have fewer and smaller rooms, and the overall mass of construction seems too small to contain a peristyle; in the countryside there would have been fewer people – clients and other visitors – to be accommodated at any one time. Moreover, the representational appeal of a peristyle may have been deemed unnecessary outside the cities, where there was no ancient tradition of columns and porticoes that one had to live up to.

In the absence of an interior peristyle court or any large halls, the block form was the most obvious and economic shape for any building, particularly if one wanted to build high in order to impress and have a view. In comparison, the courtyard in many Cilician and Syrian farm houses appears even less as an allusion to a representational peristyle and more as a functional feature, and the same has also been suggested for the Cappadocian rock-cut complexes.[35] One may usefully think of the difference between an early modern farm house with stables and barns, all of which may surround an interior square, and a manor house in splendid isolation.

In late antiquity, the block shaped elite houses started to appear in the countryside in the fifth or sixth century. The dating is circumstantial, but nevertheless compelling.[36] At the same time peristyle houses, many of which had been erected or renovated in the late-fourth and early-fifth centuries during the last urban building boom of antiquity, went out of fashion, and many were given up, subdivided into smaller units and/or fell into disrepair.[37] The demise of the peristyle house was part of a more general decline of urban architecture that also affected colonnaded streets and even city walls, all of which had last been built or renovated in the Theodosian period, but were disused soon after and often in a state of disrepair by the sixth century.[38] The urban decline appears to have been linked to the so-called "flight of the curiales", the disappearance of the traditional urban elites, who began to avoid previously sought after positions in the urban administration.[39] These positions were apparently not lucrative any more after the administration had been changed, and the elites seem to have lost interest in urban affairs altogether, hence the decline in elite housing and civic architecture.[40]

Simultaneously, the countryside seems to have done well in the fifth and sixth centuries and may even have benefitted from a reduction of urban building; this could have eased the tax burden and left more of the surplus to be spent on rural sites.[41] Their size and number increased, indicating that more people could now be fed.[42] Moreover, many rural settlements were for the first time embellished with architectural sculpture that was commonly employed for the decoration

34 Niewöhner 2012, 224–228; Bulut/Çevik 2014.

35 Warland 2008.

36 See above notes 29–32.

37 Niewöhner 2007a, 90–91 (bibliography); Waelkens et al. 2007; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2007; Rose 2011, 161f.

38 Saradi 2006, 209–352; Niewöhner 2007a, 87–89 (bibliography colonnaded streets); Martens2007; Niewöhner 2011a; Hannestad 2014, 246–247.

39 Jones 1964, 737–757; Liebeschuetz 2001; Laniado 2002, 1–129; Saradi 2006, 148–185.

40 Brandes/Haldon 2000; Brandes 2002.

41 Niewöhner 2011b.

42 Cook 1973, 369–373; Dappner/Vermeulen/Wiedemann 1998, 132 fig. 10; Devreker/Vermeulen 1998, 257; Baird 2004; Blanton 2000, 60. However, De Staebler/Ratté 2011, observe a reduction in late antique settlement and population in the region of Aphrodisias in Caria.

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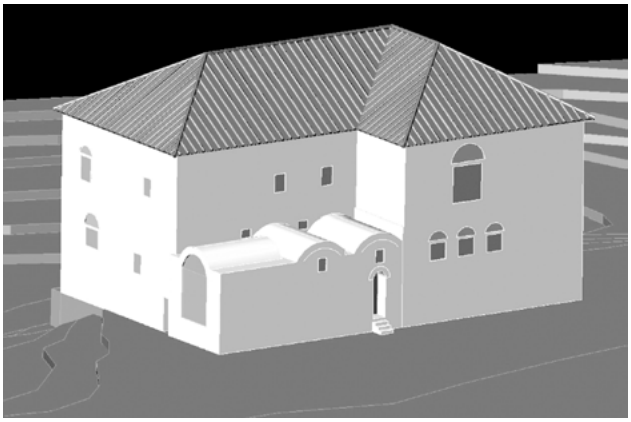

Fig. 6 Kirse Yanı, reconstruction with three hot and barrel vaulted bath rooms at the southwest corner.

Fig. 7 Andriake in Lycia; the ground floor with a small and barred window is half buried under a sand dune, from northeast.

of church buildings and sometimes also for houses.[43] In this context the elite houses at Sinekkale, Kirse Yanı and Andriake appear as part of a more general tendency towards ruralisation. This development continued during the middle Byzantine period[44] and could also be observed in other parts of the former empire, when the Roman impetus towards urbanisation had subsided.[45] The relatively good preservation of the rural houses in Anatolia indicates that they stayed in use until relatively recently and were never replaced and dismantled, as was the case of their urban counterparts.

Confirmation that the country house had become the normal residence of the Anatolian aristocracy comes from later written sources.[46] The best evidence concerns the following four cases.

43 Niewöhner 2006, 242–245; Niewöhner 2007a, 80–81; Niewöhner 2007b.
44 Niewöhner 2013b; Niewöhner (in press).
45 Wickham 2005.
46 Whittow 1995, 62–65; Schreiner 1997; Kaplan 2012.

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When imperial envoys, charged with the task of finding a bride for the young Constantine VI at the end of the eighth century, caught sight of St Philaretos the Merciful's house in the north Anatolian province of Paphlagonia, they assumed that it was the residence of an aristocrat because of its age, size and beauty. They were not wrong, as they later found out when they came into its large and beautiful dining room with an old, round and gilded ivory table.[47] Some two centuries later, when a well-connected man of power, Philokales, took control of a village, he built his own new house there – a house later demolished when the Emperor Basil II punished him for abuse of power.[48] The other two pieces of evidence refer to the second half of the eleventh century. The inventory of a rural domain close to the Maeander estuary near Miletus lists an old aristocratic house with a domed dining room and a separate, marble-clad bath.[49] Another such house, this time in Bithynia in northwest Anatolia, presumably in an isolated location, was the place where Isaac and Alexios Komnenos with their entourage were surprised by Turkish horsemen in 1073.[50] The Byzantines eventually managed a successful breakout after initially holding off the Turks, which suggests that the house had defensive features.

As the later Byzantine aristocracy was often based on large rural landholdings[51] and urban life had practically ceased by the middle Byzantine period, it makes sense that the many rural houses should now set the tone.[52] The architectural development mirrors the social change from the city based elites of late antiquity to the landed aristocracy of the middle and late Byzantine periods. What remains to be explained is the defensive aspect of Byzantine palaces that is apparent in the adventure of Isaac and Alexios Komnenos and also in some of the surviving monuments and sets them apart from late antique houses.

Defensive features and the legacy of rural tower-houses

The tower-house at Eskihisar/Niketiaton in Bithynia, the palace at Syllaion in Pamphylia and the Tekfur Saray in Istanbul are perched on top of the city walls. The castle of Eskihisar on the northern shore of the Gulf of Izmit/Nicomedia may be identified with Niketiaton, where John IV Lascaris was confined for life, after Michael VIII Palaeologus had usurped the throne and recaptured Constantinople in 1261.[53] The castle contains a defensible tower-house that forms part of the northern enceinte as well as occupying a hillock. The layered masonry of single bricks and ashlars, including cloisonné and brick ornaments, suggests a middle/late Byzantine date (Fig. 8). The outer, north wall of the house that faced the enemy as well as the weather is up to 3 m thick and has no windows. The west and south walls include arched windows on the two upper storeys that overlooked the castle and would also have offered panoramic views across the gulf. The interior forms a rectangle of 10 × 15,20 m and does not appear to have been subdivided. Following a vaulted, windowless ground floor and a lower second floor, the third floor reached a height of 4,30 m and could claim palacial character.

47 *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas,* ed. by L. Rydén, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 8, Uppsala 2002, 385–387 (house), 416–420 (dining room).

48 J. & P. Zepos, *Ius graecoromanum*, Athens 1931, I, 265. Cf. Magdalino 1984, 95.

49 *Vyzantina engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou* II*, Dēmosiōn leitourgōn,* ed. by M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Athens 1980, 7–9, 103–121.

50 *Nicephori Bryennii Historiarum libri quattuor,* ed. and translated by P. Gautier, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 9, Brussels 1975, 157–161.

51 Cheynet 2000; Haldon 2009, 182–192.

52 The same is suggested for Greece: Sigalos 2004; Kourelis 2005. From the evidence of written sources, Schreiner 1997, 312–316 concludes that in the Byzantine period there was no principal difference between urban and rural houses.

53 Foss 1996b, 50–58.

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Fig. 8 Eskihisar/Niketiaton in Bithynia, 2nd and 3rd storey of the west-façade of the tower-house, including arched windows (centre) and a decorative brick medallion (left).

Fig. 9 Syllaion in Pamphylia; the palace towers high on top of the acropolis walls, from southwest.

The palace at Syllaion is the most outstanding Byzantine building of that ancient city and towers high atop the acropolis walls (Fig. 9).[54] The tall and windowless lower part of the south façade conveys a defensive character, but there is a doorway on the ground floor, and the narrow east side of the building also has a window; it forms a square opening in an off-centre position without aesthetic appeal, but at ca. 0.5 × 1 m it is sufficiently large to illuminate the interior (Fig. 10). In contrast, the arched windows of the upper story are arranged in a regular fashion and overlook the surrounding plain. Typically, the large interior rectangle of 5,65 × 11,60 m does not appear to have been subdivided. The outer walls are only about 1 m thick. The palace may have been the residence of an imperial representative, who in the middle Byzantine period was based at Syllaion; it must in any case date from before 1207, when the city was lost to the Turks.

The Tekfur Saray in Istanbul is similarly attached to the land walls and also combines a tall and unapproachable lower zone and a lofty top storey with a row of panoramic south windows (Fig. 11).[55] The contrast between the two zones is further enhanced by the use of massive ashlar masonry below and colourful brickwork above. The defensive character is again qualified by another elevation, in this case the one opposite on the north side that gives onto a walled yard and displays a rhythmical arrangement of arched openings and brickwork on all three storeys. The interior is roughly 10 m wide and 15 m long and may at some point have been subdivided, as is suggested by vertical scars on the inner faces of the outer walls that appear to be traces of parti-

54 Foss 1996a, 20–21; Hellenkemper/Hild 2004, 400–401; Küpper 1996, 262 fig. 6 (site plan).

55 Van Millingen 1899, 109–114; Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, 95–100, pl. 44–51; Mango 1965, 334–336; Ćurčić/Hadjitryphonos 1997, 248–251; Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 135–142; Bouras 2007, 98 f.; Ćurčić 2010, 528–530.

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Fig. 10 Syllaion, interior and east wall with a square window in an off-centre position; a corner of the south door is visible on the right.

Fig. 11 Istanbul, Tekfur Saray as in 2007, south elevation with massive ashlar masonry below and colourful brickwork above.

tions. The Tekfur Saray can be identified with the palace of the Porphyrogenitus Constantine, the third son of Michael VIII (1259–1282).

The palace at rural Nymphaeum near Magnesia/Manisa stands on its own in a commanding position close to a particularly rich spring and with a view across a fertile plain.[56] Massive ground floor walls of pure ashlar masonry are reminiscent of a defensive tower and make the building appear strong and unapproachable, whilst the upper zone is again enlivened by brickwork and three consecutive rows of windows (Fig. 12). The architecture conveys the impression of a solid base and three upper storeys, although the lowest row of windows in fact illuminates the ground floor (Fig. 13). The façade pretends to more storeys than actually exist, a typical device of later Byzantine architecture. The interior is roughly 10 m wide and twice as long. The palace may be the one that the Laskarid emperors visited at Nymphaeum during the Byzantine exile from Constantinople (1204–1261), when the nearby city of Magnesia also gained in importance.

The defensive qualities of the palaces at Syllaion and Nymphaeum as well as the Tekfur Saray seem overstated. None of them would serve any practical purpose as a military installation, and the architectural references to fortifications appear pretentious. They may, however, have been included following examples such as the tower-house at Eskihisar/Niketiation because aristocratic representation had become associated with fortifications and many more residences in rural Anatolia may in fact have been properly defensive tower-houses. Such towers and tower-houses are well attested in the late antique Near East, where vast areas of semi-desert outside the cities were under relatively weak control and widely dispersed landowners needed to protect themselves and/or their harvest.[57] After the collapse of the Byzantine frontier such towers were also built in Anatolia. Surviving examples in the Maeander valley area may have belonged to monastic landholdings which would have needed protection from the eleventh century onwards, when security

56 Buchwald 1979, 263–268; Çağaptay 2010.
57 Decker 2006.

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Fig. 12 Nymphaeum near Magnesia/ Manisa; massive ground floor walls of pure ashlar masonry appear unapproachable, whilst the upper zone is enlivened by brickwork and three rows of windows; from southwest.

Fig. 13 Nymphaeum, interior looking east; the lowest row of windows is illuminating the ground floor.

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was eroded with the arrival of the Turks.[58] The monasteries themselves were also fortified, and the lay population must have built fortified tower-houses, as is also attested for Byzantine Greece and for the Ottoman period.[59] In all these cases the defensive features signified landownership and power; this prestige value may explain why such features were included in aristocratic palaces even when they did not serve any defensive function.

Constantinople and the relation of aristocratic and imperial palaces

Constantinople is a special case because of the imperial palace and administration that continued from late antiquity through the Byzantine period and required constant elite representation. Written sources such as the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* from the eight to tenth centuries mention numerous aristocratic houses or palaces that must have existed in the capital at all times.[60] Did this urban tradition affect the development in a different way than in ruralised Anatolia? And did the imperial palace make any difference?

With regard to a tradition of non-imperial palaces from late antiquity to the later Byzantine period the archaeological evidence is essentially negative.[61] The large domed palace hall of the Theodosian chamberlain and patrician Antiochus at the Hippodrome had been turned into the church of St Euphemia by the seventh century at the latest.[62] Another large and vaulted late antique hall next to it that belonged to the same or a different palace had been transformed into an open air cistern and was partly overbuilt by an annex of the same church.[63] The central hall of a possible late antique palace in the Mangana quarter was fitted out as a baptistery or a bath.[64] The largest domed hall of the city which may have been the centrepiece of the palace of Arcadia, the daughter of Arcadius and sister of Theodosius II, collapsed.[65] The remains were later reused as a cistern and served as substructure for an aristocratic palace that was subsequently turned into the Myrelaion monastery.[66] Other possible palaces are known only through late antique floor mosaics, and there is no indication that the buildings lasted into the middle Byzantine period and continued to serve as residences.[67]

The archaeological evidence attests to disruption rather than continuity, and this may in part be explained through the fluctuation of aristocratic families that characterised the Byzantine court and capital during the early and middle Byzantine periods, for example the Illyrian elites of the fifth and sixth centuries who were largely replaced by Anatolians and Armenians from the seventh century onwards.[68] In addition, the late antique palaces may simply have been too large to be maintained in later times, when downsizing was the rule, for example also in baths and church

58 Wiegand 1913, 73–87; Müller-Wiener 1961; Lohmann 1995, 326–328; *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* 5 (1995), 668–673 s. v. Latmos D. II. b. Wachtürme (U. Peschlow); Peschlow 1996, 65–67.

59 In Greece most towers date from the late Byzantine period, but some go back to the middle Byzantine period; see Ćurčić 2010, 305 f., 518–527(bibliography); Pazaras 2010. For Ottoman Anatolia see Weaver 1971; Arel 1993a; Arel 1993b; Arel 1998; Arel 2004.

60 Magdalino 1984; Magdalino 2001; Schreiner 2013.

61 Dark 2004, 97f.

62 Belting/Naumann 1966, 13–23, 34–44; Berger 1988; Bardill 1997; Goldfus 2006.

63 Naumann 1965; Bardill 1997.

64 Demangel/Mamboury 1939, 81–93 (Baptisterium); Schneider 1936, 90f. (Bad); Ćurčić 2010, 87–89.

65 Niewöhner 2010b; Niewöhner 2013a.

66 Wulzinger 1925, 98–108; Naumann 1966.

67 Dark 2004, 97f.; Dalgiç 2010.

68 Albrecht Berger presented an insightful lecture on this phenomenon at the annual conference of the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna on 21 May 2014 and will eventually publish on the topic.

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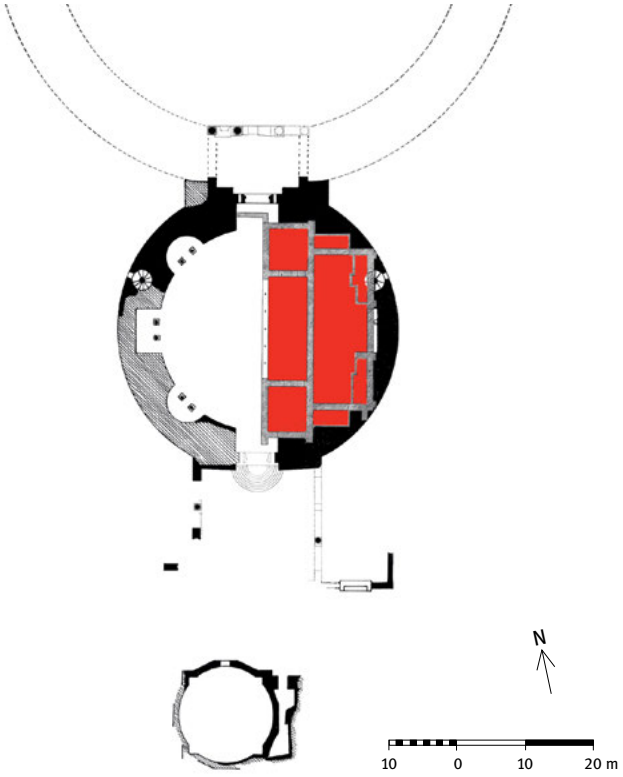

Fig. 14 Istanbul, Myrelaion; a late antique rotunda was the centre of an extended network of porticoes and other buildings (black); the middle Byzantine block-shaped palace (red) was small enough to fit on top of the rotunda.

buildings.[69] The case of the Myrelaion is symptomatic: a large late antique rotunda in the centre of an extended network of porticoes and other buildings had by the tenth century been replaced with a single block that was small enough to fit on top of the rotunda, where it cannot have had many ancillary buildings, but would have appeared lofty and offered splendid views across the city and towards the sea (Fig. 14). This middle Byzantine palace which became the possession of the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), who turned it into a monastery upon his usurpation, was not influenced by its late antique predecessor, but was similar to middle Byzantine palatial houses in the provinces. The portico-façade has been compared with the rock-cut complexes of Cappadocia, and the block form with the palaces at Syllaion and Nymphaeum.[70] The case of the Tekfur Saray is essentially the same, as explained above.

Furthermore, the imperial palaces seem to have undergone a similar development. For a start, a traditional apsidal reception hall with an adjacent peristyle that contains the famous "great palace" mosaics was built as late as the sixth century.[71] This appears conservative in comparison with the contemporary situation in many provincial cities, where similar palaces were in disrepair by the sixth century; but the tradition did not last. The great palace mosaic was covered up by the middle Byzantine period, and new evaluation of the written sources suggests that the old imperial palace of late antiquity was in fact out of regular use as early as the tenth century.[72] The middle Byzantine palace had moved to an adjacent, more compact area with new buildings that would have been smaller and more easily manageable. The remaining traditions were further weakened by the Komnenoi, when they took up residence in Blachernae at the other end of the city. The Blachernae palace had existed since late antiquity, but the Komnenoi remodelled it substantially. The result was of course still larger than any aristocratic house, but the remaining tower of Isaac

69 Ousterhout 1999, 7–11; Berger 2011.
70 Ousterhout 2011, 166, 210.
71 Jobst/Kastler/Scheibelreiter 1999; Bardill 2006, 12–20 (bibliography).
72 Featherstone 2013.

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Fig. 15 Istanbul, Tower of Isaac Angelos, a single room perched on and overlooking the land walls, from southwest.

Angelos (1185–1195, 1203–1204) is a single room perched on and overlooking the land walls that may be compared with the palace at Syllaion and the Tekfur Saray (Fig. 15).[73] That the imperial palace should have followed along the same lines as the aristocratic houses from the Komnenian period onwards makes sense, as these later emperors were recruited from the aristocracy. They continued to represent their families and had to keep competing for power with their former peers.[74]

The Byzantine tradition of all imperial palaces is confirmed by occasional references to special buildings in oriental style that contemporary Byzantine authors describe as foreign. According to Theophanes Continuatus, the ninth century palace of Bryas was built when John the Grammarian returned from an embassy to the Abbasid court in Syria and provided a description of the Arab model.[75] Around the year 1200 Nikolaos Mesarites elaborated in some length on the strange features of the hall of Mouchroutas that was allegedly the work of "a Persian hand".[76] These references would hardly make sense if other palace buildings were also of foreign origin.

In conclusion, Byzantine palace architecture seems to have developed in response to social changes, in particular ruralisation and the rise of a landed aristocracy, and the palaces continued various architectural traditions going back to late antiquity. There is sufficient evidence for a consistent tradition and no need to assume any influence from abroad. The proposed Arab influence appears far-fetched in comparison with the late antique traditions attested in Anatolia. The suggested Venetian, Genoese, Armenian and/or Seljuk impact seems unlikely also for chronological reasons, as those powers and their palaces rose to prominence only after the alleged developments had already taken place in Byzantine palace architecture. The resulting scenario of a self-centred Byzantine development is in keeping with the literary sources that also tend to rate Romano-Byzantine traditions higher than foreign innovations. The conservative character of Byzantium stands confirmed.

73 Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, 102, 117 pl. 57; Schneider 1951, 100. Cf. Macrides 2013.

74 Mango 1976, 235. Hunt 1984 turns this argument round and argues that the aristocracy imitated the imperial palace and that all were following Islamic models.

75 Bekker 1838, 98; Eyice 1959; Mango 1994; Ricci 1998; Walker 2012, 41f.

76 *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. by A. Heisenberg, Würzburg 1907, 44–46; Magdalino 1978, 101–115; Asutay-Effenberger 2004; Walker 2012, 175f.; Redford 2013.

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Judith Herrin

The Imperial Palace of Ravenna

In a conference on Palaces from the Roman Palatine of Augustus to the Versailles of Louis XIV, the name of Ravenna is not as familiar as most. Yet from 402 to 751 this small city on the Adriatic coast of northern Italy served as the capital of the western Roman Empire, then of the Ostrogothic kingdom and later as the outpost of the imperial government in Constantinople (New Rome). And even after its capture by the Lombards the palace of Ravenna continued to encapsulate a grandeur associated with imperial power. For three and a half centuries, as Roman control in the West faltered, Ravenna became the chosen base for emperors, then for non-Roman kings, and later for officials appointed from Constantinople called exarchs. These important figures all needed suitably imposing accommodation, a palace comparable to other imperial palaces from which to rule as much of the western Mediterranean world as they could.

Most unusually for late antique palaces, the one at Ravenna is portrayed in a grand mosaic appropriately labelled *PALATIUM*, which adorns the nave of the church now known as S. Apollinare Nuovo. Since the church was originally constructed by Theoderic, the Ostrogothic ruler, in the early sixth century, the image has been associated with his palace. But to date no extensive remains of a structure have been securely identified within the modern city. In general secular buildings survive much less well than ecclesiastical ones and this is certainly true of Ravenna, which is remembered above all for its wealth of magnificent churches, such as San Vitale, with their brilliant fifth and sixth century decoration in glittering mosaic and coloured marbles. Many other objects testify to the patronage of wealthy patrons, who recorded their achievements in inscriptions, donated precious silver and gold plate and furnishings to the churches in which they were buried in elegant sculpted sarcophagi. While some of the rural villas typical of Late Antiquity may have provided homes for them, it has proved remarkably difficult to pinpoint a large palace suitable for an emperor.

So here's a mystery: while the Palatium of Theoderic is spectacularly represented in an early sixth century mosaic, it remains a *palazzo scomparso*. On the one hand, here is a visual record and on the other there is quite an extensive written record of what happened *in palatio*, but only the thinnest layer of archaeological evidence with which to interpret this cityscape of Ravenna. The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the imaginary of this important palace and to explore its role and function. I must stress that it is a work in progress, not a finished, fully researched project.

It's important to remember that Ravenna was a settlement built on sandbanks in the well-watered tributaries of the river Po estuary – all buildings had to be supported on piles and were prone to sinking and collapse.[1] Canals were dug to direct the spring floods around or under the city and the marshy surroundings were alleged to provide unassailable protection for the city, giving rise to a myth that it was very hard to capture. As in other settlements on the east coast of Italy, especially Venice later, the population managed to survive by mastering the essential techniques for building and living with water. Surrounded by these natural defences that made it difficult of access, Ravenna had a port fed by a canal that linked it to the sea, where the large naval base of Classis founded by Julius Caesar sheltered ships that controlled the Adriatic and sailed throughout the East Mediterranean. It was an *oppidum*, complete with praetorium, forum, capitolium, temples and baths, ringed by pre-Augustan walls, and beyond them suburban villas and later churches. In AD43 Emperor Claudius had inaugurated a magnificent Porta Aurea at the southern entrance to this old city, of which nothing now remains except for a few elements of the sculptural decoration. (Medieval

1 Strabo 1954–61, II, 5.1.7, 312–315, on the marshy conditions and sea water access, which unexpectedly induced a healthy atmosphere. He also notes that Ravenna had been chosen for the site of a gladiatorial school precisely because the air was good. See also Gelichi 1991, 156–159 on the importance of water management.

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seals preserve a clear image of this impressive fortification.) By the fourth century Ravenna had become the capital of the province of *Flaminia et Picenum* under the vicar of Italy.

In 402, Emperor Honorius decided to move his court to this city, provoked by a fear that Milan's defences were not adequate to hold off serious attacks. He thus made Ravenna an imperial capital, and it remained the main centre of imperial government for three and a half centuries until the Lombards took permanent control of it in 751. All the figures who ruled in Ravenna, from Honorius to Eutychios, the last exarch, must have lived in a palace that formed the centre of their power. Although there is no record of particularly lavish palatial construction and decoration until the time of Theoderic the Ostrogoth, there must have been an imperial residence with associated administrative buildings, comparable to other capitals.[2] Since the early twentieth century when excavations near the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo on the Via Roma revealed structures identified as the Palace of Theoderic, every aspect of it has been disputed. Until further excavation, I shall accept it as the "palace site". Part of the area of this palace site has already been covered with cement, and the corner that remains unexplored is threatened by modern development.[3] So it seems doubtful that archaeology alone will be able to elucidate the problems.

In these circumstances, historians naturally turn to the written sources that allude to any imperial presence in Ravenna, since the city functioned as a vital centre of government for centuries. In her recent study, Deborah Deliyannis has summarised what is recorded.[4] Before 402 western emperors had visited Ravenna and must have been accommodated in suitable housing – which could have been provided by the praitorium, governor's residence, or by large aristocratic villas of the type familiar in late antiquity. A good example is recorded on the palace site in phase 2, dated to the fourth century.[5] The city was then concentrated within its pre-Augustan walls with significant suburban settlements. Honorius's choice could have been determined by the fact that communication with Constantinople was so much easier from the excellent port facilities at Classis. If invading forces seriously threatened Ravenna, he had a direct link to his brother in the East.

It was surely the news of the emperor's decision to move the imperial court from Milan to Ravenna that spurred more permanent new construction: for example, a much larger circuit of walls; a palace with grander dining rooms and audience halls; a mint, known to have been active in 402, plus circus, baths, and churches – for all the rulers were Christian. Some local archaeologists have recently pointed to the lack of evidence for new construction in Ravenna in the third and fourth centuries, as an indication that Ravenna was like a palimpsest in 402 – a bare parchment on which the emperors could write a new text.[6] While this may be true of the city within the old walls, the enclosure of such a large area within the new fortification circuit suggests a demand for protection for previously suburban spaces, as well as for new building to provide housing for the incoming imperial bureaucracy.[7]

The *Notitia dignitatum*, compiled between 395 and the 420s, i.e. precisely when Honorius was in Ravenna, provide evidence of the many officials attached to the emperor, and those that made

2 McCormick 2000, 136, imagines in the initial phases that it was "more like a glorified military base" than a palace. But as soon as the court arrived, it must have acquired spaces and buildings dedicated to official use. On palaces in general, see the exciting diachronic survey in Boucheron/Chiffoleau 1998, Avant Propos, 9–14; and for palaces in late antiquity, see Ward-Perkins 1984, 157–178; Neri 1990, 535–584; Baldini-Lippolis 1997; Ripoll/Gurt 2000; Liebeschuetz 2000, 9–30; Porta 1991, 269–283; Carile 2012, 101–155. On governors' palaces (*praitoria*), Lavan 1999; Mango 2000, 947–950, esp. 947–950 on palaces, civilian and ecclesiastical; Patrich 2014, 66–68.

3 Ghirardini 1917; Augenti 2005 with a record of all the earlier excavations; Ward-Perkins 1984, 29–30, 158–166; Augenti 2007; Cirelli 2008, 68, 71, figs. 45 and 47 (excellent maps); with detailed analysis, 78–89.

4 Deliyannis 2010; see also her edition of the *LPER* (2006), and her translation of the text, Deliyannis 2004.

5 Augenti 2005, 10–13.

6 Gelichi 2000; Manzelli 2000, esp. 214 on the palimpsest phenomenon, criticised by Gelichi 2005.

7 Brogiolo/Gelichi, 62–67, and see note 10; McCormick 2000, 135–149

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up the imperial bureaucracy.[8] Using the figures cited for the restoration of imperial administration in North Africa after the defeat of the Vandals, Salvatore Cosentino argues for up to 600 bureaucrats (and each must have had some staff) so possibly up to 1800–2000 civilians, and then military on top.[9] Their arrival must have made considerable demands on the facilities of the small old city. A population guesstimate of 5,000–10,000, required much new building or adaptation of older structures.[10] In addition, the imperial court always constituted a focus for ambitious young men seeking employment, military and legal experts, builders and craftsmen with skills that might be in demand. The new circuit of brick walls is now generally dated to the early fifth century and was a reflection of the need for military protection when Honorius moved from Milan.[11] In addition to ordering fortifications to enclose a much larger area than the small oppidum of Ravenna, the emperor also went on to Rome and arranged the repair and strengthening of the Antonine walls (401–403).[12] This could not prevent the sack of 410 of Rome by the Goths but in that year Honorius and his court, though not all his immediate family, were safely behind the walls of Ravenna.

Numerous references to palaces in Ravenna known by slightly different names include the following:

1. A building recorded as the *Laurenti palatio* near the Porta San Lorenzo, also called Caesarea gate.[13]
2. The *Palatio in Lauro/Laureto* where Odoacer was murdered in 493.[14]
3. Valentinian III's royal hall at the *Laureta* (possibly modelled on the Daphne of Constantinople), which also has the name Calchi attached to its western gate, in imitation of the Chalke gate of the Great Palace of Constantinople.[15] The name may have dated back to the fifth century. Agnellus, the ninth century historian, whose account of the city's bishops is such a precious record of inscriptions, buildings and ecclesiastical politics, mentions several palaces.[16] It's very likely that these references conceal a large collection of buildings comparable to the structures that made up the Great Palace of Constantinople with numerous reception halls, dining rooms, garrison quarters and all the ancillary buildings necessary to support a large palace population.

Many specialists have drawn attention to the use of Constantinopolitan references in imperial Ravenna, part of the eastern capital's ideological influence.[17] It was one way that western emperors, once they abandoned the eternal city could reassert their pedigree by building or renaming sections of their new capital and palace according to truly imperial models. The palace area in Ravenna thus acquired a structure called Scubitum, based on the Excubitum of Constantinople, as well as apsed dining halls identified by the number of couches that could be accommodated. Since

8 Jones 1964, vol. 3: app. II, 347–381 (arguing for a date between 408 and 421).

9 Cosentino 2005, 411. In addition to the 600 or so bureaucrats who formed the central administration, there must have been a large number of courtiers with diverse roles, their families, and the many hangers-on, who are always found seeking employment, benefit or simply proximity to the ruler.

10 Cosentino 2005, demonstrates convincingly how such figures may be established.

11 Christie/Gibson 1988; Gelichi 2005; Cirelli 2008, 67–71 and map; Mauro 2001 on Porta Aurea.

12 McEvoy 2010, esp. 178–187.

13 Deichmann 1989, 49–70 with Anhang 70–76; Ward-Perkins 1984, 29–30; Rizzardi 1995, 131–148; Deliyannis 2010, 55–58. On Theoderic's palace, Johnson 1988, Carile 2012, 129–155.

14 *LPER* 2006 (Agnellus), under Holy John I, ch. 39, tr. 146; cf. ch. 40, the royal hall/house built by Valentinian "at the Laurel".

15 *LPER* 2006 (Agnellus) under Peter the elder, ch. 94, tr. 205; Cirelli 2008, 78.

16 *LPER* 2006 (Agnellus) under Bishop Damian, ch. 132, tr. 256; under Peter the elder, ch. 94, tr. 205; this palace later became the Palace of the Exarch, under Bishop Theodore, ch. 120, tr. 238-90, and ch. 122, tr. 244; cf. many references to the Palace of the bishop, e.g. under Bishop Martin, ch. 169, tr. 297.

17 Ward-Perkins 1984; Cirelli 1998, 90–91, 93–94; Humphrey 1986, 632–633; and 637–638 on late antique circuses as an integral part of a palace. The exarch used the circus to display the head of the rebel, Maurice, on a pole (642/3), *LP*, 69.

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Theoderic had been a hostage in the eastern capital for about a decade in the late fifth century, he would have known the palace complex at first hand, and might well have introduced Constantinopolitan elements. However, the suggestion that Ravenna was inspired by Constantinople is based on late information from the mid-sixth century, after 550, when Emperor Justinian had imposed his own version of imperial control. And most of the evidence comes from Agnellus or the splendid *Aedificatio ciuitatis Ravennae* and the *Chronica de civitate Rauennatis,* of uncertain date but similar structure to the patriographic writings on Constantinople.[18]

It's notable that most of the references to imperial palaces situate them at the south end of the Plateia major (the modern Via Roma), near the Porta San Lorenzo/Caesarea. This gate leads into the area now occupied by the museum and public garden, which extends north towards S. Apollinare Nuovo. Archaeologists have naturally looked for palatial remains at precisely this point. Excavations in the early twentieth century linked the area to the church of Sant' Apollinare, and the most recent investigations indicate many different periods of occupation, now studied by Andrea Augenti.[19] His conclusion that there was a substantial late antique peristyle villa on this site, a suburban complex outside the older city walls, suggests that Honorius adapted and expanded it to serve his purposes. While there is some doubt over the precise dates to be attached to each phase of the imperial palace site, in phase three the addition of a larger apsed hall decorated with a particularly fine opus sectile floor may be associated with Honorius.[20]

As well as enclosing this villa/palace complex within the new fortifications, a much larger area North and East of the old city now offered protection to the increased population that accompanied the emperor from Milan. It included significant features such as the Mint, active from 402, possibly a circus and the cemetery church of San Lorenzo outside the walls.[21] In this expansion we can see a solution to the problem of over-crowded imperial centres, such as early fifth century Constantinople when the Theodosian walls were constructed in 412.[22] Of course, Ravenna was a much smaller city than Constantine I's foundation on the Bosphoros, but its growth was sparked by a similar influx of officials attached to the imperial court.

Honorius' building activity must also be seen in relation to the significant authority of the city's ecclesiastical leader, the bishop. One of the most impressive buildings in the old city of Ravenna was the cathedral, dedicated to the Anastasis and built by Bishop Ursus, the sixteenth bishop of the city from 405 to 430. It was subsequently known as the Ursiana.[23] The same bishop constructed an episcopal palace (*episcopium*), and throughout the fifth century the imperial and ecclesiastical palaces vied for grander and more beautifully decorated facilities and additional buildings.[24] Churches were also constructed in a competitive fashion to demonstrate power and patronage. The emperor promoted the see of Ravenna to a position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy more appropriate to a capital city and in about 430 it gained higher status with six suffragan sees.[25]

18 See for example, Ward-Perkins 1984.

19 Augenti 2005.

20 Augenti 2005, 13, supported by Russo 2005, although disputed by Novara 2001, who believes it to date to the early sixth century

21 On the Mint, see the new analysis by Augenti 2005, on the possible placement of the circus and its size, see Cirelli 2008, 89–90.

22 For the expansion of Constantinople, Dagron 1974: Turnbull/Dennis 2004, 6–15 (with excellent reconstructions). The suggestion that New Rome/Constantinople grew after the Gothic sack of Old Rome in 410 reflects eastern reaction to the decline of the western capital, and helps to confirm Ravenna's status as the new centre of imperial government marked by Honorius's move, recorded by Zosimus in 408, tr. 115.

23 *LPER* 2006 (Agnellus), Holy Ursus (405–431), tr. 118–120; Cirelli 2008, 71–78.

24 *Ibid*, 119; Miller 2000, 22–33.

25 Promotion of the see of Ravenna, Deichmann 1969, 11–14; Deliyannis 2010, 84–88; Zangara 2000, esp. 298–304.

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The significance of the imperial court's move to Ravenna was underlined at Honorius' death in 423, when John, the *primicerius notariorum,* a civil servant, seized control of Ravenna.[26] His familiarity with the administration may have facilitated the rapid minting of coins in his name and he remained in power for 18 months. Then Theodosius II sent a military force under Ardabur, the *magister militum per Orientis*, to remove the usurper and install the young Valentinian III as emperor. After a brief struggle John was killed, Valentinian was acclaimed at Rome, and his mother, Empress Galla Placidia, assumed control for her six year old son. The boy's supporters would naturally have installed him in the most prestigious and luxurious surroundings of Ravenna, the imperial palace.[27] Galla Placidia lived in another palace in Ravenna, while Valentinian's sister Honoria also had her own palace and later schemed with one of her servants to gain greater authority. Whatever the truth in her appeal to Attila to come to her aid, as augusta she was mistress of her own palace in Ravenna, or a distinct part of the imperial palace complex in which she lived with her own staff. [28]

The arrival of the new imperial family, with all their own servants, advisers, medical staff and government officials, required an expansion and development of the palace as well as the new capital. Placidia undertook a remarkable programme of church building both in Ravenna and Rome, and commemorated a distinguished bishop, Peter Chrysologus, in an image of gold mosaic in the apse of her foundation dedicated to S. Giovanni Evangelista. As another easterner, from Syria and the author of brilliant sermons, who won the epithet "golden word", Peter enhanced the standing of Ravenna as a major centre.[29] In 437 Valentinian married Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius II, and assumed greater authority over the western empire. He ordered new building in Ravenna (the royal hall *ad Laureta* with its echoes of the Palace of Daphne in the eastern capital), and in Rome.[30] Although he eventually transferred the court back to the ancient capital, he nonetheless declared that Ravenna should be considered the seat of imperial government.[31] The emperor's departure for Rome left the bishops, Neon (ca. 450–473), Exuperantius (ca. 473–477) and John I (ca. 473–494) with no immediate challenger for permanent authority within Ravenna. But as the seat of imperial administration the city remained a strategic point of control, especially because of its good naval facilities, appreciated by many of the pretenders to imperial authority.

After the death of Valentinian in 455, many rival candidates for the role of emperor were promoted by a variety of military commanders, but all generally failed to impose their own authority. For over twenty years a string of nominal emperors failed to satisfy local military concerns over the defence of Italy or imperial concerns in distant Constantinople, causing severe disruption of basic administration. During this turbulent period there is one famous description of the city written by Sidonius Apollinaris, who accompanied his father-in-law, Avitus, from Gaul where he had had himself proclaimed emperor, to Rome. Sidonius must also have visited Ravenna. He wrote to a friend Candidianus, who had recommended the sun of the south in contrast to the fog of Lyons, to point out that things in the south were not so agreeable: Sidonius reminded Candidianus how he had been bitten by mosquitoes in Ravenna and disturbed by raucous frogs, while Cesena, his

26 Revolt of John, the *notarius,* who minted coins in his own name at Ravenna between 423–425, Olympiodorus, fig 33 (196–197), 39 (202–203), 43 (206–209).

27 On the occupation of the most prestigious building in Caesarea Maritima by a series of different authorities, see Patrich 2014, 68, showing that the *praetorion* dating from the fourth century was used by the Persian *marzaban* during the early seventh century occupation of the city.

28 On the story of Honoria's appeal to Attila, Heather 2005, 335–336, and note 54, concludes that there must be some truth in the story and adds that such craziness is often found among the rich and underemployed.

29 *LPRE* (Agnellus), Bishop Peter, ch. 27, tr. 124.

30 Millett 2001 shows that the emperor was as often in Rome as in Ravenna, but clearly there was much movement between the two. Cirelli 2013, 141–143, stresses the continuing influence of the palace area in Ravenna.

31 *LPRE* (Agnellus), ch. 40 (under Bishop John I mistakenly) tr. 148, on Valentinian's fortifications of Ravenna, and his decree that it should be *caput Italias* in place of Rome.

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correspondent's native city, was an oven.[32] After implying that Italy was full of unpleasantness, he delivered an amusing account of the topsy-turvey world in Ravenna: patients walk about and doctors lie abed, eunuchs fight while military men do culture, merchants fight while soldiers trade, the old play ball and the young sit dicing, the baths freeze and houses burn, thieves keep vigil and authorities sleep; churchmen are usurious and Syrians sing psalms. He adds a dramatic description of the often violent subsidence that dogged the city, possibly an earthquake: "walls fall and waters stand, towers float while ships are grounded, the buried swim while the living go thirsty". This is a reminder of Ravenna's problems with subsidence: even today buildings sink every year and have to be shored up.

This satirical description is very different from Ausonius's praise for Milan. Nonetheless, it suggests that in mid-fifth century Ravenna there were doctors, eunuch servants and military men, merchants and soldiers, old and young with their own styles of entertainment, baths and houses, thieves and guards, clerics who charged interest and foreigners (possibly merchants) who sang psalms – the entire range of different sorts of people and activities associated with a thriving city, even if it was badly governed. The city clearly attracted people with unusual talents, if the tale about Libanius, an Asian magician is to be believed. Empress Placidia refused to allow him to remain despite his claim to be able to defeat the barbarians without force.[33] In a later letter written ca 468 Sidonius drew attention to the problems of a city being surrounded by water: this is good for trade, he reports, but the poles of the boatmen churn up the dirt, so that there's no clean water for drinking.[34] It seems that Sidonius was not much impressed by the imperial capital of Ravenna.

From the elegantly carved sarcophagi and mosaic decoration, however, it's clear that Ravenna also had a wealthy population that patronised art and culture, for example in the newly discovered *domus dei tappeti*.[35] Very fragmentary mosaics preserved in the palace area suggest an even richer style of decoration, perhaps set up in competition with the brilliant ecclesiastical patronage of Bishop Neon, who founded the Baptistery of the Orthodox. Since the imperial administration continued to be based in Ravenna, many courtiers and aspiring officials made their way to the city, hoping for employment. And despite the disorder of the times, some government business was transacted, instructions given and coins minted. Some of these nominal emperors lived in the palace of Ravenna and it was there that the Scirian military commander, Odoacer, deposed Emperor Romulus, sent the imperial insignia back to Constantinople and made himself king. He avoided Old Rome still in the grip of the senatorial aristocracy, making Ravenna the favoured capital where he resided in the imperial palace like an emperor.

A brilliant new phase in the city's history was initiated by Theoderic, the Gothic military leader who led his followers into Italy, possibly with the encouragement of Emperor Zeno. He determined to win control of Ravenna and succeeded in capturing the city and replacing Odoacer as king. From 493 to 526 he ruled from Ravenna, and it seems very likely that he would have enhanced his authority by occupying the site identified as the imperial palace.[36] On his one visit to Rome in 500, he naturally stayed on the Palatine but did not make the ancient capital his base.[37] At least part of the palatial site in Ravenna is also close to his imperial, Arian church dedicated to Christ the Saviour (now S. Apollinare Nuovo). In this part of his palace, a three-apsed triclinium, added to the north-

32 Sidonius, ep. I, 8; 380–383.

33 Olympiodorus, fig 36 (200–201). The visit of Libanius took place before the death of Honorius in 423.

34 Sidonius, ep 1, 5. 5–7; 356–357.

35 Montevecchi 2004.

36 See the astute remarks of MacCormack 1981, 237–240.

37 Moorhead 1992, 143, and on the anti-Arian character of early sixth century Rome, 140–144; Augenti 1996, 17–29. Heather 2013, 43–52, 58–63, sees the reign of Theoderic as the first attempt at "the restoration of Rome"; Brogiolo 1999 is more specific about the "Renovatio Urbium" of Theoderic.

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ern end of the site with mosaic decoration, may be associated with his residence.[38] In addition to another palace that Theoderic constructed on an island close to the coast, he built extensively in other cities under his control, and secular buildings like granaries and military installations may outweigh ecclesiastical.[39] Yet his association with Ravenna is acknowledged by all contemporary authors together with his determination to enhance its glory, clear from the Palatium mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo.

After Theoderic's death, the Gothic reaction that accompanied the murder of his daughter Amalasuntha, reinforced the leading position of Ravenna while combating the influence of Byzantium. Rome was seriously weakened by repeated battles for its control which devastated many buildings and reduced its indigenous population. Both the chief eastern commanders, Belisarius and Narses, resided on the Palatine during their occupation of the city, but when Totila and the Goths were finally defeated in 550, Ravenna became the commanding centre of power. Officials sent from the eastern capital usually resided there and the city duly benefited from the patronage and investment of bishops and later exarchs. Bishop Maximianus and Julianus, the silver merchant, completed the architectural masterpiece of San Vitale begun by Bishop Ecclesius, and patronised the mosaicists who put up the famous images of the Byzantine rulers. Sant' Apollinare in Classe and S. Michaele in Afrisco also date from this period and reflect similar influence from the eastern capital. Under Constantinopolitan control, the imperial palace received additional structures in phases 4 and 5. The exarchs sought to reinforce their imperial status by living there, embellishing the palace of Ravenna with additional apsed triclinia, new structures with mosaics and an octagonal fountain in the middle of the courtyard (though this is not securely dated). The so-called "Palace of the Exarch", in fact the church of San Salvatore, may originally have been an addition to the palace complex, sited as it is just to the north of S. Apollinare Nuovo.

Constantinople's control also spelled the end of Arian forms of Christian belief and the conversion of churches from Arian to Orthodox practice. Under Bishop Agnellus (557–570) all the churches of the Goths were "reconciled" to Orthodox use, with the removal of overtly Gothic decoration in S. Apollinare Nuovo. In an extremely interesting MA thesis, Clare Noyes has suggested that the untidy remains of hands that had once been attached to figures between the pillars of the Palace mosaic was not simply careless but instead represents a method of recalling the builder of the church, the great king Theoderic, whose glorious achievements were to be remembered in the city's history.[40] It is striking that in comparison with the harsh methods used in the East to suppress heresy and wrong belief, what happened in Ravenna permitted the Arian baptistery to stand (there were no specifically heretical representations in the baptism scene) and allowed statues and images of the Arian king Theoderic to remain in place. While he could not retain his position as the leader of the prophets and holymen shown in mosaic advancing from the palace of Ravenna to Christ at the east end of the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, his overall presence in the city was to be treasured and commemorated. His magnificent tomb could be adapted for later monastic use by Orthodox Christians, but its original function was known and kept alive by Agnellus. This seems a striking recognition, acknowledgement and measure of his achievement and reputation.

In conclusion, although there may have been many palatial residences in Ravenna, as in other capitals like Constantinople, there was almost certainly only one imperial palace where its rulers lived. It was probably a large collection of buildings with different functions linked by corridors, walkways and arcaded paths. As in Constantinople every ruler added his own new features,

38 Augenti 2005, 13–14, 22 (phase 4 on the three-apsed triclinium); Russo 2005; Cirelli 2008, 78–84 on what can be associated with Theoderic; Wood 2007. See also Johnson 1988; Ward-Perkins 1984, 69–73, 92–93; Rizzardi 1995; Jäggi 2013a, 162–168. On Theoderic's Arianism, see Hen 2007, 5357; Verhoeven 2011, 142–149. Many scholars overlook the fact that Arian bishops also had palaces; Agnellus records that Unimundus, the Arian leader under Theoderic, built himself one, *LPRE* under Bishop Maximian, ch 70, tr. 185–186; see also Ward-Perkins 1984, 177.

39 Ward-Perkins 1984, 29–30, 158–66; Jäggi 2013a, 166; Moorhead 1992, 42–43, 69–70.

40 Noyes 2011. My thanks to Tony Eastmond for directing me to this arresting analysis.

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another reception hall, a grander dining room, a new chapel or facilities for government officials. The complex expanded and changed over the centuries, probably occupying quite a large area in which the ruler's relatives, courtiers, political hostages, guards and servants could be housed. It seems very likely that most of the structures associated with this palace complex did lie between the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo and the Caesarea gate in the south-east sector of the city.

Many references to events that took place "in palatio" indicate that this was the unique centre of power, an imperial residence that remained the headquarters of government until the end of the exarchate in 751, when the Lombard ruler, Aistulf, set up his own court there. In 774 the Frankish king Charles removed King Desiderius from his residence in this symbolic centre and took him off as hostage. This particular palace in all probability also made a clear contribution to later palatial architecture in the early Medieval West after Charles' visit to Ravenna in 787. He requested and received papal permission to remove building material from the palace for his own use in northern Europe. The spoliation of late antique Ravenna, much resented according to local chroniclers, nonetheless reflected admiration for the exquisite columns, capitals, and fittings of the palace and the city. The bronze equestrian statue that had stood in front of Theoderic's palace in Ravenna was moved to a comparable place in Aachen and its arrival celebrated by Walahfrid Strabo.[41] After his coronation in December 800, Charlemagne returned to Ravenna, where he stayed and issued charters *in palatio*. His octagonal church at Aachen was based on San Vitale and he remembered the city in his will: his son Louis the Pious sent to Bishop Martin a silver table which Charlemagne had designated for Ravenna.[42]

It's not surprising that parts of the palace became a quarry for good building material. Such reuse was a common feature of the early Middle Ages throughout the Roman world as temples, baths and other overtly pagan structures were abandoned and large antique cities shrank to much smaller dimensions.[43] In the ninth century Bishop Agnellus could record the demolition of ruined churches for the stone blocks and other useful material for his own constructions.[44] Enough of the palace structures remained for later visitors to visit and admire.

Without extending this account to the tenth century, when Otto I and his successors came to Ravenna, the enduring status of the palace of Ravenna is very clear. All those with pretensions to imperial power in the Medieval West were fascinated by the city's history and the physical evidence of its past. They wished to associate themselves with the symbolic centre of power located in Ravenna, which had served as imperial capital for so many centuries. Its combination of Byzantine, Christian and Germanic features appealed particularly to those who were struggling to construct a western imperial administration north of the Alps. In this effort, they drew on the imperial traditions located in the palace of Ravenna as much as the city's outstanding artistic record and redeployed them in novel circumstances to enhance their claims to emperorship. Ravenna remained a force in the imagination of rulers with larger European ambitions, a tribute to the city whose power emanated from an imperial palace, even if its outline, scale and precise nature is lost to us today.

41 Deliyannis 2010, 298.

42 *LPRE* (Agnellus),under Bishop Martin, ch. 170, tr. 298.

43 Jäggi 2013b.

44 *LPER* under Bishop John, ch 39, tr. 145 Agnellus records Theoderic's palace at the Lion Port, which he demolished for building materials for his own house.

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Javier Arce

The So-Called visigothic "Palatium" of Recópolis (Spain): An Archaeological and Historical Analysis

It is my aim, in this paper, to analyse the buildings that, during the period of Gothic rule in the Iberian Peninsula, were referred to in various sources as *palatia* and identified as the residences of the Gothic kings throughout that time[1].

It is well known that the Goths, after their travels around different parts of the Roman Empire – first to Constantinople, then to the Greek Peninsula, then to the Balkans – finally came to Italy. Thereupon, their leader, Ataulf, came to an agreement with the emperor Honorius and the Goths settled in Aquitaine in 418, occupying the whole of southern Gaul "from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic." They established their capital city at *Tolosa* (Toulouse) but had various other short-term seats of government within that region[2]. The Gothic people and their kings remained in southern Gaul until the year 531 when, according to the historian Procopius, they finally moved to the Iberian Peninsula, where they settled with their women, their old people, their families and their soldiers[3]. We know from literary sources that there followed a period of turbulence with different seats of government in different cities and it was not until the reign of Athanagild (551–568) that they established their definitive capital in *Toletum* (a former Roman city situated in the geographical centre of the Peninsula.)[4] However, the Goths had been in Spain before 531, from 413 to 418, for example. During the whole of this period everything seems to indicate that the residence of the kings was *Barcino*, the city in which Ataulf died[5]. Although the first Visigoth kings who went to Hispania after the defeat of Vouillé (in 507) retained part of southern Gaul with Narbonne as a transitory capital until the end of Athanagild's reign, that is, in the period 507 to 568, they used various Hispanic cities as their capitals: *Emerita, Corduba, Hispalis* (Seville), and finally, as already mentioned, they established *Toletum* as their *sedes regia* or *urbs regia*[6].

We find in the literary sources of the time very few references to *palatia*, that is, residences of the Gothic kings. We must begin with a very well known text by the poet Sidonius Apollinaris which describes the court and the deeds of King Theodoric when the Goths were still in Aquitania as a result of the *foedus* made with Rome[7]. At that time (between 453 and 456) the king was residing in *Tolosa*, the capital of the kingdom. Sidonius notes that, according to court protocol, the king visited the *thesaurus* and the stables (*stabula)* every day. The historian H. Wolfram has pointed out, quite rightly, that for the Gothic king "the possession of the royal city and of the treasure kept there was synonymous with the possession of the entire kingdom, which explains the daily inspection."[8] The poet goes on to describe what the king did during the administrative day (*administrandi cura*) seated on a *sella*, surrounded by the *comes armiger* and his personal guard. The king was behind a curtain through which could be heard the murmur of conversations. This forms part of the characteristic "imperial invisibility", the desire to show oneself only at specific moments to one's subjects and it is attested in the sources that the Roman emperors Constantius and Arcadius behaved in this way. The king, continues Sidonius, receives and listens to legations. Afterwards, he stands

1 Discussion about late-antique "palaces" see Duval 1987 and the important remarks of Millar 1992, 40–41.

2 See Wolfram 1985, 357–358.

3 About the date of the settlement of the Visigoths in Spain there is much discussion: see, for example, Koch 2006; Koch 2012 and Arce 2011, 29–38.

4 Toledo as a capital of the *regnum gothorum* in Spain: Martin 2003, 205–261 and Arce, 2011, 72–75.

5 Arce 2005, 72–87.

6 Toledo *urbs regia*: Martin 2003; Arce 2011 and, specially, Velázquez/Ripoll 2000.

7 Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 1, 2 (dated 455–460).

8 Wolfram 1985, 206.

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up (*surgit et solio*) and busies himself with other activities (the aforementioned visit to the stables and to the *thesaurus*). Next comes the *convivium* which takes place, according to Sidonius, in the strictest Roman tradition.

This description presents us with a problem, for we do not know whether Sidonius is presenting Theodoric in a stereotypical way, behaving as a Roman emperor rather than as king. Even so, it seems unlikely that the scene does not correspond with reality when we consider that the poet was a contemporary of the king and had direct knowledge of the scene he is describing[9].

Thus, if this is a "real" scene, it contains a few elements that help us to understand the "*palatium*" or residence of a Gothic king. Among its buildings it contains stables for the horses, a room where the *thesaurus* was stored (perhaps with *armaria*, *thecae*), a large reception room where people had audience with the king and where the furnishings included a *sella* and curtains (*parapetasma*); and alongside this room there was a banqueting hall. The texts refer to this residence as the *palatium*.

When King Ataulf was in *Barcino* in the year 414, the historian Olympiodorus says that the king regularly visited the stables and that it was during one of these visits that he was assassinated[10]. Isidorus of Seville, writing in the seventh century, tells us that King Teudis (548) was murdered *in palatio*[11], and his successor, Teudiselus, was killed during a banquet in *Hispalis* (Sevilla)[12]. Isidorus also tells us that King Agila's *thesaurus* was in *Corduba*[13] but that he was assassinated in *Emerita*[14] (HG.46), whereas Athanagild and later Leovigild, were in *Toletum* when they died[15]. All these texts appear to show the multitude of residences (*palatia*) of the Gothic kings during the first half of the sixth century and that in all of them there existed a room exclusively for the *thesaurus* and a banqueting room[16].

Now, the fact that the texts refer to these residences as *palatia* does not mean that they were constructed *ad hoc*. As in the Roman period, wherever the emperor – or in our case, the king – was, there was his *palatium*. But this does not mean that the building was indeed a *palatium* or had the architectural form of one[17]. A single example will suffice. When Julian writes to his friend Libanius during his travels on a military expedition to Persia, he stops in the town of *Batnae*, in Syria. He describes the building in which he is staying as a house made of brick without any decoration at all, and yet he calls it *basileia*, "my palace."[18]

For the period of Gothic rule in Hispania we have no clear archaeological evidence of any residence or *palatium*, perhaps because they have not been definitely identified as such by archaeologists. Judging from other cases of "barbarian" kings settling in other places, we might conclude that Ataulf reused an earlier Roman building to house his court when he came to *Barcino*. It might have been a *villa*, a *praetorium* or a large *domus*. The capital of the Burgundians was Geneva and the poet Avitus refers to the royal residence in the city, saying that there was a church in the *palatium* or *praetorium*.[19] Archaeological excavation appears to have confirmed this statement[20]. A new element found in Avitus's text is the existence within or beside the *palatium* (also referred to as *praetorium*) of a church. According to Barnwell, it may be that the *palatium* where

9 Barnwell 1992, 72–73; Wolfram 1985, 359–364; McCormick, 1987, 299–302.
10 Olymp., *frag.* 26.
11 *HG.*, 43.
12 *HG.*, 44.
13 *HG.*, 45.
14 *HG.*, 46.
15 *HG.*, 47 and 51.
16 *Thesaurus*: Arce 2011, 83–97; Hardt 2004 and 1998.
17 Millar, 1992, 40–41; Mayer 2002.
18 Julien, *Epist.*, 98 (ed. Bidez); Arce 1997, 299–300.
19 Avitus, *Contra arianos*, 30; cf. Barnwell 1992, 87.
20 Blondel, 1940.

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the Burgundian king lived was the former Roman *praetorium* which the king adapted as his seat of government[21].

This evidence of barbarian kings taking over former Roman *praetoria* as their royal residences confirms the notion of their desire to continue and imitate Roman ways of representation. This same attitude can be seen in the Vandal kingdom of North Africa[22]. Indeed, all the evidence indicates that the "palace" of the Vandal king was situated at Carthage and that the residence of the former Roman governor was reused. Procopius refers to the existence of a church in the palace, mentioning also a prison; and the poet Luxorius describes the marble which decorated the audience chamber[23].

However, as I have said, we do not have sufficient archaeological evidence to identify any of these buildings with certainty, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. To be sure, we should expect that in *Toletum,* the seat of the Visigoth kings from the sixth century onwards, there would be obvious remains of the king's palace. But there are none[24]. Despite two or three indirect references in various sources to the palace of Leovigild – e. g. in a seventh century hagiographic text, the *Vitas Patrum emeritensium*, referring to an audience chamber and stables (*stabula*)[25], and a poem by Eugenio de Toledo, who mentions a "lecho" (probably *triclinium*) in a banqueting hall – I cannot find any convincing evidence of architectural or topographic remains of palace buildings in Toledo during the Visigothic period. It has been suggested that the palace would have occupied the same place as the former *praetorium* of the provincial governor, the present Alcázar[26]. However, this is very unlikely since we know nothing of a *praetorium* in Toledo which was not a provincial capital in the Late Roman period.

Palatium in the Visigothic period did not mean only the building, but also, and in particular, the *aula regia,* the whole complement of people, officials, slaves and workers who lived within the palace boundaries. From the legal texts and council records we know that the *palatium* was composed of the *palatini officii* led by a *praepositus*. There were *stabularii, argentarii, gillonarii, coqui* and also, although perhaps they did not live permanently in the *palatium,* the *comes scanciarium,* the *comes cubiculi,* the *comes thesaurorum,* the *comes notariorum,* the *comes stabuli,* etc. All this implies a series of departments and *officinae,* workshops and storehouses, suggesting that the Visigothic king's *palatium* was an enormous residential complex with multiple outbuildings. All of the dignities and professions mentioned above can be found in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as members of the *palatium* and of the emperor's retinue, as at the court in Constantinople during the same period[27].

Although, as we have said, we know little or nothing about the residences of the Visigothic kings in Hispania except that they did not build palaces *ex novo* but adapted or re-adapted former residences of the Roman period, one case in Hispania stands out: the city of Recópolis and the building identified by the archaeologists who excavated it as a *palatium*. If we accept their identification, this would be a unique example of a Visigothic palace whose ground plan and ruins have come to light through archaeological excavation. It is to this building that I shall devote the second half of my paper[28].

21 Barnwell 1992, 87.

22 Barnwell 1992, 118.

23 See all the discussion, details and references in Barnwell 1992, 118–120.

24 See Velázquez/Ripoll 2000.

25 *VPE*, VI, 24–25.

26 Velázquez/Ripoll, 2000, 554.

27 See Arce 2011, 76–78.

28 Recópolis 2008; Martin 2003, 261–273; Olmo 1988, 157–178; Ripoll/Velázquez 2008; Olmo 1987; Olmo 2000; Claude 1965.

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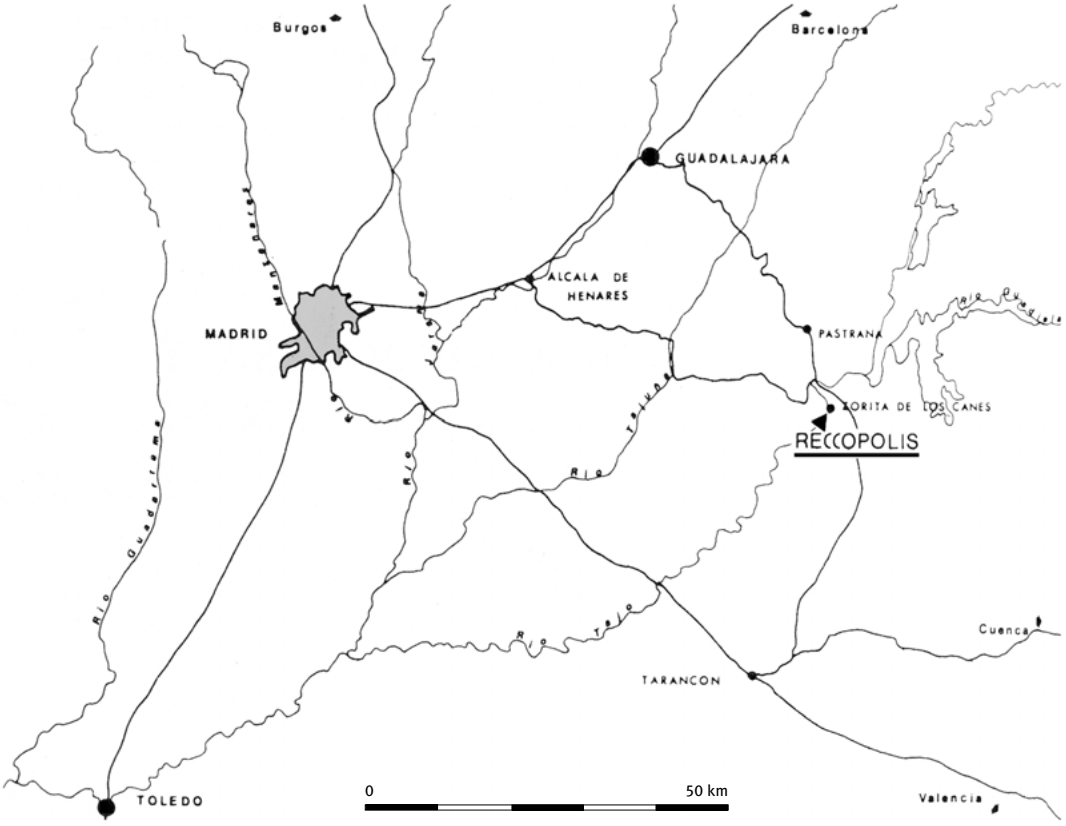

Fig. 1 Situation of Recópolis.

A text from the *Chronica* of John of Biclar, who was writing in the second half of the sixth century and was a contemporary of King Leovigild, tells us that, in the year 578, Leovigild, "after defeating all his enemies and having returned to Toledo with his people, founded a city in Celtiberia to which he gave the name of his son, a city that is now Recópolis. He adorned the city with fine workmanship, both within the walls and in the suburban areas and he gave privileges to the inhabitants of the new city"[29] (Fig. 1).

Leovigild had two sons: the elder, Hermenegild, who was his heir, had been designated *consors regni* in *Betica* and the younger, Reccared, lived with his father in Toledo. Clearly we see here an imitation of an ancient Roman custom – that of founding cities or renaming a city to commemorate a victory or to honour a person. Examples of this range from Pompey and Augustus to Constantine, continuing down to the fifth and sixth centuries. It was also a Roman custom to give the name of a family member or one's own, to the "new city." In the city of Recópolis both practices are observed: Leovigild founded it to commemorate his victories and, significantly, to honour his son Reccared. By this act, the king showed a special predilection for his second son to the detriment of the elder, Hermenegild, his heir apparent. It is significant that, in the following year, 579, Hermenegild led a revolt against his father and usurped power, starting a long war which finally resulted in the imprisonment and eventual beheading of Leovigild's elder son[30].

In no text are we told where this "new" city was. John of Biclar's reference "in Carpetania" is a very general one. But first archaeologists and then historians expressed the belief that it might be identified with the ruins that lie on the so-called Cerro de la Oliva (Hill of the Olive Tree), near the town of Zorita de los Canes in the province of Guadalajara.

29 Arce 2011, 212–232. John of Biclar, *Chron. ad ann.*, 578, 4.
30 Cf. Arce 2011, 212–232.

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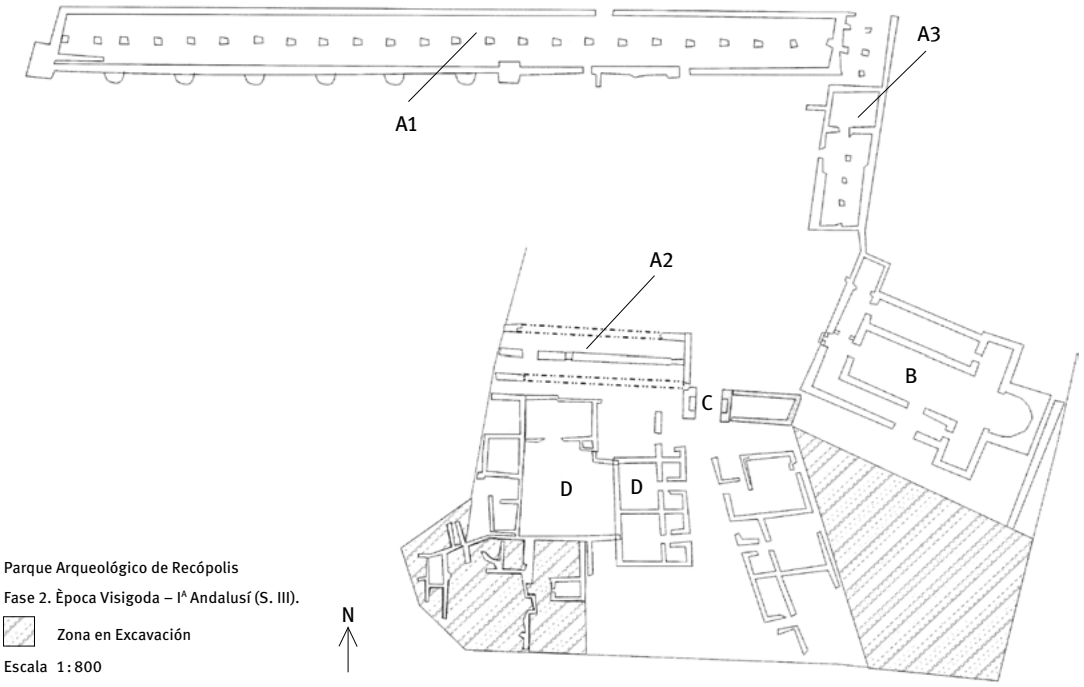

Fig. 2 Map of Recópolis, Visigothic time.

Excavations began in the 1940's with the later collaboration of members of the DAI (German Archaeological Institute) in Madrid; and subsequently Spanish archaeologists uncovered the remains of a series of buildings presenting the following striking features: massive walls with eleven square towers, all occupying only the western part of the site, the remains of a church (19.30 × 8.60 m) with an internal apse and a baptistery, an L-shaped building measuring 145 m in length and 13.50 in width, with buttresses on the outside and pillars on the inside which divide the space into two aisles and show traces of an upper floor (Fig. 2). In front there is an empty space which is closed off to the south by a series of rooms that have been identified, because of the material found there, as artisans' workshops which were used as dwellings in a second phase. The total area of the site is 33 hectares; the greater part of it has not yet been excavated. Archaeologists are still debating whether there was already something on the site of this "new" city which, according to its stratification and the remains found, dates to the second half of the sixth and lasted until the eighth century[31].

Although it is not at all certain that this place corresponds to the Recópolis mentioned in the chronicles, archaeologists have identified it as such and have argued that the L-shaped building is the *palatium* of Recópolis. They have gone on to speak of a palace complex that would have included a church (although we know that Recópolis did not have a bishop), and of a royal city, a *sedes regia* destined for Reccared, the son of Leovigild[32]. Other writers, too, have enlarged on the significance of the building activities of Leovigild, the imitator of Justinian and the latter's new city *Iustiniana Prima* (Caricin Grad, in Serbia). In theory then, we might have an example or a model of a Visigothic *palatium* built in the middle of the sixth century in the Iberian Peninsula.

I believe, however, that the interpretations that have been put forward about the city are weakened by a presupposition that has determined them all: the assumption that Recópolis was "a royal city," or was destined to be the residence of the son of the King, whereas Toledo, the capital, was destined to be the seat of the elder son, Hermenegild. However, in no source, neither Isidore nor John of Biclar, nor any other, do we find the statement that Recopolis was, or was intended to be, *sedes regia,* the seat of the king's son.

31 For a description of the remains and excavations see Recópolis 2008, 22–164.

32 That is the opinion of Ripoll/Velázquez 2008.

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Fig. 3 View on Recópolis.

Moreover, I must stress the fact that Recopolis is the city *of* Reccared, not the city *for* Reccared. The name given to the newly-founded city does not imply that it was destined to be the residence of the heir to the throne. Alexander founded Alexandria, Justinian *Iustiniana Prima*. There was also *Adrianopolis*, *Theodosiopolis* and many others, yet none of these were the seat of Alexander or Justinian or Theodosius.

This preconception has led to the ruins of Cerro de la Oliva being seen as a *palatium*, the only surviving palace of the Visigoth period. Leaving aside the fact that we are not sure that the ruins at Cerro are or belong to Recópolis, it must be stated that we know of no residences or palaces with such characteristics, plan and site distribution as the remains found at Cerro de la Oliva. In this building we cannot identify any reception rooms, banqueting halls, or rooms for the administration of a *palatium*. It has been argued that these rooms would have been on the upper floor which has disappeared (Fig. 3), but it seems to me that this building, in its structure and plan, is more comparable to another class of buildings: the *horrea*. There are numerous examples of similar buildings which have a specific function, that of storage (Fig. 4). I therefore propose that we have here a great *horreum*, which would fit well with the ruins of Cerro de la Oliva which are clearly those of a fiscal city, with warehouses and craftsmen's workshops (southern quarter).

There is a city which is very far away geographically, founded *c*. 709/710 in the Syrian desert, 45 kilometres from Damascus (in modern Lebanon), by the caliph al-'Abbas b. Al-Walid. This city is called 'Anjar and will serve as an example, not of the urban structure but of the function of the ruins on Cerro de la Oliva, so-called Recópolis. 'Anjar is a city near the Umayyad capital and is set out in the manner of a Roman military colony of almost perfect form. Researchers have wondered what its function could have been, given its proximity to the Umayyad capital. Some thought that it was one of the caliph's residences, a place of refuge in case of necessity. But it seems more likely,

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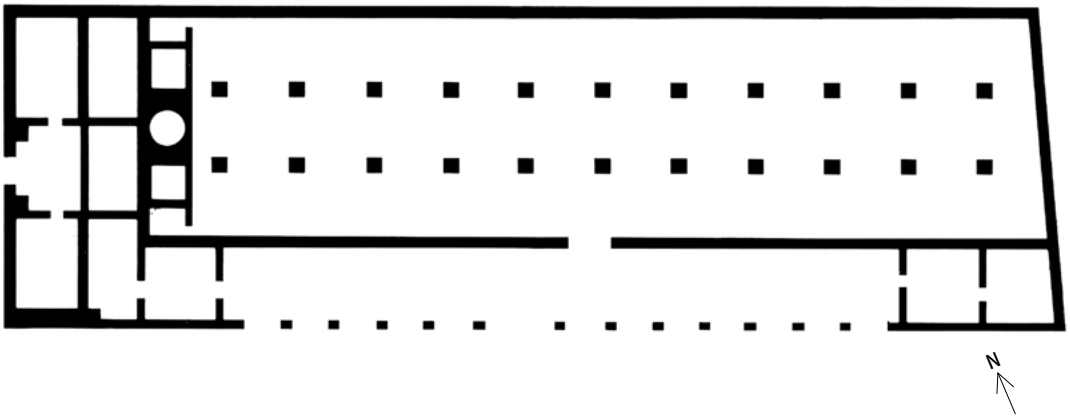

Fig. 4 Mediana (Serbia). Plan of the *horrea*.

according to R. Hillenbrand, that it was set up as a market town, to colonise the territory[33]. This could also be so in the case of the Recópolis/Cerro de la Oliva. The founding of Recópolis was connected with the celebration of King Leovigild's victory, following an established Roman tradition. This demonstrates the king's wish to follow imperial tradition, associating himself with it, perhaps on the advice of the bishops by whom he was surrounded. He gave the city the name of his second son, Reccared, thus showing his predilection for him, a demonstration of his clear favouritism which caused the rebellion of his elder son, Hermenegild. But fact that the city was named after Leovigild's son makes it neither a royal city or *sedes regia* of Reccared, nor a competitor with the capital Toledo. The Roman tradition of naming newly founded cities after members of the Imperial family did not imply that these were capital cities or residences of the emperors or members of the family for whom they were named. The identification of the ruins of Cerro de la Oliva as Recópolis is possible but in no way definitive. From the point of view of town planning, the buildings and remains found there to date do not suggest a palatine city; and what has been identified as a *palatium* is, in all probability, a *horreum*.

In conclusion, down to the present day we have been unable to identify any *palatium* or residence of the Visigothic kings in Hispania. However, from descriptions in the literary sources of a few palaces and their function, we see that the Visigoths generally reused former Roman structures which were considered sufficiently grand to demonstrate the importance and requirements of the king and his royal power.

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33 Hillenbrand 1999, 98.

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Abbreviations

Chr. ad ann. = Ioannes Biclarensis *Chronica* ed. J. Campos: Juan de Biclaro, Obispo de Gerona. Su vida y su obra, Madrid 1960.
HG = *Historia Gothorum*, MGH,AA, 11, *Chronica Minora*, II, 266–295 (ed. Th. Mommsen).
Julien, *Epist. = L'Empereur Julien. Lettres et Fragments (texte revue et traduit par J. Bidez), Belles Lettres, Paris, 1960*.
Olymp, *frag*. = Olympiodorus, *Fragmenta*: Blockley, R.C. *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, Vols. I–II, Cairns, Liverpool, 1981.
Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. = Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina et Epistulae*, Loeb, 2 vols. Harvard, 1936–1965 (ed. W.B. Anderson).
VPE = *Vitas sanctorum patrum emeritensium*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXVI, (ed. A. Maya Sánchez), Brepols, 1992.

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Figure credits

Fig. 1: Olmo 1988, 156, fig. 1.
Fig. 2: Olmo Enciso, Lauro, Recópolis, una ciudad en una época de transformaciones, in: *Recópolis y la ciudad de la época visigoda* (2008), 48, fig. 3.
Fig. 3: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (ed.) (2009), *Das Königreich der Vandalen*, Mainz, 159.
Fig. 4: Srejović, Dragoslav (ed.) (1993), *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia*, Beograd, 175.

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Part II: **The Middle Ages in the West**

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Manfred Luchterhandt

Vom Haus des Bischofs zum Locus Sanctus: Der Lateranpalast im kulturellen Gedächtnis des römischen Mittelalters

Wenn Bauwerke die Macht haben, die kollektive Erinnerung von Gemeinschaften zu formen, wie die Erforschung der *Lieux de mémoire* gezeigt hat, dann haben sakrale Monumente hierzu sicher ein besonderes Potential.[1] Dass St. Peter in Rom oder die konstantinischen Stätten Palästinas in dieser Gruppe eine Schlüsselrolle einnehmen, sollte nicht überraschen: Es waren Kirchenbauten an Orten, die schon zuvor den Bezugspunkt lokaler Gruppen gebildet hatten und bereits eine religiöse Identität besaßen, die der Neugestaltung des Ortes vorausging.[2] Die Stiftung eines Kirchenbaus überhöhte den Ort, integrierte ihn in die Riten einer Institution, die öffentlichen Monumente einer Civitas, aber sie schuf ihn als solchen nicht. Solche Denkmäler verlieren auch in grundlegenden kulturellen Wandlungsprozessen nicht ihre ursprüngliche Identität, solange eine stabile Schriftüberlieferung besteht und eine Gemeinschaft, die sich durch Tradierung, Nutzung und Pflege zum Träger dieser Überlieferung macht. Bereits das Patrozinium kann Ausdruck dieser Identität von langer Dauer sein.[3]

Profane Bauwerke sind weniger stabil in ihrer Funktion und Semantik, weil sich politisch-säkulare Ordnungen und Nutzungsansprüche schneller ändern als religiöse. Noch komplizierter wird der Fall, wenn wir es mit einem Gebäude zu tun haben, dessen Status als Bauwerk mit sakralen und profanen Sinnzuweisungen schon zu Beginn sehr ambivalent war und sich im Zuge des politischen, sozialen und institutionellen Wandels in seinem Umfeld permanent veränderte. In solchen Fällen kann es nicht nur zu Überlagerungen, Verschiebungen und sogar Konflikten in der Funktion eines Bauwerks kommen, sondern auch zur Konkurrenz verschiedener Wahrnehmungen, Deutungen und „Geschichten". Das erinnerungsstiftende Potential eines solchen Bauwerks als Denkmal einer Institution oder Gemeinschaft, sein Nachleben im oralen, schriftlichen und rituellen Gedächtnis politischer und religiöser Kollektive ist umso schwieriger zu bestimmten, je weniger es eine durch Ort, Überlieferung oder Ursprungsbau konditionierte Identität besitzt und je weniger seine praktischen Funktionen stabil bleiben.

Diese Überlegungen gelten einem Bauwerk, das heute als einer der heiligsten Orte Roms gilt, obwohl es bei seiner Entstehung sicher nicht darauf angelegt war, Gläubige und Pilgerströme anzuziehen: Die Rede ist vom römischen Palast am Lateran (Abb. 1), der von der Spätantike bis zum Exil von Avignon (1308–1377) den Päpsten als Residenz, Wohnsitz, Zelebrationsort und Verwaltungszentrum diente und bis um 1200 die bedeutendste Herrscherresidenz Europas war, bevor er schließlich lange nach dem Umzug in den Vatikan unter Sixtus V. (1585–1590) abgerissen und nur in seiner Palastkapelle erhalten wurde.[4] Auf den ersten Blick hat der päpstliche Residenzkomplex

1 Nora 1984–1992. Zur theoretischen Diskussion in der Mediävistik seit Nora vgl. Moeglin 2002; Schneidmüller 2002; Oexle 2009; Schwarz 2010; Fried/Rader 2011. In Bezug auf christliche Erinnerungsorte in einem weiter gefassten Verständnis auch Markschies/Wolf 2010, 9–27.

2 Zu den konstantinischen Stätten Palästinas zuletzt Walker 1990; Wilkinson 1990; McCormack 1990; Ousterhout 1990; Elsner 2000; Jacobs 2004. Für St. Peter in Rom vgl. Arbeiter 1988, 13–50; De Blaauw 1994, 451–455; Thümmel 1999; Brandenburg 2011. Zu St. Peter als Erinnerungsort auch Bauer 2006; Reinhardt 2011.

3 Ausgehend von der Diskussion um die *Lieux de mémoire* ist auch das Nachleben von Bauwerken als Träger von Erinnerung und historischer Semantik zuletzt stärker in den Blick gerückt. Vgl. Nelson/Olin 2003; Pollak 2010 und als exemplarische Studie für die spätantiken Basiliken Ravennas Verhoeven 2011.

4 Grundlegende Literatur zum Lateranpalast des Mittelalters Rohault de Fleury 1877; Lauer 1911; Pietrangeli 1991; Herklotz 2000 und die Beiträge in Liverani 2004; Luchterhandt 1999, 2006 u. 2014; Liverani 2012. Für die Sancta Sanctorum außerdem *Sancta Sanctorum* 1995; Cempanari 2003; Horsch 2014. Zu einzelnen Aspekten vgl. die Literatur in den folgenden Anmerkungen.

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Abb. 1 Filippino Lippi, Ansicht des Lateranpalastes von Westen, Rom, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Carafa.

mit den anderen Orten dieses Bandes nur wenig zu tun. Gleichwohl gibt es gute Gründe, in ihm nicht nur ein wichtiges Monument der römischen Kirche zu sehen, sondern auch ein Beispiel dafür, welches Gewicht das „Nachleben" einer Herrscherresidenz gegenüber ihrem vorausgehenden „Leben" gewinnen konnte, ja wie Leben und Nachleben, gegenwärtige Nutzung und kollektive Erinnerung schon früh ineinandergriffen.

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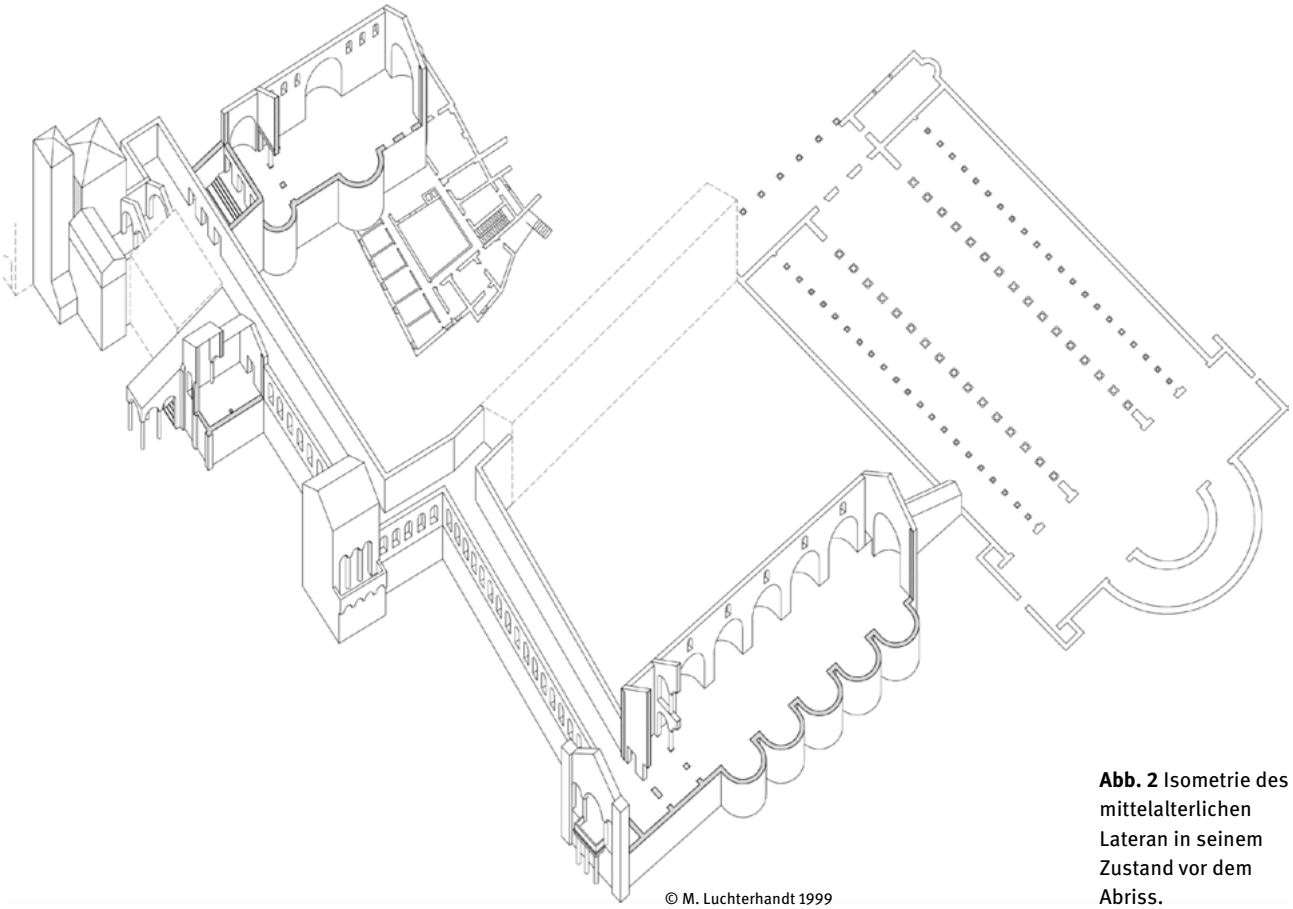

Abb. 2 Isometrie des mittelalterlichen Lateran in seinem Zustand vor dem Abriss.

Bereits die äußere Geschichte des Palastes weist eine Reihe von Anomalien auf. Denn auf eine frühe, expansive Bauzeit von der Spätantike bis um 870, in der die Gestalt weitgehend festlegt wurde (Abb. 2), folgte eine noch längere Phase der bloßen Bewahrung von über 700 Jahren, die nur wenige bauliche Erweiterungen, aber einen beträchtlichen Zuwachs an Überlieferung, Prestige und Symbolkraft mit sich brachte.[5] Schon im Hochmittelalter, auf dem Höhepunkt seiner europaweiten Bekanntheit wurde der Lateranpalast als ein jahrhundertealtes Monument und Geschichtsdenkmal in seinem um 800 erreichten Zustand weitgehend konserviert und versiegelt. Für einen Profanbau mit seinen stetig sich verändernden Anforderungen an Sicherheit, administrative Funktionalität und Wohnkomfort, mit seiner Notwendigkeit, mit den aktuellen Entwicklungen höfischer Kultur mitzuhalten, war dies weniger selbstverständlich als für einen Kirchenbau, in dem jahrhundertelang dieselbe Liturgie gefeiert wurde. Von anderen Höfen des Mittelalters ist diese Veränderungsresistenz nicht bekannt.

Hinzu kommt, dass der Lateranpalast schon früh Deutungen und Interpretationen produzierte, die über die praktischen und repräsentativen Zwecke einer Residenz weit hinausgingen. Ihre Spur zieht sich von den spätantiken *Actus Silvestri* über das Schriftgut der Kirchenreformzeit, die *Descriptio Ecclesiae Lateranensis* des 11./12. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Pilgerberichten des Spätmittelalters und schließlich den Traktaten neuzeitlicher Kirchenhistoriker und Lokalchronisten,

5 Zu den spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Bauphasen Lauer 1911, 1–138; Delle Rose 1991; Belting 1978; Luchterhandt 1999; Real 2004; Bauer 2004, 61–80; Luchterhandt 2014, 13f. Zu den hochmittelalterlichen Palasträumen bei der Nikolauskapelle, die Callixtus II. (1119–1124) und Innozenz II. (1130–1143) einrichten ließen, Herklotz 1989; Luchterhandt 2006, 319–326; Walter 1970–1971. Zu weiteren Räumlichkeiten unter Innozenz III. (1198–1216) und Gregor IX. (1227–1241) vgl. Lauer 1911, 187–196; Maddalò 1983.

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die das enigmatische Monument im Lichte von historischen Quellen und legendarischen Überlieferungen zu erklären versuchten.[6] Schon früh traten Auslegung und Erinnerung neben Nutzung und Bewahrung. Diese Flut an Deutungen hat nicht nur mit Alter und Entstehung des Bauwerks zu tun, für das jede Gründungsinformation fehlte, sondern auch mit seinem ambivalenten Status: einerseits der Wohn- und Verwaltungsbau von Bischof und Kurie, andererseits der Ort von religiösen Zeremonien, Heiltümern, Ikonen und Palasträumen, die an sakraler Würde nicht nur vielen Kirchenbauten gleichkamen, sondern zugleich in eine Gründungszeit der römischen Kirche zurückführten, die als Fluchtpunkt der kollektiven Erinnerung von hoher Bedeutsamkeit schien.

Dieser ambivalente Status war nicht nur das Erbe der Antike, deren Herrscherpaläste durchaus sakralen Charakter hatten. Er war auch das Ergebnis eines lokalen Funktionswandels, der den Palast des römischen Bischofs schon im Hochmittelalter zu einem heiligen Ort werden ließ, dessen Heiltümer sich wachsender Verehrung erfreuten. Es genügt hier, auf das Ende dieses Prozesses hinzuweisen: Was um 400 als Wohnhaus des römischen Bischofs begann, ist heute einer der meistfrequentierten Pilgerorte Roms (Abb. 3), ein *Locus sanctus*, dessen ursprünglicher Kontext für die meisten Besucher unbekannt oder bedeutungslos ist. Materiell gesehen ist die *Sancta Sanctorum* immer noch der letzte Überrest des mittelalterlichen Papstpalastes, das sakrale Relikt einer profanen Residenz. In der Wahrnehmung ist sie jedoch seit der Neugestaltung Sixtus' V. 1588–1590 ein Monument, das sich von seinem profanen, höfischen Hintergrund weitgehend emanzipiert hat.

Dieser Prozess einer so radikalen semantischen Umbewertung einer weltlichen Hofhaltung zum Pilgerziel ist vermutlich einzigartig. Er stellt nicht nur erhöhte Anforderungen an das Verständnis eines solchen Ortes, an die oft instabile Bedeutung profaner Bauwerke und die besondere Dynamik von Sakralisierungsprozessen. Er wirft auch die Frage auf, ob in der historischen Analyse des Palastes, die sich stark auf seine aktiven Bauphasen im 8. und 12. Jahrhundert konzentrierte, Fragen von Funktion, Repräsentation und Herrschaftssymbolik zu hoch gewichtet, die Produktion neuer Realitäten gegenüber dem Weiter- und Nachleben der alten überschätzt wurde. Denn während der Lateran als päpstliche Residenz heute nur noch ein Spezialthema der wissenschaftlichen Mediävistik ist, waren seine Heiltümer im Pilgerbetrieb des Anno Santo 2000 gegenwärtiger denn je, ohne dass dieses Phänomen eine eigenständige Analyse gefunden hätte.[7]

Dieser Widerspruch zwischen Leben und Nachleben begann nicht erst mit dem Abbruch des Palastes unter Sixtus V. Er ging diesem Abbruch bereits voraus. Schon das Heilige Jahr 1575 hatte zu einem hohen Pilgeraufkommen in den leerstehenden Räumlichkeiten des Palastes geführt, auf das Gregor XIII. mit punktuellen Baumaßnahmen reagierte, darunter die Neugestaltung der als Christusreliquie verehrten Palasttreppe durch die Hinzufügung seitlicher Treppenläufe, um Pilgern den Auf- und Abstieg zu ermöglichen.[8] Die Entscheidung seines Nachfolgers Sixtus V., den soeben hergerichteten Palastkomplex schon wenige Jahre später abzureißen und nur die *Scala Sancta* als eigenständigen Pilgerort zu erhalten, war erst ein Resultat der Erkenntnis, dass der moderne

6 *Actus Silvestri*: Pohlkamp 1984, 372; ders., in LMA VII, Sp. 1905–1908, Loenertz 1975; Pohlkamp 1988; Liverani 1988, 913f.; Fried 2007, 74–88; Pohlkamp 2007. Zur Kirchenreformzeit und *Descriptio Ecclesiae Lateranensis*: Lauer 1911, 139–186; Vogel 1956; Herklotz 1989, 71–95; Lucherini 2009; Marani 2012. Zu Pilgerberichten des Spätmittelalters und zu den Pilgerführern: Miedema 2001, 200–217; Miedema 2003, 93, 159f., 242f. Ein Beispiel für die Wahrnehmung des spätmittelalterlichen Palastkomplexes durch Romreisende bietet der Bericht des Nürnberger Patriziers Nikolaus Muffel von 1452: Muffel-Wiedmann 1999, 29–43. Frühneuzeitliche Abhandlungen (in Auswahl): Panvinio 1570; Alemanni 1625; Severano 1630, 111–134; Rasponi 1656; Millino 1666; Soresino 1672; Marangoni 1747. Vgl. hierzu Cempanari 2003. Zu Alemanni auch Herklotz 1995.

7 Höhepunkt der Feierlichkeiten war die Überführung der Salvatorikone aus der *Sancta Sanctorum* auf den Petersplatz anlässlich der Osterfeierlichkeiten 2000, die später zur Herstellung einer Replik führte: *La nuova icona* 2007; Belting 2005, 40f. Einen literarischen Reflex des modernen Pilgerkults um die *Sancta Sanctorum* bietet Harry Mulisch's 1992 erschienener Roman „De ontdekking van de hemel" (dt. „Die Entdeckung des Himmels").

8 Freiberg 1991; Horsch 2014, 75–95. Weiteres Quellenmaterial für die Organisation des Pilgerverkehrs im Palast findet sich im Kapitelsarchiv unter den Ausgabenbüchern der Heiligen Jahre: Archivio Capitolare Lateranense, S I, *Iubilaei Annorum 1575–1600–1625–1675 (Libro del Entrato et Esito di tutte le elemosine)*.

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Abb 3. Giovanni Battista Falda, Die Scala Santa Sixtus V. mit den Resten des Triklinium Leos III.

Kurienbetrieb, den der Papst dort plante, mit dem bestehenden Pilgerverkehr nicht mehr vereinbar war und beide Seiten gezwungen hätte, sich die Nutzung der *Sancta Sanctorum* zu teilen.[9] Denn schon im Spätmittelalter waren die Räume des Palastes mit ihren Passionsreliquien zu einem Rundgang organisiert worden, der vom Querhausbereich der Basilika über die Konzilsaula und den Korridor des Frühmittelalters bis zur *Sancta Sanctorum* führte und sich als Ersatz für die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem spätestens 1450 eines großen Zulaufs erfreute.[10] Wie Dokumente aus den avignonesischen Registern und die verschiedenen Redaktionen der Indulgentienführer zeigen, dürfte diese Freigabe der Palasträume für den öffentlichen Pilgerverkehr zwischen dem Jubeljahr 1350 und der Zeit um 1400 erfolgt sein, vielleicht nach 1366/67 oder 1377, als sich zuerst Urban V. und dann endgültig Gregor XI. bei ihrer Rückkehr aus Avignon für den Vatikan entschieden.[11] Noch Clemens VI. (1342–1352) hatte die *aule papalis* des Mittelalters 1343–1348 aufwendig sanieren lassen.[12] Sein Nachfolger Urban V. dagegen, der schon von Avignon aus seit 1366 den Vatikan herrichten ließ, überführte die prominenten Apostelreliquien aus der *Sancta Sanctorum* in die Basilika, um sie der dauerhaften Verehrung zugänglich zu machen und gab damit erstmals dauerhaft päpstliche Rechte an der eigenen Palastkapelle aus der Hand.[13]

9 Der Umbauplan ist dokumentiert in einer Notiz Ugonios (Burkart 1989, 11) und im „Archivplan" des Archivio Capitolare (alte Sign.: Q 7), der zwischen Juli 1585 und März 1586 in der Werkstatt Fontanas entstand. In dieser Zeit errichtete Fontana den *coritor novo* zwischen der Vorhalle der Basilika und dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchium, der noch heute erhalten ist. Erst im März 1586 entschloss sich der Papst zum Abriss. Zu Abbruchgeschichte und Dokumenten Luchterhandt 2006, 222–227. Für die *Scala Sancta* auch Witcombe 1985; Donadono 2000; Horsch 2014, 20–23, 134–145. Keine Notiz von der neueren Forschung nimmt Ippoliti 2008), 1f., 41–43.

10 Lit. wie Anm. 6; Ginzburg 1981, 151–157. Die einschlägigen Quellen zur *Scala Santa* bei Horsch 2014, 85–92.

11 Erstmals angedeutet ist der Weg durch den Palast in dem vor 1370 entstandenen Indulgentienführer BAV, Vat. lat. 4265, f. 213r/v mit einem Hinweis auf die *Sancta Sanctorum*, die allerdings schon länger zugänglich war (s. u.). Die später üblichen Hinweise auf andere Reliquien in den Aulen und Korridoren des Palastes begegnen jedoch erst in dem 1382 datierten *Memoriale de mirabilibus et indulgentiis quae in urbe Romana existunt*, ed. Valentini/Zucchetti 1953, IV, 84–86. Zum Umzug in den Vatikan Monciatti 2005, 222–230.

12 Die Sanierungen sind dokumentiert in den päpstlichen Rechnungsbüchern: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera apostolica, Introitus et exitus 212: *Liber receptorium et expensarium altariatus ecclesiae S. Petri de Urbe et expensarium pro ecclesia S. Johannis Lateranensi* (1343–1348).

13 Mondini 2011.

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Doch das öffentliche Interesse an den Heiltümern des Lateran reichte noch weiter in die Geschichte des Palastes zurück. Leider wurden die betreffenden Dokumente häufig übersehen oder wenig beachtet, da sie sich nicht auf konkrete Baumaßnahmen bezogen und daher für eine kulturwissenschaftliche Rezeptionsforschung nicht interessant schienen. Schon um 1200 konnten hochadlige Pilger und romreisende Kleriker wie König Philippe Auguste oder Gerald von Wales im Palast Ikone und Reliquien der *Sancta Sanctorum* besichtigen.[14] Einen baulichen Rahmen gewann der Kult um die Bilder und Reliquien des Lateran jedoch erst durch den Neubau der *Sancta Sanctorum* unter Nikolaus III. (1277–1280), denn dieser ermöglichte es Pilgern, den Palast selbst zu betreten und die Heiltümer der Kapelle von einem Vorraum durch das heutige Gitter zu betrachten, ohne die Kapelle selbst betreten zu müssen.[15] Diese gilt zu Unrecht immer noch als päpstliche *cappella secreta*, denn Nikolaus III. residierte fast ausschließlich im Vatikan, der für die Durchführung der im 13. Jahrhundert aufkommenden Palastliturgie bessere Voraussetzungen bot.[16] Bereits 1291 erließ sein Nachfolger Nikolaus IV. von Assisi aus einen Ablass für die zahlreichen Besucher, die an den Festen mit geöffneter Ikone (*imago aperta*), aber auch an acht weiteren Festtagen mit folgender Oktav, den Palast hinaufstiegen um die päpstliche Kapelle aufzusuchen.[17] Genau geregelte Tarife für diejenigen, die aus Rom, über die Berge oder das Meer kamen, sprechen dafür, dass dieser Pilgerstrom schon sehr umfangreich war und dass er es vielleicht sogar war, der einen Neubau der *Sancta Sanctorum* nötig machte und nicht das Interesse der Päpste an einem neuen Kapellenraum.[18]

Die Öffnung des päpstlichen Palastes für die Besucher seiner Ikonen und Reliquien markierte den Beginn seiner Umwandlung in ein öffentliches Pilgerziel, die sich bereits deutlich vor 1300 abzeichnete, aber erst mit dem Exil der Päpste entfalten konnte. Bereits der Kult um seine Ikone lässt erkennen, warum die päpstliche Residenz nach ihrer Aufgabe als Wohnsitz eine zweite, neue Identität gewann, bevor sie ihre alte verlor. Denn ihr schon frühmittelalterlicher Kult hat die Geschichte dieses Palastes weitaus mehr geprägt, als dies eine Analyse erkennen lässt, die sich allein auf die Funktion einer Bischofsresidenz und das Papsttum als Institution konzentriert, also auf Gebrauch, Funktion, Zeremoniell und öffentliche Repräsentation.

Die Geschichte der römischen Salvatorikone und ihr Wandel vom Palastbild zum öffentlichen Pilgerort ist nur ein Beispiel dafür, dass die Konstruktion einer kulturellen Erinnerung im Fall des Lateran sehr unterschiedliche und komplexe Wurzeln besitzt. Diese Wurzeln lassen sich definieren a) in den praktischen Funktionen eines Bischofspalastes und seinen öffentlichen Zeremonien, b) in der historischen Traditionsbildung des Ortes, aber auch c) in dem sakralen Eigenrecht von Ort und Objekten, in dem, was Alexei Lidov zuletzt als *Hierotopy* definierte: als „creation of sacred space", durch Alter, Würde und Charisma bestimmter Objekte, deren Kult der Papst nur in begrenzter Form generieren oder unterdrücken konnte: „Hierotopy is creation of sacred spaces regarded

14 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae* IV.6, ed. Brewer 1861–1891, IV, 278f.; Benedict von Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. Stubbs 1867, II, 228f.

15 Vorraum und Durchblick sind beschrieben in Panvinio 1562, 486, und erkennbar auf dem Archivplan (Abb. 6). Unklar ist, ob – wie Panvinio berichtet – vor dem Durchblick ein Altar stand, der Pilgern aber den Zugang erschwert hätte. Der in diesem Punkt detaillierte Archivplan zeigt keinen. Zur *Sancta Sanctorum* unter Nikolaus III. vgl. Righetti Tosti Croce 1991; Gardner 1995; Cempanari 2003, 89–166; Horsch 2014, 44–55. Nur verwiesen sei auf die Akten eines Prozesses von 1622 im römischen Staatsarchiv, in dem Zeugen ausführlich die Nebenräume der Palastkapelle vor dem Umbau Sixtus V. beschreiben. Eine Publikation hierzu ist in Vorbereitung.

16 Zu den vatikanischen Palastkapellen unter Nikolaus vgl. Monciatti 2005, 145–149. Zur Entwicklung des päpstlichen Zeremoniells seit dem 13. Jh. Dykmans 1978; Dykmans 1977–1985.

17 Bulle Nikolaus IV. (Orvieto, 23. März 1291): ASV, Reg. Vat. 46, f. 20v, c. 108; Langlois 1893, 677, n. 4712. Eine umfangreiche Erneuerung des Ablasses erfolgte 1318 durch Johannes XXII.: Pavan 1978, 36; Cempanari 2003, 320f.; Helas/Wolf 2011, 35.

18 In diesem Sinne auch Horsch 2014, 44–48.

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as a special form of creativity, and a field of historical research, which reveals and analyses the particular examples of the creativity."[19]

Residenz, Pilgerziel, Geschichtsdenkmal diese drei „Geschichten" des Lateran hatten jeweils ihre eigene Genese. Aber sie lassen sich nicht als Teilaspekte einer Gesamtgeschichte des Palastes begreifen, die auf der unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmung gesellschaftlicher Gruppen beruhten. Vielmehr waren sie eigenständige Faktoren in einer komplexen Interaktion aus verschiedenen Prozessen, deren Gegen- und Miteinander erst die Geschichte der päpstlichen Residenz prägte. Um diese Wechselwirkung zu verstehen, ist es jedoch hilfreich, verschiedene Arten der Traditionsbildung zunächst modellhaft zu trennen, um in einem zweiten Schritt ihre Wechselwirkung zu untersuchen. Dies sollte hier am Beispiel des päpstlichen *Possesso* versucht werden, denn seine Veränderungen sind ein aufschlussreicher Seismograph für Veränderungen und Entwicklungen des Kultes am päpstlichen Hof, die langfristig auch die Wahrnehmung der Residenz beeinflussten.

Die funktionale Tradition

Es ist die Nutzungsgeschichte des Lateran als Wohnung und Haushaltung des römischen Bischofs, Sitz seiner Verwaltung und Ort der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung. Errichtet wohl überwiegend zwischen dem 6. und späten 8. Jahrhundert nach dem Vorbild bischöflicher und königlicher Paläste scheint das *Patriarchium* des Frühmittelalters mit seinem komplexen Gefüge von Aulen, Kapellen, Bädern, Schatz-, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsräumen die praktischen Bedürfnisse der Kurie insgesamt erfüllt zu haben. Paradoxerweise hat das enorme Wachstum der römischen Kurie seit dem 11. Jahrhundert mit ihren neuen Ämtern, Behörden und Aufgabenbereichen nur wenig Auswirkung auf den Palast selbst gehabt.[20] Mit Ausnahme der Nikolauskapelle und der Wohn- und Beratungsräume aus dem 12. Jahrhundert blieb die grundlegende Disposition des Palastes mit seinen Hauptschauplätzen noch um 1300 diejenige des Frühmittelalters. Neue Gebäude für die päpstliche Verwaltung oder die *audientia publica* entstanden im 13. Jahrhundert offenbar nicht mehr hier sondern am Campus.

Dieses Phänomen ist bemerkenswert. Denn es beschreibt einen Prozess der frühen Musealisierung und Historisierung eines Baudenkmals, der eine Erklärung jenseits von praktischen Zwängen verlangt. Spätere Papstpaläste in Rieti, Anagni, Viterbo oder Avignon folgten wie selbstverständlich den neuen Tendenzen des spätmittelalterlichen Palastbaus mit seinen Ansprüchen an fortifikatorische Sicherheit, Funktionalität, Kommodität und zeitgemäße Ästhetik.[21] Es gab niemals einen Versuch, den Lateran in dieser Weise zu modernisieren, obwohl gerade die Bedürfnisse des zunehmend auf Palast und päpstliche Kapelle konzentrierten Zeremoniells, das seit Innozenz III. die Stationsliturgie ersetzte, vom Lateran nur unzureichend erfüllt wurden und man schon deshalb den Vatikan von Beginn an unter anderen Voraussetzungen plante.[22] Anders als viele der Bischöfe Italiens oder Frankreichs zelebrierte der Papst in Rom nicht nur in alten, ehrwürdigen Kirchenräumen, sondern auch in ebenso alten Palasträumen. Nur am Vatikan und außerhalb Roms fand das Papsttum Anschluss an die höfische Gegenwart. Die zunehmende Bevorzugung des dortigen Palastes reagierte nicht nur auf urbanistische Verschiebungen innerhalb Roms, sie respektierte auch das alte Patriarchium am Lateran als ein historisch abgeschlossenes Ensemble, das als Ganzes nicht mehr in Frage gestellt wurde.

19 Lidov 2006, 32f.

20 Vgl. Jordan 1939; Elze 1952; Toubert 2001.

21 Für das 13. Jh. im Überblick Le Pogam 2005, 525–643; Gigliozzi 2003. Für den Vatikan Voci 1992; Monciatti 2005, 115–158. Für Viterbo Radke 1996, 54–110. Für Avignon Kerscher 2000; Schimmelpfennig 2005.

22 Grundlegend Schimmelpfennig 1992; Van Dijk/Walker 1975. Für den Vatikanpalast Monciatti 2005, 91–158.

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Diese Resistenz gegen zeitgemäße Neuerungen war zugleich die Folge einer praktischen Entfremdung. Schon vom späten 11. Jahrhundert an diente der Lateran immer seltener als päpstlicher Wohnsitz. Wie Agostino Paravicini Bagliani herausgearbeitet hat, hielten sich die Päpste zwischen 1100 und 1308 im Durchschnitt nur noch ca. 40 % ihrer Pontifikate im Palast beim Lateran auf, zumeist in der Zeit zwischen Advent und Ostern.[23] Dies war die Hauptzeit des Kirchenjahrs mit seinen Prozessionen zu den Stationskirchen und den Banketten im Palast an wichtigen Kirchenfesten. Die Bezeichnung „Winterpalast" durch den englischen Romreisenden Magister Gregorius (um 1220) ist nur eine freundliche Umschreibung dafür, dass auch Päpste, die in Rom residierten, die heißen Monate von Mai bis Oktober selten in der Stadt verbrachten und an der Prozession ihrer Palastikone in der Nacht zum 15. August nicht mehr teilnahmen.[24]

Es ist interessanterweise diese Epoche des zunehmenden Funktionsverlustes, in der sich das *Constitutum Constantini* im Sprachgebrauch der Kurie endgültig durchsetzte, mit seiner behaupteten Gründung des Bischofskomplexes am Lateran in einem von Konstantin geschenkten kaiserlichen *Palatium*. Diese „Konstantinische Fälschung" entstand bekanntlich schon im späten 8. oder frühen 9. Jahrhundert und ihre offizielle Adaption seit Leo IX. (1053) dürfte vor allem mit dem Primatsanspruch der Reformpäpste zu erklären sein.[25] Doch wurde ihre rasche und breite Rezeption in den lokalen Beschreibungen der *Descriptio* und der römischen Guidenliteratur seit den *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* sicher erleichtert durch die Tatsache, dass der Lateran zu dieser Zeit bereits ein Ort der Geschichte war, mit seinen altertümlichen Palastaulen bereits weit entfernt vom Wohngeschmack der Gegenwart und durch das Fehlen einer gesicherten Gründungstradition – anders als die Kathedrale – auch in besonderer Weise anfällig für neue Deutungen. Im Frühmittelalter, als man viele Triklinien und Palastaulen nach ihren päpstlichen Erbauern benannte, gab es keinen nachweisbaren Versuch, irgendeinen Bereich des Palastes mit Konstantin zu identifizieren.[26]

Das Bekenntnis zu dieser Gründungslegende war nicht nur ein Produkt kurialer Reformideologie, es war auch das Resultat von praktischer Entfremdung und dürfte durch die zahlreichen Traditionsbrüche im Kurienbetrieb des 10.–12. Jahrhunderts begünstigt worden sein. Die Unsicherheiten, die bereits im 12. Jahrhundert die ersten Kompilatoren des päpstlichen Zeremoniells, Benedikt und der päpstliche Kämmerer Cencius, bei der Benennung etlicher Orte zeigen, sprechen dafür, dass das Wissen über den Palast, über Alter, Zweck und Gründung seiner Räume oft schon lückenhaft war und der Spielraum für Legenden größer wurde.[27] So wurde aus der *Aula Leonina* Leos III. schon im 13. Jahrhundert, als man sie an den Bischof von Albano vermietete, die neutralere *domus* oder *casa maior*, gegen 1300 dann in irrtümlicher Namensgebung ein *palatium Zachariae papae* und schließlich bei dem Nürnberger Romreisenden Muffel 1452 sogar *Constantinus rathauß*.[28]

23 Paravicini Bagliani 1988; Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 167–179.

24 *Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, c. 32, ed. Huygens 1970, 30: „ … in porticu etiam ante hiemale palatium domini pape"; vgl. Gregorius-Osborne 1987, 96f.; Gregorius-Nardella 1997, 132f.; Zur Nicht-Teilnahme der Päpste an der Augustprozession im Hochmittelalter Wolf 1990, 75f.; Helas/Wolf 1990, 22f. Nicht das päpstliche Bild wurde dadurch zu einem Symbol der Kommune – so Wolf –, wohl aber das Ereignis.

25 Zur Forschungsdiskussion besonders Fuhrmann 1966; Loenertz 1974; Petersmann 1974; Pohlkamp 1988; zuletzt Hartmann 2006, 182–193; Fried 2007, 53–72.

26 Luchterhandt 2006, 324–326. Dieser Tatbestand sei Loenertz 1976 entgegengehalten, der im *Constitutum Constantini* einen lokalen Gründungsmythos des 8. Jhs. sieht, der auf Kleriker des lateranischen Palastes zurückgehe.

27 Insgesamt zeigt sich schon im 12. Jahrhundert die Tendenz, Palasträume rückwirkend Papst Zacharias zuzuschreiben, was ihre Identifikation nicht erleichtert. Allen Versuchen, anhand der Zeremonienbücher Orte und Räume dieses Papstes zu identifizieren (Herklotz 1985; Horsch 2003) ist mit Vorsicht zu begegnen.

28 Ordo Benedikt, c. 48, Ordo Albinus, c. 3, Ordo Cencius, c. 35, ed. Fabre/Duchesne 1892, II, 123, 153, 298; Cerimoniale des Stefaneschi, c. 20, ed. Dykmans 1977–1985, II, 284; Muffel-Wiedmann 1999, 38.

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Die zeremonielle Tradition

Die frühe Historisierung des Lateran zum Traditionsort der Kirche, der in alter Gestalt erhalten aber nur phasenweise bewohnt wurde, spiegelt sich auch in seiner Nutzung durch das Zeremoniell. Schon seit der Spätantike war der Lateranpalast Schauplatz von kirchlichen und höfischen Riten, die seit dem 6. Jahrhundert in den Papstviten und *Ordines romani* sporadisch vermerkt, allerdings erst seit dem 12. Jahrhundert nach Vorlagen des 10./11. Jahrhunderts als päpstliches Zeremoniell zusammenhängend aufgezeichnet wurden.[29] Am Fuß der Palasttreppe begann die Prozession zu den Stationskirchen, nach der Rückkehr folgten an Ostern, Weihnachten und anderen Festtagen die Bankette im Palast mit der rituellen Entlohnung der Prozessionsteilnehmer.[30] Höhepunkt der zeremoniellen Intensität war die Karwoche von Palmsonntag bis Ostern, in der verschiedene Aulen, Korridore und Kapellen in die Riten der Basilika einbezogen wurden und die Kommunikation zwischen beiden Schauplätzen besonders eng war.[31]

In seiner vollständigen Form aufgezeichnet findet sich dieses Palastzeremoniell zwischen 1140 und 1143 im Ordo des Kanonikers Benedikt von St. Peter, einer privaten Kompilation, die außerhalb Roms im Auftrag des Kardinals Guido von Castello entstand.[32] Ungeachtet etlicher Abweichungen und Veränderungen, die auf eine nicht streng normierte Praxis hinweisen, werden wichtige, auf den Palast bezogene Zeremonien noch in den späteren Kompilationen des Basler Ordo, des Albinus (1189) und Cencius (1192) bis um 1200 wiederholt.[33] Bemerkenswert ist jedoch, dass die Zeremonienbücher des Hochmittelalters ausschließlich Palasträume erwähnen, die bereits unter Leo III. (795–816) oder früher nachweisbar sind. Keiner der später entstandenen Räume fand noch Berücksichtigung in den Riten, darunter das dreiapsidiale Triklinium Gregors IV. (827–844) oder die von Nikolaus I. begonnene, von Hadrian II. vollendete *Basilica Nicolaitana*, die als einer der prächtigsten Aulen des Palastes beschrieben ist.[34] Die Bevorzugung bestimmter Räume im höfischen Zeremoniell muss demnach schon bald nach den Erweiterungen Leos III. aufgekommen sein und konditionierte, begünstigt durch wenige bauliche Veränderungen, auf lange Zeit die Nutzung des Palastes. Dies spricht für die Angaben des Liber Pontificalis, dass schon Leo III. erstmals Riten und Vorschriften (*usibus et ordinibus*) für den von ihm beträchtlich erweiterten Palast kodifizieren ließ.[35]

Man könnte diese komplementäre Kanonisierung von Baugestalt und zeremonieller Organisation einen Prozess der rituellen Abschließung nennen. Die Gestalt des frühmittelalterlichen Patriarchiums mit seinen bis um 800 errichteten Aulen, Korridoren und Kapellen gab den Rahmen vor für die Zeremonien, die ihnen eingerichtet wurden. Umgekehrt fixierte diese Zeremonien für viele Jahrhunderte auch die bauliche Struktur des Palastes im Zustand des Frühmittelalters, denn um des Alters und der Würde dieser Riten willen wurde keiner der Räume umgebaut, abgerissen oder durch einen Neubau ersetzt. Dies würde erklären, warum der Lateran auch im Spätmittelalter nicht dem Stil anderer europäischer Höfe angepasst wurde und Neubauten für die Verwaltung nur am Campus entstanden.

29 Elze 1952, 51f.; Schimmelpfennig 2002; Schimmelpfennig 1973, 6–17; Gussone 1978, 144–148, 261–266, 283–286 u. passim. Eine zusammenhängende Erfassung aller frühmittelalterlichen Zeugnisse zu päpstlichen Zeremonien über Schimmelpfennig 1992 hinaus steht noch aus.

30 Zu den Riten des Palastes vgl. Herklotz 1985; Luchterhandt 1999; Luchterhandt 2005, 194–199.

31 De Blaauw 1994, 163f., 197–200, 292f., 320f.; De Blaauw 2004.

32 Schimmelpfennig 1973, 6–16.

33 Ebd.

34 Liber Pontificalis, I, 503; II, 81, 166, 176.

35 Liber Pontificalis, II, 109: Herbers 1996, 163f.

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Es erklärt zugleich, warum der Palast von vielen Päpsten bevorzugt im Winter bewohnt wurde, denn allein die dortigen Zeremonien des Kirchenjahres von Advent bis Ostern machten ihre Anwesenheit unabdingbar, nicht Diplomatie, Gericht oder Verwaltung.[36] Spätestens vom 12. Jahrhundert an war der Lateran in erster Linie ein Zeremonialbau, ein Schauplatz von alten und traditionsreichen Ritualen, die zur Identität der römischen Kirche gehörten, und erst in zweiter Linie ein bischöflicher Wohnsitz. Die päpstliche Entourage mit ihrer Kanzlei und ihrem Gerichtshof war auf diesen Standort nicht angewiesen. Sie konnte in wenigen Tagen nach Sutri, Montefiascone, Orvieto oder andere Orte im Umland transferiert werden, wie die päpstlichen Urkunden für das 13. Jahrhundert hinreichend belegen.[37]

Es war also das rituelle Gedächtnis der Kurie, das den päpstlichen Palast in seiner frühmittelalterlichen Gestalt über Jahrhunderte konservierte, und es waren die alten, traditionsreichen Zeremonien, die seinen Erhalt noch sinnvoll machten, als die Päpste längst im Vatikan wohnten. Denn auch die Päpste der Neuzeit zelebrierten den *Possesso* von der Peterskirche zum Lateran wieder in den Formen des 13. Jahrhunderts, bevor die Kurie Rom verließ, und damit nach einem Ritus, der eher eine Norm wiedergab als die tatsächlichen Realitäten und spätestens in Avignon seine Bedeutung verloren hatte.[38] Weit davon entfernt, kirchliche Denkmalpflege zu betreiben, zollten sie ihren Tribut einem Monument, das ein Erinnerungsort der päpstlichen Rituale geworden war und dies von Zeit zu Zeit noch einmal wurde, nachdem es seine praktische Bedeutung schon früher eingebüßt hatte.

Das lokale Gedächtnis der Heiligen Orte

Allerdings war dieses rituelle Gedächtnis nicht so stabil und unveränderlich, wie es die bisherigen Überlegungen nahelegen. Und dies führt zum dritten Aspekt, dem Gedächtnis heiliger Orte. Ohne ins Detail zu gehen, gibt es genügend Anhaltspunkte, dass der Lateran schon im Frühmittelalter sakrale Schauplätze und Heiltümer von großem Prestige besaß, die erheblich zur Würde des Patriarchiums beitrugen. Zu ihnen gehörten die Kapellen und Oratorien mit ihren Reliquienschätzen, Ikonen mit früher Verehrungstradition, aber auch Schatzkammern für das liturgische Gerät oder die Donative aus den Pilgerkirchen. In Bezug auf die Hauptkapelle *Sancta Sanctorum* (Abb. 3) hat eine jüngere Untersuchung ihrer Reliquienzettel ergeben, dass sie schon im Frühmittelalter einen großen Schatz an Reliquien aus Palästina besaß, die vermutlich seit der arabischen Eroberung Jerusalems 635/638 in mehreren Schüben nach Rom gekommen waren – lange bevor die Kanoniker des Hochmittelalters diese Reliquien als Argument gegen den Vorrang der Peterskirche entdeckten.[39] Auch der römische Bildkult hatte vor der Geistlichkeit des Hofes nicht Halt gemacht. 753 bei der Rombelagerung durch die Langobarden trug Stefan II. (752–757) die Christusikone der *Sancta Sanctorum* (Abb. 4) als *imago sacratissima* und „nicht von Menschenhand gemachtes Bild" in einer Bußprozession durch die Stadt.[40] Ein weiteres Paar von Apostelikonen über dem Eingang der Basilika des Papstes Theodor galt schon 692 als Kultort und blieb es bis um 1200 als Station des päpstlichen *Possesso* (Abb. 5).[41]

36 Schimmelpfennig 1992, 52–59. Zu den kirchlichen Zeremonien De Blaauw 1994, 139–60, 181–200, 267–325.

37 Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 169f.

38 Zum *Possesso* in der Renaissance vgl. Schimmelpfennig 1974, 219–246; Schimmelpfennig 1990; Bölling 2006, 196–210. Zum *Possesso* Sixtus V. auch De Blaauw 2003.

39 Galland 2004; weiterhin Reudenbach 2005; Reudenbach 2008; Marani 2012; Burkart 2011; Smith 2014. Zur Reliquienpropaganda der Laterankanoniker im Hochmittelalter Herklotz 1989, 71–88; De Blaauw 1990; Champagne 2007.

40 Liber Pontificalis, I, 442f.: Wolf 1990, 38f.; Belting 1990, 78f.; Romano 2003, 306f.; Noreen 2006.

41 Liber Pontificalis, I, 374; Ordo Cencius, c. 80: „Ducitur per ipsam porticum sub iconas Petri et Pauli apostolorum quae per mare venerunt nullo ductore, et intrat basilicam Sancti Laurentii": Fabre/Duchèsne 1889–1910, I, 312.

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Abb. 4 Rom, Kapelle *Sancta Sanctorum*.

Diese Reliquien, Bilder und Objekte waren nicht nur heilige Paraphernalia eines Herrschers wie die 19.000 Reliquien, die Friedrich der Weise in seinem Wittenberger Schloss sammelte. Sie entwickelten ihre eigene lokale Identität und prägten die Geschichte des Palastes in einer strikten

Dieselbe Angabe findet sich im Ordo des Albinus, c. 3 (ebd., 124), sowie im „Basler Fragment“ (c. 27): Schimmelpfennig 1968, 63. Zu den päpstlichen Apostelikonen zuletzt Luchterhandt 2007.

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Abb. 5 Rom, Kapelle *Sancta Sanctorum*, Salvatorikone.

Verbindung von Ort und Heiligkeit, die sich auf andere Orte nicht übertragen ließ: Das „ubi Papa ibi Roma“ fand in der historischen Kulttopographie des Palastkomplexes einen Widerstand, den alle Päpste zu respektieren hatten. Dies unterscheidet den Lateran des Mittelalters grundlegend von anderen Papstpalästen, die in Konkurrenz zu ihm entstanden, sei es in Viterbo, Anagni, Avignon oder am Vatikan. Keiner von ihnen erhielt einen Kapellenraum, der der *Sancta Sanctorum* vergleichbar war, und es muss den Päpsten bewusst gewesen sein, dass eine solche Verbindung von Sakralität, Alter und Geschichte auch nicht transferiert oder durch einen Willensakt geschaffen werden konnte. Denn die Heiltümer des mittelalterlichen Patriarchiums waren nicht Eigentum des Papstes. Sie blieben an Ort und Überlieferung gebunden, obwohl es ein Leichtes gewesen wäre, die Salvatorikone der *Sancta Sanctorum* oder ihre Reliquiare nach Avignon mit-

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zunehmen. Dass man im 14. Jahrhundert den Inhalt der Palastkapelle nicht antastete und ihre Versorgung von Avignon aus dem Klerus der Peterskirche übertrug,[42] spricht dafür, dass auch Päpste fern von Rom die kultgeschichtliche Integrität dieses Ortes und das Interesse der Pilger respektierten.

Um das komplexe Verhältnis zwischen dem Papst und den sakralen Orten seines eigenen Herrschaftsbereiches zu erklären, ist es sinnvoll, am Ende einen kurzen Blick auf jene Zeremonien zu werfen, in denen diese Schauplätze eine prominente Rolle spielten. Die geeignetste dafür ist der päpstlichen *Possesso*, die rituelle Inbesitznahme des Lateran nach der Wahl jedes neuen Papstes als Zeichen seiner temporalen Herrschaftsrechte.[43] Dieses Ritual, das von der Spätantike bis in das 16. Jahrhundert dokumentiert ist, definierte das Verhältnis des Papstes zu dem Ort, an dem er residierte, mit sehr interessanten Veränderungen: In seinen Anfängen, die erstmals anlässlich der Wahl Sergius I. 687 genauer beschrieben sind, scheint es eine einfache, nicht in allen Details normativ geregelte Introduktion in den Palast gewesen zu sein, die in friedlichen Zeiten auf dem päpstlichen Thron endete, bei schismatischen Wahlen manchmal in einer militärischen Auseinandersetzung.[44]

Eine detailliertere Schilderung der Zeremonien findet sich erst im Jahr 1099, anlässlich der Wahl Paschalis II.[45] Erwähnt und beschrieben werden die verschiedenen Inthronisationszeremonien im Palast, aber noch keine der heiligen Orte oder Objekte, die später so vielen Pilgern auffielen. Von der Basilika geleitet man den Papst die Palasttreppe hinauf durch die Konzilsaula zu den beiden curullischen Stühlen *non patriarchales sed imperiales*, wo man ihm sieben Schlüssel als Symbole der sieben Geistesgaben und die *ferula* überreicht. Dann so die Vita „geleitet man ihn durch die Gemächer und der Papst, der bereits Herr ist, vollendet das Zeremoniell durch Sitzen und Schreiten".[46] Die konstituierenden Elemente des Zeremoniells sind Einzug und Thronsetzung. Schon als Souverän betritt der Papst seinen Palast und ergreift im Voranschreiten symbolisch Besitz von seinen Räumen.

90 Jahre später, in den Ordines des Albinus (1189) und Cencius (1192) erscheint dieses Zeremoniell substanziell verändert, denn nun finden sich auch die heiligen Orte des Palastes in den Ablauf der Palastergreifung integriert.[47] Wenn der Papst zu den zwei Stühlen vor der Sylvesterkapelle geführt wird, dann folgt der Hinweis „wo das Bild unseres Salvators ist, das einst durch einen Juden verletzt wurde und Blut verströmte". Nach der Übergabe von *ferula* und Schlüssel schreitet der Papst „unter die Ikonen der beiden Apostel, die ohne Hilfe über das Meer kamen".[48] Dies sind die beiden erwähnten Apostelikonen über dem Eingang der Basilika des Theodor, die schon 692 den Ort eines zeremoniellen Hoheitsaktes bildeten und in mehreren Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts als besondere Orte erwähnt werden (Abb. 6).[49] Die letzte Station des *Possesso* schließlich ist nicht die Inbesitznahme der Palasträume, sondern der Besuch des Papstes in der *Sancta Sanctorum*. Hier betet der römische Bischof vor der Ikone und den Reliquien, bevor er in seine privaten Gemächer geht. Anstelle des Durchschreitens der Räume ist nun der Antrittsbesuch beim heiligsten Ort des

42 Dokumentiert in den päpstlichen Rechnungsbüchern des 14. Jhs.: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera apostolica, Introitus et Exitus 174, 1338–1342: *Introitus et Exitus Altariatus basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe Anno 1338 per totam diem VII. Maij 1342*, f. 35v (Aufwendungen für die *Sancta Sanctorum*).

43 Zum Ablauf des *Possesso* Schimmelpfennig 1974, 239–246; Schimmelpfennig 1973, 381 (mit Quellenverzeichnis); Schimmelpfennig 1968; Schimmelpfennig 1970; Herklotz 1989, 46–48; De Blaauw 1994, 198–200, 319–323; Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 51–68.

44 Zur Frühzeit besonders Eichmann 1951; Gussone 1978, 144–152.

45 Liber Pontificalis, II, 296: zu dem geschilderten Ritual vgl. die Erläuterungen von Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 52f.

46 Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 52.

47 Ordo Albinus, c. 3, ed. Fabre/Duchesne 1889–1910, I, 123–25; Ordo Cencius, c. XLVIII.77–84, ed. Fabre/Duchesne (1905), I, 311–313. Weitere Details finden sich in den von Schimmelpfennig publizierten Fragmenten in Basel und London: Schimmelpfennig 1968; Schimmelpfennig 1970.

48 Ordo Cencius, c. 80, ed. Fabre/Duchèsne 1905, I, 312.

49 Wie Anm. 41.

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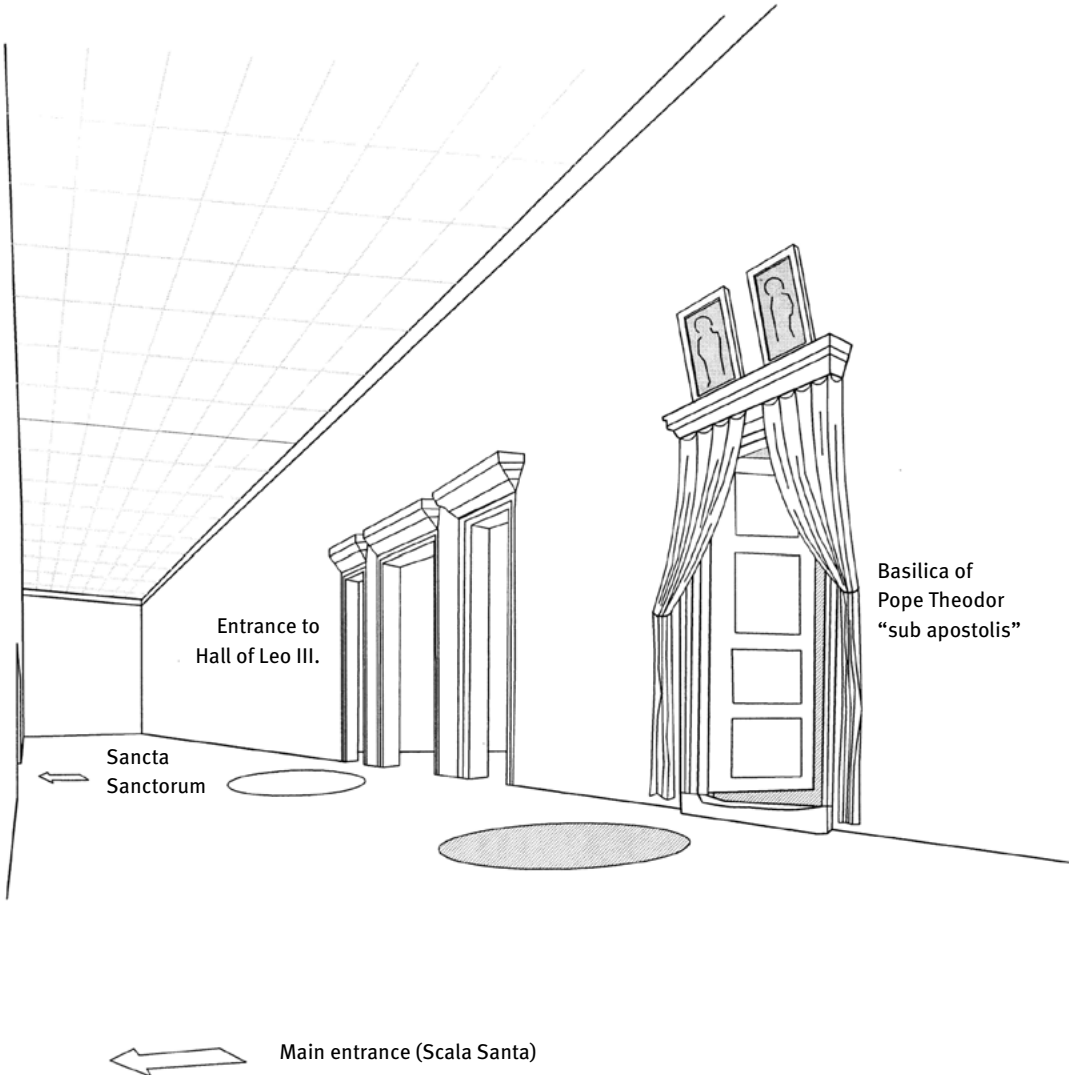

Abb. 6 Skizze der „Macrona" mit Eingang zur *basilica Theodori* und Apostelikonen.

Palastes der eigentliche Höhepunkt der Introduktionszeremonie. Mehr wie ein Besucher als wie ein *dominus* betritt der Papst seinen eigenen Herrschaftsbereich, dessen eigentlicher Herr Christus ist, gegenwärtig durch Bild und Reliquien.

Diese nachträgliche Integration verehrter Bilder in eine vormals säkulare Palastzeremonie zwischen 1099 und 1192 ist kein Zufall. Das 12. Jahrhundert war die große Zeit der lateranischen Salvatorikone mit ihren zahlreichen Kopien im römischen Umland.[50] Ihre Prominenz ist bezeugt durch den Laterankanoniker Nikolaus Maniacutius, der ihr um 1150/60 einen langen Sermo widmet, aber auch durch Johannes Diaconus, der die Rolle der *Sancta Sanctorum* als dem heiligsten Ort innerhalb des Laterankomplexes hervorhebt.[51] Die Integration von drei berühmten, durch Ursprungslegenden ausgewiesenen Palastikonen in den päpstlichen *Possesso* könnte ein Tribut an die wachsende Bedeutung des Reliquien- und Bilderkultes im Lateran sein, wie er gerade für das 12. Jahrhundert

50 Volbach 1940–1941; Belting 1990, 363–368.

51 Der Text bei Wolf 1990, 321–325, in einem Auszug des Drucks von 1709. Zum Autor Schmidinger 1963, 1964; Champagne 2011. Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, c. 13, ed. Valentini/Zucchetti 1940–1954, III, 357–360. Zur Quelle vgl. die Literatur in Anm. 6.

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vielfach bezeugt ist.[52] Eine weitere Station auf dem Weg zu einem römischen Kultort, der des Palastes bald nicht mehr bedurfte, war die Etablierung eines eigenen Klerikerkollegiums für die *Sancta Sanctorum* sowie die einer Gemeinschaft, die unabhängig den Kult der Ikone betreute.[53]

Um es zusammenzufassen: Päpstliche Zeremonien wie der *Possesso* waren nicht nur über viele Jahrhunderte ein Instrument der aktiven Traditionsbildung. Genauer angesehen geben sie sich auch als Seismograph eines religiösen wie kulturellen Wandels zu erkennen, der seinen Ursprung weniger in der Kurie hatte als in der unkontrollierbaren Eigendynamik eines Kultes um heilige Dinge, auf die das Zeremoniell nur reagierte. Auf lange Sicht führte dieser Kult zur Öffnung des Laterans für Pilger und Besucher und begründete seine zweite Karriere als Pilgerziel, das nach 1350 in den Kanon der offiziellen Ablassorte aufgenommen wurde. In der Neuzeit führte dies soweit, dass die Erinnerung an die Heiltümer des Palastes dessen Wahrnehmung als Ort der päpstlichen Geschichte und Repräsentation soweit in den Schatten stellten, dass man sie beim Abriss 1586 als einzige für erhaltenswürdig ansah.

Die hermeneutische Unterscheidung von verschiedenen Typen der lokalen Erinnerung und Traditionsbildung ist nur ein operatives Modell dieser Studie über den Lateranpalast. Aber sie hilft, komplexe kulturelle Phänomene problembezogen zu stratifizieren, um die Quellen unter neuen Perspektiven neu zu lesen. In diesem Kontext erscheint die schwankende Grenze zwischen dem Profanen und dem Heiligen als eine wichtige Kategorie. In einer Perspektive, die auch den Beitrag von Herrscherresidenzen zur Formierung eines kulturellen Gedächtnisses untersucht, ist es sinnvoll, dem eigenständigen Nachleben solcher Orte, ihrer Überschichtung mit religiösen, historischen und anderen Werten dieselbe historische Aussagekraft zuzuerkennen wie den oft kurzen Phasen ihrer Erbauung und aktiven Nutzung. In dieser Hinsicht könnte der päpstliche Lateranpalast ein gutes Beispiel sein, um das komplexe Zusammenspiel von verschiedenen Prozessen der kulturellen Erinnerung in einem derartigen „lieu de mémoire“ genauer zu untersuchen.

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52 Schimmelpfennig 1974, 244. „Im Schutze dieser drei Wunder wirkenden Bilder erhielt nun der Papst die volle Gewalt über den Palast“. Der offizielle Charakter der Bilderklärungen – während für die Salvatorikone in der Laurentiuskapelle überraschenderweise eine fehlt – zeigt sich darin, dass sie auch in den Fragmenten der beiden Ordines in Basel und London fast gleichlautend wiederkehren: Schimmelpfennig 1970, 327f., c. 10, 19; Schimmelpfennig 1968, 61 c. 13, 63 c. 27.

53 Literatur wie Anm. 17.

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Abbildungsnachweise

Abb. 1. 2. 6: Verf.
Abb. 3: *Novo teatro delle Chiese di Roma* …, Rom [ca. 1680] Bd. 3, Taf. 8 (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg).
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Annie Renoux

Du palais impérial aux palais royaux et princiers en Francie occidentale (c 843–1100)

Chronologiquement, le point de départ de cette étude sur les palais carolingiens et leurs prolongements au XIe siècle coïncide avec la création, en 843, du royaume de Francie occidentale confié à Charles le Chauve et, géographiquement, l'aire retenue correspond plus particulièrement à la moitié nord de l'entité, là où se concentrent les palais de ce petit fils de Charlemagne. Le point d'arrivée se situe vers la fin du XIe siècle et intègre la réforme grégorienne. Le mot palais est pris dans son acceptation concrète de centre de villégiature et de lieu d'exercice et de représentation du gouvernement royal. L'approche est triple, théorique, pratique et symbolique. Il s'agit de voir ce que devient la définition palatiale dans un royaume dont les rois, après Charles le Chauve († 877) et Charles le Gros († 888)[1], ne sont plus empereurs et où se met définitivement en place en 987, après un siècle d'alternances conflictuelles, une nouvelle dynastie royale plus que jamais confrontée à l'affirmation de ces princes qui émergent à la tête des principautés dès la fin du IXe et le début du Xe siècle. Qu'ont en commun les palais des Xe et XIe siècles avec ceux de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle; quel est le poids de l'héritage impérial, celui de Charlemagne[2] dont Charles le Chauve est un fervent admirateur, et quelle est la part de l'innovation?

La définition palatiale et ses évolutions

La définition palatiale demeure aux Xe et XIe siècles sensiblement identique à ce qu'elle est au IXe siècle[3]. Elle reste très carolingienne dans son essence. Fondateur et légitimant, le concept est à la base un concept politico-religieux, nourri de traditions antiques et byzantines. Le palais est réservé au détenteur de l'*auctoritas* qui l'utilise pour fonder, structurer, exercer et représenter son autorité.

Les Carolingiens enrichissent un concept qui, d'impérial, est devenu royal sous les Mérovingiens. Le *palatium* est un élément déterminant et structurant du royaume et de la royauté, le tout dans un double cadre, celui d'une nécessaire itinérance et celui d'une association de plus en plus consubstantielle avec le christianisme et l'église. Organisés en réseaux structurés et évolutifs, les palais servent à construire le *regnum*. Avec l'onction du sacre en 751 puis le couronnement impérial en 800, l'arrière-plan conceptuel se renforce. Le palais est un espace sacré réservé à un personnage qui entretient des liens privilégiés avec Dieu et exerce de façon fusionnelle son autorité avec l'église. Pour les lettrés, le palais est un refuge, une anticipation du paradis, un foyer de paix et de justice, une étape vers le palais céleste.

Aux Xe et XIe siècles, la réorganisation de l'autorité publique au profit des princes territoriaux et l'avènement des Capétiens n'affectent pas ces fondements conceptuels. Le concept ne sombre pas et connaît même un regain de vitalité en résistant à une triple offensive, à la fois idéologique et pratique. La première est celle du *castrum*. Les résidences et les lieux de pouvoir des rois et des princes sont désormais assez systématiquement fortifiés. Originellement les deux concepts – palatial et castral – sont assez antinomiques. Le palais est un lieu de paix, non fortifié, où le pouvoir repose sur un bon maniement de la parole et des lois et non sur une bonne pratique des armes. La

1 Roi de Francie occidentale en 885.

2 Ce qui renvoie bien sûr implicitement aux héritages antérieurs, mais la question ne sera pas abordée ici sous l'angle des emprunts de Charlemagne aux palais romains et byzantins (Constantinople).

3 Sauf au niveau géopolitique, un point qui ne me retiendra pas ici.

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réconciliation et l'intégration du *palatium* dans le *castrum* est entérinée par les lettrés carolingiens qui subliment le phénomène. On militarise le sacré. Le palais assailli, tout comme la Jérusalem céleste, par les forces du mal peut et doit à l'instar des monastères se fortifier. L'évolution contribue plus que jamais à faire du complexe palatial un microcosme et à renforcer la sacralisation de l'espace.

La deuxième menace est celle que pose le développement d'autres réseaux palatiaux au sein du royaume. Quelques princes territoriaux, parmi les plus puissants, attribuent au palais une valeur probante et légitimante et utilisent le concept, dans le dernier tiers (?) du Xe siècle et une partie du XIe siècle, pour fonder leur pouvoir. C'est le cas des ducs de Normandie que les sources tendent à présenter comme de véritables souverains, détenteurs d'un *regnum* (secondaire) et, comme tels, quasiment dignes du titre royal et aptes à posséder légitimement des *palatia*, tout comme le faisaient, aux premiers temps carolingiens (et avant), les maîtres des *regna* périphériques. Fécamp est avec Bayeux et Rouen l'un des trois palais princiers et le point d'orgue du système. La création palatiale y concrétise les efforts de réorganisation politique, religieuse et économique ducaux. Mais le phénomène des palais princiers est de courte durée. En Normandie, le système est abandonné dans le courant du XIe siècle. À l'instar des autres grands princes, les ducs préfèrent rapidement fonder leur puissance sur le *castrum* plus apte à symboliser et à concrétiser un pouvoir militarisé et de plus en plus féodalisé. Il est un domaine que les grands ne contestent pas à l'autorité royale, c'est celui de l'onction du sacre et de l'aura spécifique qu'elle confère à son détenteur. La création palatiale demeure très largement l'attribut de la puissance royale. Le palais reste la résidence et le centre de gouvernement royal par excellence et les Capétiens y voient une valeur refuge face à l'offensive des pouvoirs aristocratiques.

C'est avec la réforme grégorienne, alors que l'église tend à se réserver le monopole du sacré, que le concept palatial subit une forte atteinte. Le concept est miné de l'intérieur. Les effets de la réforme réduisent sa légitimité religieuse. La notion tend à se laïciser. Le privilège de la construction palatiale peut s'étendre à n'importe qui. Les aspects morphologiques passent au premier plan. Le palais n'est plus qu'un luxueux symbole de richesse dont la mise en œuvre n'est qu'une affaire de moyens[4].

Concrètement, c'est avec Charles le Chauve que l'on mesure au mieux le poids des traditions telles qu'elles s'expriment au temps de Charlemagne.

Charles le Chauve, Compiégne et le modéle impérial d'Aix-la-Chapelle

Charlemagne est le modèle avoué du roi qui devient empereur de 875 à 877 et fait d'Aix-la-Chapelle, dans le domaine politico-religieux, le palais de référence. La grande époque de l'apogée carolingien lègue une haute idée de l'architecture palatiale et un modèle d'organisation spatio-fonctionnelle.

On a peu de descriptions de construction de palais mais, dans les sources narratives, quelle que soit la période, le ton en est toujours dithyrambique. Le site est remarquable et paradisiaque. Les bâtiments sont exceptionnels. Topographiquement, ces ensembles développent au sein d'enclos hiérarchisés des pôles différenciés aux attributions nobles et serviles. Cette fragmentation en *curtis* et *curticula*, qui est celle des *villae* du haut Moyen Âge, est connue de longue date. La cour majeure intègre le pôle noble qui, à l'instar des palais impériaux du début du IXe siècle, a vocation laïque et ecclésiastique et est centré sur la trilogie *aula-camera-capella*. Vaste salle conçue pour l'exercice

4 Sur les évolutions du concept palatial, la sacralité du palais et Fécamp, on se permettra de renvoyer à Renoux 1991, 471–482, 521–529.

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du pouvoir, l'apparat et les festins, l'*aula* est au cœur du noyau officiel laïc. La *camera* abrite les appartements privés et tout ce qui est précieux, comme le trésor. La *capella* est le lieu des dévotions du souverain et de sa suite et l'endroit où sont (éventuellement) entreposées de précieuses reliques. Tout ceci est bien connu, il n'y a pas lieu d'insister. La cour (ou les cours) secondaire(s), enserre(nt) diverses annexes. C'est là que se dressent les annexes à vocation économique et domestique et, à l'occasion, des espaces clos agrestes utilitaires ou autres, qui viennent agrémenter le paysage et sont une source de prestige et de distraction (parcs animaliers).

Le palais est un microcosme structuré qui puise dans les traditions les plus anciennes (parcs persans, palais antiques, palais de Constantinople) et connaît à Aix-la-Chapelle une sorte de sublimation. Charlemagne y développe, on le sait, un schéma exceptionnel par sa régularité, sa monumentalité et sa puissance démonstrative avec ce bel agencement symétrique bipolaire, articulé sur deux grandes constructions agencées parallèlement, l'*aula* et la *capella*, que relie à la perpendiculaire une galerie de liaison dotée postérieurement, en son milieu, d'un édifice rectangulaire à étage[5]. L'ensemble matérialise au mieux la conception du pouvoir qui est celle du grand empereur. Charles le Chauve veut faire de Compiègne – parfois appelée *Carlopolis* aux XIe et XIIe siècles[6] – le pendant et la réplique d'Aix et traduit dans la pierre ses ambitions en y réalisant de somptueuses constructions[7]. On retrouve sur le site, au terme du IXe et au Xe siècle, une structure en enclos hiérarchisés aux fonctions différenciés, avec une cour noble, une cour annexe et un breuil.

Le pôle ecclésiastique repose sur la fondation d'une église collégiale dédiée à Sainte-Marie, qui est solennellement consacré en 877 lorsque le roi devient empereur[8]. Deux incendies y entraînent entre 898 et 917, sous le roi Charles le Simple, des restaurations. L'église a disparu. Divers historiens de l'art considèrent qu'elle est décrite dans un poème (*Aulae Siderae*) composé par Jean Scot Erigène, un Irlandais, contemporain du roi qui l'accueille à Compiègne. C'est un superbe et complexe édifice, construit sur des colonnes de marbre et utilisant de somptueux décors et de magnifiques matériaux. Le roi y dispose d'une tribune et la bâtisse, garnie notamment de tours, abrite d'insignes reliques. Le descriptif suggère un plan centré, probablement octogonal, voûté d'une coupole qui symbolise la voûte céleste et la domination du monde, et l'on aurait donc bien, concrètement, une copie de la chapelle d'Aix, elle aussi dédiée à la Vierge et identiquement dotée de prestigieuses reliques. Pour M. Vieillard-Troïekouroff, Charles le Simple aurait adjoint à cette structure initiale une nef basilicale dédiée à saint Corneille. L'existence d'un plan centré polygonal a été récemment contestée par J.-L. Bernard, pour qui l'édifice aurait d'emblée adopté un plan basilical. En fait, me semble-t-il, rien n'interdit de penser que Jean Scot, tout en s'inspirant des éléments de construction achevés ou en préparation (chœur à pans coupés pouvant évoquer un octogone), ait visé à la représentation d'une église idéale apte à glorifier le nouvel empereur et à exprimer sa conception politico-religieuse du pouvoir. Comme à Aix, mais sur une échelle infiniment plus ample, l'édifice est desservi par un collège de cent chanoines pour lesquels est aménagé un *claustrum cleri*. Par la suite, sous Charles le Simple, lui aussi très soucieux de perpétuer les traditions carolingiennes, le noyau ecclésiastique est complété par une petite collégiale (Saint-Clément) et une chapelle reliquaire.

L'*aula* est peu documentée. Les événements prestigieux qui se déroulent à Compiègne la rendent implicite. Quelques vagues données topographiques indiquent qu'elle confine au cloître canonial et se dresse au dessus de Saint-Clément[9], ce qui la situe au cœur de la ville actuelle. Les

5 Voir, ici même, l'article de Judith Ley.

6 On considère généralement que l'appellation (grécisante) remonte à Charles le Chauve.

7 877: »*... nos quoque morem illius* [Charlemagne] *imitari et ceterorumque regum et imperatorum, ... in palatio ... in honore ... virginis Marie monasterium ... extruximus*« (Lot/Tessier 1952, 451).

8 Pour l'apparat critique et la bibliographie, voir Montaubin 2010, 163–170. J'y ai ajouté quelques interprétations personnelles.

9 Saint-Clément est localisée *in palatio* et *subtus palatium* (dans l'aire palatiale, sous l'*aula*?).

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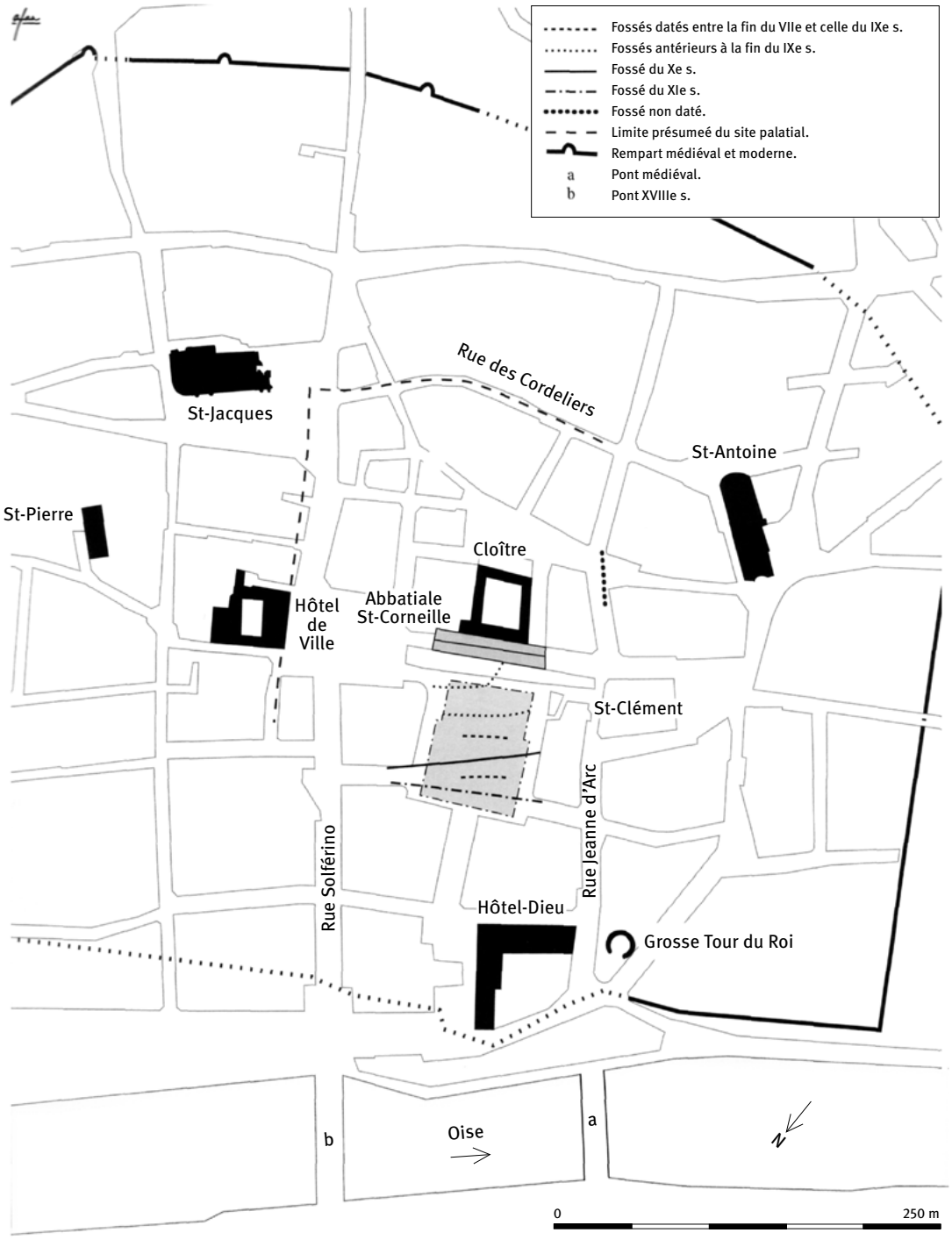

Fig. 1 Compiègne. Les limites de l'aire palatiale avant le XIIe siècle. En grisé: emplacement des fouilles.

fouilles récemment menées au sud de l'ancienne collégiale éclairent, par la négative, la question de son emplacement (Fig. 1). Le secteur, qui a livré des fossés et de modestes bâtiments maçonnés, n'est pas au centre de l'aire palatiale mais à sa périphérie. Les nombreux fragments de marbre et de verre à vitre retrouvés confirment la richesse des matériaux employés sur le site. L'*aula* serait donc située plus au nord, soit au-dessus de Saint-Corneille soit dans l'axe de cette église. On ignore s'il a été tenu compte lors de sa réalisation de l'orientation de la collégiale (est-ouest), en la plaçant parallèlement (comme à Aix) ou dans le prolongement (palais de Francfort) de cet édifice. Quant à la *camera,* nul doute qu'il y en a une (ou plusieurs), car le roi et les siens résident maintes fois au palais, mais elle n'est guère documentée.

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L'information est lacunaire et déséquilibrée, mais l'on retrouve bien à Compiègne une bipolarité de type aixois (c'est en cela notamment – si ce n'est pour l'essentiel – que réside l'imitation[10]) et l'on y pressent la mise en œuvre d'une architecture de prestige, utilisée comme instrument de gouvernement par un pouvoir, hanté par le souvenir de Charlemagne, qui s'y met en scène. L'ensemble compiégnois reflète les ambitions et les programmes de Charles le Chauve. La question qui se pose est de savoir s'il est exceptionnel. Face à l'âpreté du contexte, que devient au fil du temps dans les autres types de palais ce modèle impérial? L'étude, élargie aux résidences des Capétiens et des princes, aide à cerner les permanences et à mettre en valeur un certain nombre d'évolutions sous-jacentes, dont certaines en fait déjà présentes à Compiègne.

Le pôle noble et ses Évolutions

On retrouve volontiers, dans les autres grandes résidences des IXe, Xe et XIe siècles, les mêmes types d'agencement et la trilogie *aula*/*camera*/*capella*, mais celle-ci ne s'est pas dégagée d'emblée avec une grande netteté en provoquant la mise en œuvre de trois bâtisses distinctes aux fonctions bien différenciées. L'image qui ressort est beaucoup plus complexe et évolutive[11].

Cela se traduit notamment par l'emploi relativement fréquent du terme de *domus*. Ce sont des maisons nobles multifonctionnelles, aux volumes modérés. Elles sont fragmentées en locaux par le biais de partitions horizontales et/ou verticales. Salle et chambre y sont agglutinées, parfois même confondues au sein d'une même pièce. Quelques exemples illustrent le phénomène. La *domus* de Charlemagne dans le monastère de Saint-Denis n'est pas identifiée avec certitude, mais il se pourrait que l'on en ait retrouvé des vestiges sous la forme d'une grande construction maçonnée dotée d'une galerie de façade et d'une »tour« d'angle susceptible d'avoir abrité l'escalier conduisant à l'étage (Fig. 2). La maison d'apparat que les comtes du Maine, descendants de Charles le Chauve, érigent à Mayenne au Xe siècle n'est pas un palais. Aucun texte n'y fait allusion mais elle offre encore de nos jours, sur 10 à 14 m de hauteur, d'exceptionnels vestiges. C'est une bâtisse quadrangulaire à étage (14 m × 10 m) flanquée de deux tours et de trois terrasses (dont une possible galerie) en façade (Fig. 3). L'étage qu'éclairent de larges et nombreuses baies plein cintre est la salle noble. La plus petite des tours contient un escalier tandis que la plus grande, dotée de quatre niveaux, a peut-être abrité les appartements privés et éventuellement un oratoire.

Ces maisons multifonctionnelles traversent le XIe siècle. Tous les sites ne requièrent pas le même type d'investissements. Tous ne nécessitent pas la construction d'une belle et grande *aula* individualisée. Cela étant, dans les sites majeurs, l'évolution est claire: le pôle laïc acquiert de la consistance et se diversifie.

Cet essor est bien répercuté dans les sources textuelles. L'évolution est en germe dès les IXe et Xe siècles. L'*aula*, exerce les fonctions pratiques et symboliques qui ont été rapidement définies précédemment. La *camera* (*thalamus*, *cubiculum*) est un ensemble complexe, précocement fragmenté ou démultiplié. Le terme désigne des locaux privatifs où émerge précocement une certaine spécialisation fonctionnelle mettant en valeur, notamment, la chambre du maître et celle de l'épouse (Ponthion, IXe siècle). Et çà et là apparaissent des locaux spécialisés suggérant à l'occasion une organisation relativement élaborée (étuves à Angers, Xe/XIe siècle). La fragmentation et/ou la multiplication des locaux est un signe de richesse et de pouvoir mais c'est aussi une nécessité pratique. À côté de ces locaux privatifs, apparaissent aussi précocement dans les plus importantes de ces résidences des chambres à vocation mixte, mi privée-mi public. On y tient des réunions res-

10 À Aix, cette bipolarité renforcée est elle-même peut-être en partie inspirée du palais de Constantinople (poids visuel et autre de Sainte-Sophie). Sur les possibles influences de Constantinople sur le palais d'Aix: Sot 2006, 213–224 (qui conclut plutôt négativement).

11 Précisions, apparat critique et bibliographie dans Renoux 2001; Renoux 2007.

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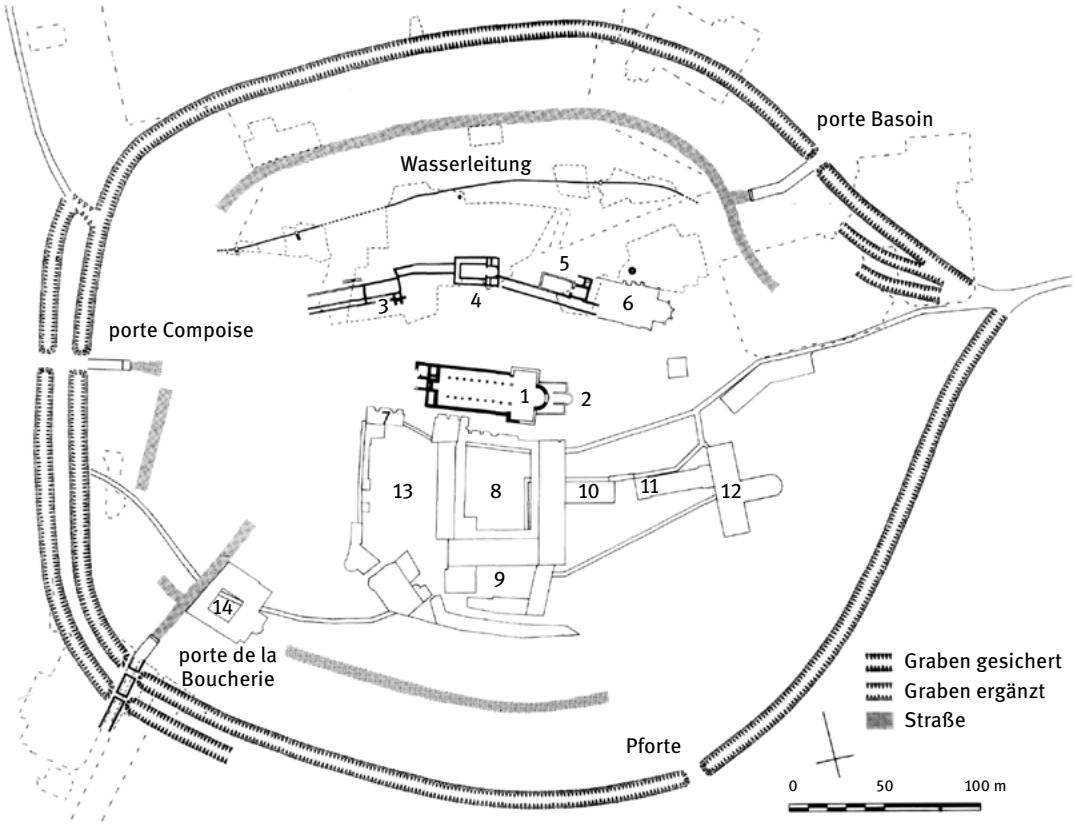

Fig. 2 Saint-Denis. Le castrum carolingien. La domus de Charlemagne est peut-être située à l'emplacement de la construction 3.

treintes, on y réunit ses proches, on y conclut des actes (Soissons au Xe siècle). La *camera* est aussi un lieu de pouvoir complémentaire de la salle, qui elle accueille d'autres types de manifestation, celles qui nécessitent la présence d'un plus large public, requièrent plus de faste et d'ostentation et exigent de plus grandioses locaux. Mais là aussi tout dépend de l'arrière-plan.

Morphologiquement, ce double essor de l'*aula* et de la *camera* est difficile à cerner faute de sources. Quelques exemples issus des milieux princiers, mieux documentés par l'archéologie, éclairent le sujet. Sauf exception (Doué-la-Fontaine), les rares salles exhumées ont de classiques formes oblongues. Précocement maçonnées, elles sont de plain-pied (Angers, vers 950) ou à étage (Tours, vers 1050) (Fig. 4). Dans les sites comtaux majeurs (Tours), c'est dès le milieu au moins du XIe siècle que l'on réalise ces vastes volumes (30/40 m × 10/13 m) qui deviendront ensuite assez volontiers la norme. Il n'a guère été retrouvé d'escalier d'apparat (»grands degrés«) mais on sait, par les textes, qu'ils existent et constituent un point essentiel. Il en est de même pour les galeries de façade dont quelques spécimens ont déjà été évoqués. Aucune des *aulae* exhumées n'est pourvue d'absides, lesquelles, en l'état actuel des recherches, apparaissent plutôt comme un marqueur ecclésiastique et/ou impérial. La *camera* échappe plus encore à l'analyse. Ses fonctions suggèrent la réalisation de volumes plus réduits et surtout plus fragmentés, mais il est difficile en présence d'un modeste local de déterminer son attribution. À Angers, aux Xe et XIe siècles, l'ensemble greffé à la perpendiculaire de la salle se présente sous la forme d'un bloc scindé en plusieurs pièces (étuves, cuisine, retrait?). À Fécamp, au terme du Xe siècle, l'ensemble est plus éclaté.

Cet essor et cette diversification du pôle laïc se doublent par endroits d'une amplification du pôle religieux[12]. Les événements qui se déroulent au sein des palais, conciles et célébrations religieuses, rendent implicite la présence d'un noyau religieux, mais ce dernier n'est nullement obligatoire, notamment dans les plus modestes de ces séjours, et connaît des développements différents

12 Renoux 2001; Renoux 2010.

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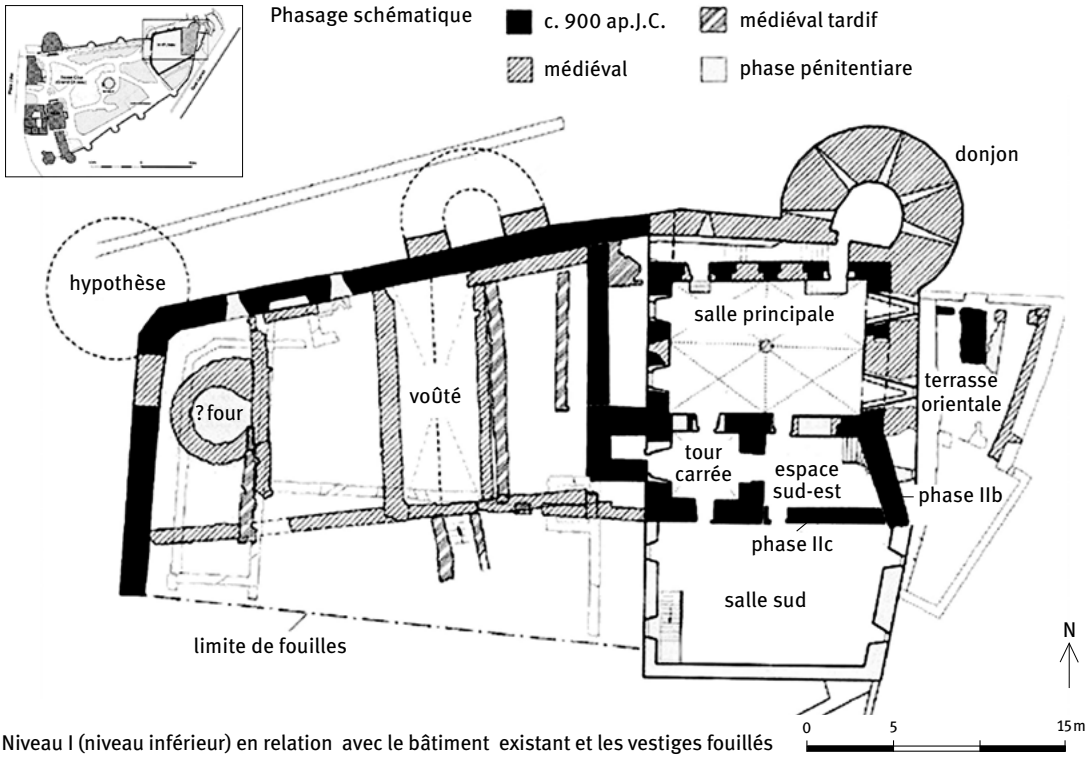

Niveau I (niveau inférieur) en relation avec le bâtiment existant et les vestiges fouillés

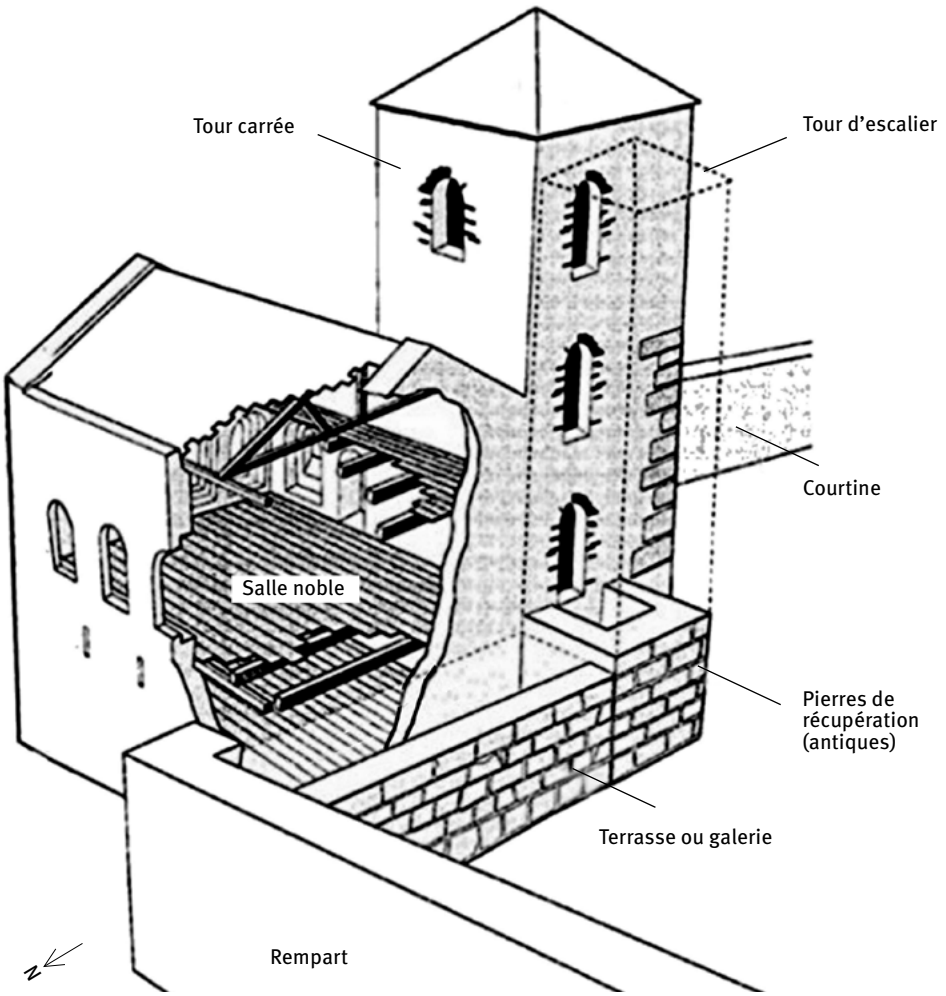

Fig. 3 Mayenne. La maison d'apparat des comtes du Maine au début du Xe siècle.

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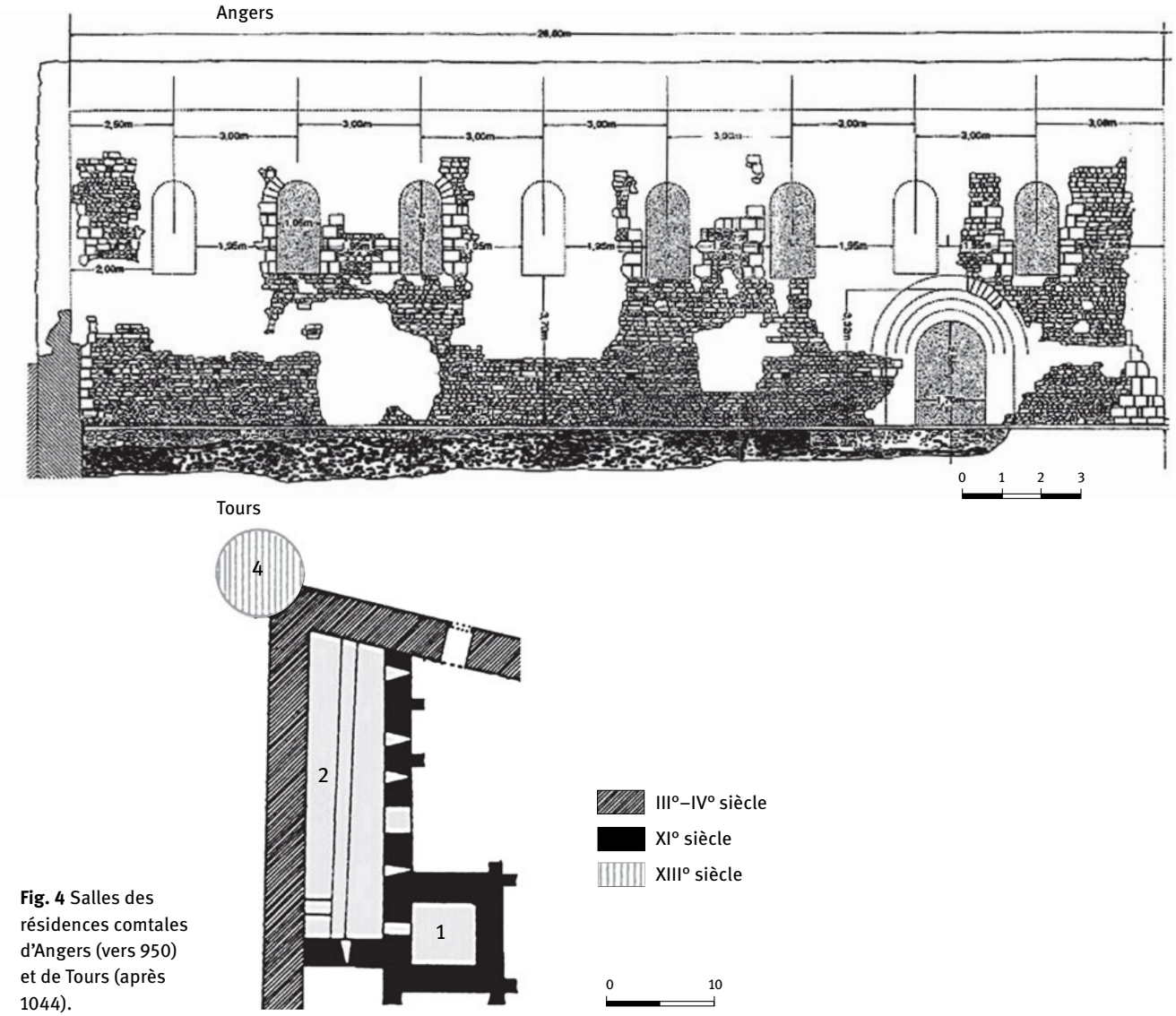

Fig. 4 Salles des résidences comtales d'Angers (vers 950) et de Tours (après 1044).

qui vont du plus simple au plus élaboré suivant l'importance et les fonctions du séjour incriminé. Le phénomène a pris diverses formes successives ou simultanées.

Le schéma le plus ancien et le plus simple est celui de l'intégration d'un modeste édifice cultuel au sein du palais (ou de la *villa*) que vient éventuellement compléter un *oratorium*. C'est le cas à Étampes, où au début du XIe siècle le roi Robert le Pieux et la reine disposent d'un oratoire intégré au palais (*palatium cum oratorio*), autrement dit d'un petit local cultuel privatif, et d'une église ouverte à de plus vastes publics. Ce type de situation contraint les souverains à fréquenter en parallèle de grands établissements ecclésiastiques où ils peuvent accomplir ces actes créateurs, qui fondent leur pouvoir (sacre, couronnement, mariage), et œuvrer plus efficacement pour le salut, la puissance et le prestige dynastiques. Le système est peu satisfaisant. Aussi à Étampes, voit-on émerger simultanément un troisième ensemble cultuel qualifié de *monasterium*.

La connexion avec les monastères prend diverses formes. La nature politico-religieuse du concept palatial, l'importance accrue des moines et l'amplification du rôle des abbayes comme instrument de pouvoir créent d'évidents points de rencontre. Les deux espaces, palatial et monastique, sont des espaces sacralisés où demeurent et agissent des personnages que leur rapport avec le divin placent hors du commun. On serait donc tenté de dire que palais et monastère peuvent coexister sur la même aire dans le cadre d'une entente quasi fusionnelle qui fait des moines des

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interlocuteurs privilégiés de la royauté. Mais il y a des problèmes de fond. Concrètement, la cohabitation peut rapidement engendrer de sérieuses difficultés, au niveau de la clôture notamment, avec la présence au sein du palais de la reine et, d'une manière plus générale, des femmes. Idéologiquement, se pose un problème fondamental: celui de la direction du complexe. Le palais est réservé au roi qui y exerce son autorité sans partage. Or dans le monastère, le souverain est confronté à un pouvoir d'une autre nature (religieuse), celui de l'abbé.

Trois systèmes ont été utilisés. Le premier est celui des maisons royales aux fonctions palatiales lovées dans de prestigieux monastères. Ce sont les maisons aménagées par les abbés au sein de leurs établissements pour accueillir dignement l'empereur ou le roi, en vertu du devoir d'hospitalité et du droit de gîte. L'abbé de Saint-Denis construit ainsi une belle *domus* pour accueillir Charlemagne et les actes qu'y concluent les souverains successifs confèrent au monastère une fonction palatiale. Ces beaux édifices peuvent éventuellement, de par leur qualité architecturale, mériter le nom de palais mais ce ne sont pas des palais au sens juridique et institutionnel, et le roi pour acter dans une abbaye n'a pas besoin d'y posséder un palais. C'est la forte diffusion du système de l'abbatiat laïc sous Charles le Chauve († 877) et au-delà, au moment où la mense abbatiale est plus clairement distinguée de la mense conventuelle, qui légalise et officialise en quelque sorte le palais-monastère (*Klosterpfalzen*). À Saint-Denis, c'est le roi lui-même (Charles le Chauve) qui est abbé-laïc et peut donc alors en toute légitimité résider sur place et diriger au temporel l'établissement ecclésiastique. Parfois, ce n'est pas le souverain qui est directement concerné mais son épouse ou de proches parentes qui sont abbesses laïques[13].

Le deuxième cas de figure est celui des palais intégrant une église collégiale. Pour pallier ces difficultés de coexistence, les souverains développent précocement un autre système, beaucoup moins contraignant, plus souple et tout aussi efficace politiquement et religieusement, celui de l'insertion d'un pôle religieux digne de ce nom, d'un *monasterium* dans le *palatium,* seulement par *monasterium* il faut entendre établissement canonial et non plus monastère. Pour Charles le Chauve, le modèle de référence est celui d'Aix. Dispensés des lourdeurs que peut engendrer le système monastique, les souverains peuvent, par ce biais, disposer en leurs palais de prestigieux édifices cultuels, dotés de célèbres reliques, et aptes à leur apporter, à l'instar des abbayes, tout ce qui est nécessaire à assurer leur salut, leur puissance et leur prestige. Le système se diffuse aux Xe et XIe siècles (palais royaux d'Attigny et de Poissy). C'est la pratique qui a la faveur de certains princes territoriaux qui l'emploient volontiers dans leurs grands *castra* (Flandre). C'est dire tout l'intérêt du système. Mais l'on rejoint en fait ici le dernier cas de figure.

Le troisième cas de figure est celui des complexes palatins adossés à des établissements réguliers, collégiales ou abbayes, au sein d'un enclos castral. Le palais de Fécamp illustre le propos. Il émerge en pleine lumière au moment où, en 1001, l'établissement collégial initial est transformé en une puissance abbaye bénédictine. Palais et monastère sont insérés dans le nouveau *castrum* que le duc met en place (Fig. 5).

Cette amplification du pôle religieux est loin d'affecter tous les sites royaux et princiers. Quoi qu'il en soit, conjugué à l'essor concomitant du pôle laïc, le phénomène débouche à l'occasion, comme à Aix, sur de nettes bipolarités. Se pose dès lors la question de l'articulation entre ces deux pôles, ce qui renvoie à des problèmes de structuration de l'espace.

La position respective de ces trois ensembles *aula*, *camera* et *capella* les uns par rapport aux autres n'est que rarement éclairée. Dans les maisons d'apparat, il y a intégration au sein d'un même bloc ; je n'y reviens pas. Dans le cas des palais éclatés en plusieurs bâtiments, leur proximité – bien logique puisqu'il s'agit de centres de pouvoir complémentaires – ressort à l'occasion des textes et bénéficie parfois d'une illustration archéologique. Au IXe siècle, le fait est clairement affirmé pour l'*aula* et la collégiale de Compiègne. Au terme du XIe siècle, à Angers, sont greffées à la perpendiculaire de l'*aula* d'un côté la collégiale et de l'autre la *camera*. Grande salle et église sont-elles

13 Laon au IXe siècle; Chelles aux Xe–XIe siècles.

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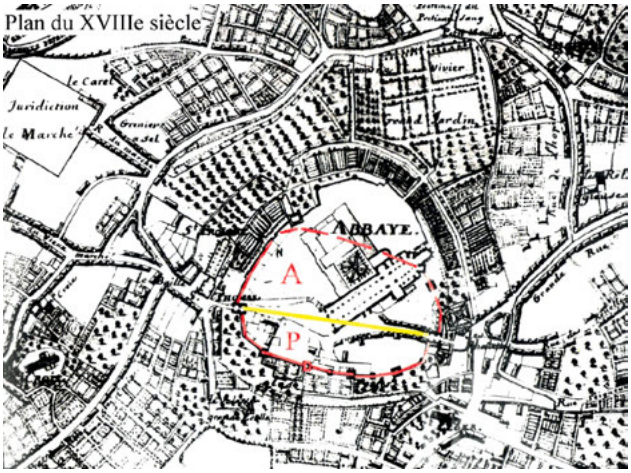

Fig. 5 Fécamp. Le castrum des ducs de Normandie vers l'an mil (palais et abbaye de la Trinité).

reliées par des aménagements spécifiques ? Faute de sources, la question des galeries de jonction ou plus simplement des voies de liaison – celles qu'empruntent les parcours solennels, ritualisés – est insoluble. On songe bien sûr à l'arrière-plan à la galerie d'Aix[14]. Quelques textes tendent à les mettre en valeur mais cela très reste très allusif. Et il faut attendre le XIIIe siècle et le règne de Louis IX pour avoir un magnifique exemple de galerie de jonction, celui du palais de Paris.

Ce double essor des pôles laïcs et religieux engendre à l'occasion des structurations élaborées où la bipolarité débouche sur une nette bipartition du pôle noble. Le phénomène se traduit par la juxtaposition de deux cours distinctes, l'une à finalité ecclésiastique et l'autre réservée au *palatium*. Il est attesté aux palais de Compiègne (IXe–XIIe siècle) et d'Attigny (Xe siècle) et illustré par l'exemple du palais de Fécamp où il est particulièrement net. La fragmentation du nouveau *castrum* ducal ovale de 2 hectares s'opère de part et d'autre de la route médiane qui assure l'accès à l'ouvrage : la moitié nord est réservée au monastère de la Trinité et la moitié sud au *palatium* (Fig. 5). L'exemple aide à cerner le rôle de la fortification dans la concrétisation du phénomène. La montée en puissance du château comme instrument de pouvoir modifie les conditions initiales. Le *castrum* crée un nouveau cadre englobant, un nouveau référentiel qui transcende les clivages antérieurs. Les progrès réformateurs inciteront ensuite à la séparation en des sites distincts (Compiègne, Laon).

La fortification: traditions et nouveautés

La fortification quasi systématique des palais et autres résidences s'impose à partir de la fin du IXe siècle et mieux encore aux Xe et XIe siècles. Le mouvement a deux aspects.

La fortification affecte en premier la clôture qui se mue en courtine. La pratique est ancestrale et a connu des formes distinctes. Seule l'une d'entre elles, très en vogue pour les palais à la fin du IXe et au début du Xe siècle, me retiendra. C'est la mise en défense d'un complexe antérieur dont on protège, à l'aide d'un rempart, tout ou partie de la superficie. Confronté aux raids scandinaves et à diverses difficultés internes, Charles le Chauve est particulièrement actif en la matière. Il construit un *castrum* autour de Saint-Denis et un autre, qu'achèvera Charles le Simple, autour de son palais de Compiègne. De forme ovale, le premier couvre 8 hectares. De forme plutôt quadrangulaire, le tracé du second reste hypothétique, sauf au sud-est où les fouilles récentes ont livré six fossés successifs dont certains peuvent remonter à la fin du IXe-début du Xe siècle alors que d'autres sont

14 Et à l'axe privilégié qui, à Constantinople, relie Sainte-Sophie au palais (voir la communication de Michael Featherstone).

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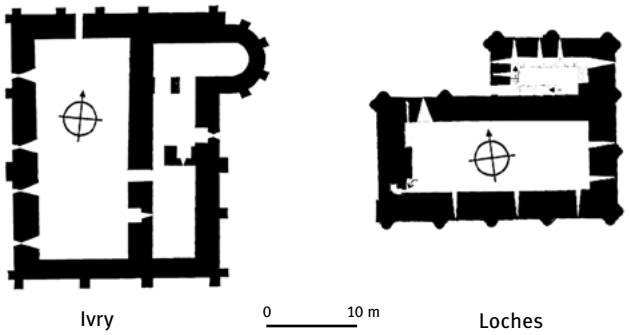

Fig. 6 Donjons d'Ivry et de Loches.

antérieurs (IXe siècle) ou postérieurs (Xe et XIe siècles) (Fig. 1). Les légers décalages qui affectent au fil du temps ces tracés suggèrent que les limites du palais connaissent une certaine fluidité.

La fortification affecte aussi les bâtiments. C'est le phénomène des *turres*. Il est moins diffusé que le précédent ; toutes les résidences ne sont pas dotées de semblables bastions. Ces tours peuvent être isolées ou greffées à des constructions.

Certaines de formats réduits, dont le double aspect symbolique et pratique est indéniable mais la vocation défensive peu affirmée, sont accolées à des bâtisses civiles qu'elles contribuent à mettre en valeur. Cela touche tant les maisons d'apparat (Saint-Denis, Mayenne) que les salles (Tours, v 1044) (Fig. 2, 3 et 4). Il n'y a pas lieu de reprendre ici la question des antécédents, antiques et autres, mais il convient de souligner que, dans ses formes les plus anciennes, le schéma n'est pas sans rappeler – morphologiquement et symboliquement – celui de l'*aula* d'Aix-la-Chapelle avec sa tour quadrangulaire (escalier, mais pas seulement?) greffée à l'un des angles du complexe, à l'extrémité de la galerie.

À côté de ces manifestations précoces et durables du phénomène se développent à partir essentiellement, selon les textes, des années 920/50, des *turres* plus ou moins résidentielles et à forte valeur militaire, qui s'offrent en point de mire et de manière plus isolée à l'observateur (tours maîtresses ou donjons). Ces constructions plus novatrices sont l'œuvre des rois (palais de Laon, 949) et mieux encore des princes. La tour d'Ivry (Normandie) est en partie conservée. Œuvre de la comtesse d'Ivry, vers la fin du Xe ou le début du XIe siècle, le plan de l'ouvrage préfigure celui de la célèbre tour de Londres de Guillaume le Conquérant[15]. C'est un donjon-palais quadrangulaire qui intègre *aula*, *camera* et *capella* dans un gros bloc fortifié à étage(s), doté d'une saillie hémicylindrique à l'emplacement de l'abside de la chapelle (Fig. 6). L'ouvrage regroupe tous les éléments d'un palais et réintègre l'abside dans un bâtiment laïc princier mais en la réservant à la composante religieuse. Dès 1010–1035, avec Loches, une création comtale angevine, le plan de ces grands donjons-palais atteint un réel degré de perfectionnement (Fig. 6). Ce bel ensemble quadrangulaire doté d'un avant-corps offre un magnifique exemple de structuration interne verticale et horizontale. Il intègre *aula* et *camerae* (privatives et mixtes) et dispose, lui aussi, d'une *capella* mais celle-ci est démunie d'abside et connectée de manière très traditionnelle à la porte, ce qui n'est pas le cas à Ivry. Dans ces deux cas, le donjon apparaît comme une version fortifiée et particulièrement impressionnante des *domus* multifonctionnelles.

Le palais d'Aix intègre bien au milieu de la galerie de liaison une sorte de grosse tour fortifiée, mais cette dernière est postérieure à Charlemagne et il n'est pas dit qu'il s'agisse d'un donjon. Le parallèle avec les grands palais des débuts du IXe siècle est donc, là, plus difficile à établir : la formule est relativement »neuve«, mais l'on se doit de rappeler que le monde germanique connaît parfaitement au Xe et au début du XIe siècle ces massives tours maîtresses (Müstair, Soest, Xanten[16]).

15 État de la question: Renoux 2012.

16 Sennhauser 2010, 14–17.

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Conclusion

Dans la définition palatiale, la part des traditions carolingiennes – elles-mêmes dotées d'antiques racines – est incontestable mais cela n'exclut ni les infléchissements ni la nouveauté. Le palais de l'an Mil n'est plus tout à fait celui de l'an 800 et celui de l'an 1100 n'est pas exactement celui de l'an Mil. Un point dont, au final, rendent parfaitement compte, au niveau idéologique, les effets de la réforme grégorienne et, au niveau concret, l'essor des fortifications et la réalisation des donjons-palais.

L'influence d'Aix-la-Chapelle est indéniable à Compiègne, où Charles le Chauve a voulu qu'il en soit ainsi et l'a exprimé, dans les textes et sur le terrain, par le biais d'une nette bipolarité appuyée sur la réalisation d'une belle église collégiale. Il n'est pas certain, au niveau du bâtiment cultuel, qu'il y ait eu imitation en bonne et due forme, mais là n'est pas l'essentiel. Ce qui compte c'est l'intention. Il y a volonté de créer un lieu de pouvoir de type aixois et d'exprimer, par le biais d'une réalisation architecturale et la création d'un pléthorique collège de chanoines, un programme de gouvernement politico-religieux digne du grand empereur.

Au-delà de Compiègne, en l'état de nos connaissances, le rapprochement le plus spectaculaire que l'on peut opérer avec Aix est tardif. C'est celui du palais de la Cité à Paris qui, vers 1300, offre un agencement bipolaire sensiblement identique (Fig. 7). Étant donné l'écart chronologique, poser l'hypothèse d'une imitation ou, plus simplement, d'une influence revient à supposer que les hommes de ce temps ont une bonne connaissance des anciennes structures aixoises et/ou que ces dernières sont alors relativement bien conservées. La place manque pour argumenter mais il semble bien que l'on puisse répondre positivement à l'un et l'autre de ces deux points[17]. Mais cela ne suffirait pas s'il n'y avait à l'arrière-plan, chez les Capétiens, tout un programme commémoratif visant à exalter Charlemagne et son prestigieux héritage.

Reflet et fruit d'une longue construction idéologique royale étalée sur plus d'un siècle, le schéma palatial parisien a connu une genèse fractionnée. En assurant »le retour [biologique] à la race de Charlemagne«, le roi Philippe Auguste (1180–1220) légitime définitivement la dynastie capétienne[18]. En agrandissant l'*aula* et en faisant de la chapelle royale une institution majeure, il pose les bases d'une réelle bipolarité. Louis IX (saint Louis, 1226–1270) exprime à l'identique et avec force son désir d'inscrire la dynastie dans la continuité (carolingienne et autre) et apparaît, à certains égards, comme un nouveau Charlemagne et un nouveau Constantin[19]. C'est à lui qu'il revient de magnifier et de structurer la bipolarité avec la construction de la Sainte-Chapelle et la réalisation de la galerie de liaison (galerie des Merciers) qui unit cet édifice au pôle noble laïc. Merveille de l'art gothique, l'église est une collégiale qui abrite – à l'étage royal – les reliques de la Passion du Christ que Louis IX a achetées à l'empereur franc de Constantinople et qui étaient en partie conservées à Sainte-Sophie. Une longue galerie à étage la relie à l'*aula* et fournit au roi un accès direct. Ce schéma hors norme, qui concrétise et magnifie la grandeur d'un »roi empereur en son royaume[20]« et les étroits liens de collaboration que la royauté entretient avec le christianisme et l'église, est de type aixois, même si à la base, du fait des réformes, l'union n'est plus semblable à celle de l'an 800. Mais à vrai dire la filiation est plus riche car à l'arrière-plan se profilent Constantinople, son vieux palais (ou plutôt ce qu'il en reste) et Sainte-Sophie. Les réminiscences byzantines sont doubles. Les premières, très indirectes, sont relayées par Aix et Charlemagne et, par voie de

17 Sur l'état tardif d'Aix, voir l'article de Judith Ley. Sur la connaissance du palais d'Aix aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles: voir les *Chansons de Geste*, telles la *Chanson de Roland* (vers 1100), la *Chronique du Pseudo Turpin* (début du XIIe siècle), ou encore, par exemple, la *Chronique rimée* de Philippe Mousket (une histoire des rois de France qui s'arrête en 1243).

18 Baldwin 1991, 460–470.

19 Le Goff 1996, 79–81, 163–168, 470–471, 567 et 639–641.

20 Jean de Blanot, un juriste du temps de Louis IX.

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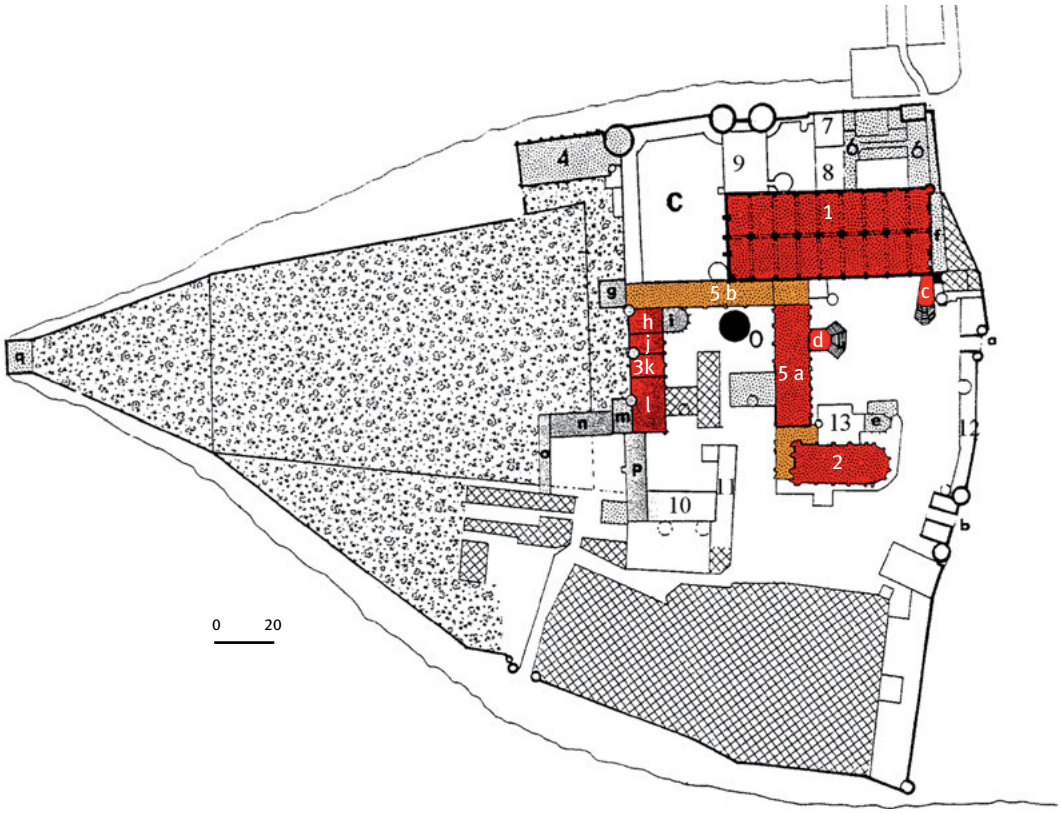

Fig. 7 Paris. Le palais de la cité au début du XVe siècle.
1: grande salle;
2: Sainte-Chapelle;
3: Logis du roi;
5a: galerie des Merciers;
5d: grands degrés et perron.

conséquence, Compiègne (*Carlopolis*[21]) et Charles le Chauve. Les secondes, plus contemporaines, apparaissent comme une sorte de réactivation des premières. Elles découlent des contacts majeurs noués avec Constantinople depuis le sac de 1204 et l'instauration de l'empire franc d'Orient, et elles reposent, très concrètement, sur l'acquisition par Louis IX de reliques exceptionnelles conservées à Sainte-Sophie, un acte puissamment remémoratif. L'»ultime« étape, à Paris, revient à Philippe le Bel (1285–1314). Soucieux de s'imposer face au pape et à l'empereur germanique, il réaffirme la longue et brillante succession dynastique et l'importance des Carolingiens, exalte la gloire monarchique et concrétise l'essor de l'état en développant un bel argumentaire monumental. Il construit une *aula*, que son volume (63 m × 27 m) et sa décoration intérieure rendent exceptionnelle, ainsi que des bâtiments administratifs, et il fait de la galerie des Merciers l'entrée principale du palais en y insérant de somptueux grands degrés[22].

Architecturalement, à Paris, la mise en scène de l'idéologie capétienne est nourrie de traditions ou pour le moins de réminiscences impériales, mais les cheminements sont peut-être moins simples qu'il n'y paraît et l'imitation est dans les objectifs, la bipolarité, sa signification et sa transposition topographique, plus que dans la reproduction à l'identique des bâtiments majeurs.

21 C'est sous le règne de Philippe Auguste que Compiègne est de nouveau appelée *Carlopolis* (Rigord et Guillaume le Breton).

22 Au vu des récentes données, il n'est pas certain qu'à Aix l'entrée du palais ait été située au milieu de la galerie de jonction; en revanche à Constantinople la *Chalké* (qui n'est pas liée à une galerie mais à des axes privilégiés) occupe bien une position relativement »médiane« entre les deux grands pôles ecclésiastiques et laïcs.

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Fig. 1: Martine Petitjean dir., *Fouilles de sauvetage sous la place du marché à Compiègne (Oise) – 1991/1993. L'évolution urbaine de l'aire palatiale du haut Moyen Âge aux marchés médiéval et moderne, Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 13, 1997, 82.
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Matthias Untermann

Frühmittelalterliche Pfalzen im ostfränkischen Reich

Die Könige des frühmittelalterlichen fränkischen Reichs und des späteren ostfränkisch-deutschen Reichs hatten keine Hauptstadt. Wesentliches Element der Herrschaftspraxis war – auch außerhalb von Kriegszügen – das ständige Reisen von Ort zu Ort.[1] Königshöfe, reichsnahe Klöster, später auch königliche Burgen und Städte boten dem reisenden Hof Unterkunft und Verpflegung, aber auch Räume für Herrschaftsakte und Kirchen für den Gottesdienst. Als „Pfalzen" gelten bedeutende, für längere Aufenthalte mit monumentalen Bauten ausgestattete Königshöfe;[2] *palatia* („Paläste") gab es gelegentlich auch in Klöstern und Städten.[3] Großartige, an römischen Vorbildern ausgerichtete Bauwerke sind seit langen von den Pfalzen in Aachen und Ingelheim (bei Mainz) bekannt und gelten als Beleg für imperiale Ansprüche der fränkischen Herrscher. Allerdings haben die Forschungen zu den Pfalzen der Könige des 8. bis frühen 11. Jahrhunderts im ostfränkischen Reich in den letzten 50 Jahren sehr widersprüchliche Impulse bekommen.

In Aachen, der bedeutenden Pfalz Karls des Großen und Ludwigs des Frommen, gab die Europarats-Ausstellung zum Karlsjahr 1965 („Karl der Große, Werk und Wirkung") Anlass, ein Resümee der vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg begonnenen Forschungen zu ziehen.[4] Die damals entwickelten Pläne und Modelle prägten die Vorstellungen von monumentalen karolingischen Pfalzanlagen bis in jüngste Zeit, trotz punktuell geäußerter Kritik und einigen die Forschung anregenden, neuen Überlegungen. Erst die 2005 neu begonnenen Grabungen, Auswertungen und Bauuntersuchungen haben die zugrundeliegenden Befunde neu und kritisch bewertet und damit auch neue historische Interpretationen ermöglicht.[5]

Pfalzenforschung 1880–1980

Schon vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg war vom Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft – nach dem Vorbild der römerzeitlichen Limesforschung – in seiner Reihe „Denkmäler deutscher Kunst" ein großangelegten Corpus „Die deutschen Kaiserpfalzen" ins Werk gesetzt worden, von dem 1927 der erste Band zur salierzeitlichen Pfalz Goslar, 1934 der zweite Band zur staufischen Pfalz Eger (Cheb, Česká republika) erschienen.[6] Die 1888 von Paul Clemen in der zweiten, bedeutenden Pfalzanlage Karls des Großen in Ingelheim durchgeführten Grabungen[7] hatten den Auftakt zu vielen weiteren Untersuchungen gegeben (Abb. 1). Dem dort nachfolgenden Ausgräber von 1909–1914, Christian Rauch, war es sogar vergönnt, in hohem Alter seine Grabungspublikation noch fertig zu stellen[8] – er hat lediglich das Erscheinen 1976 nicht mehr erlebt. Zwischenzeitliche, neue Grabungen 1960–1970 von Walter Sage[9] gaben Anlass, ab 1993 eine neue Auswertung mit ergänzenden Grabungen als Dissertationsprojekt zu beginnen.[10] Holger Grewe hat dies zwar nicht abgeschlossen, konnte aber das Bild der Pfalz durch wichtige, neue Befunde und umfangreiche Visualisierungsversuche

1 Ehlers 2011.
2 Staab 1990. Überblick über den baugeschichtlichen und archäologischen Forschungsstand: Binding 1996.
3 Brühl 1975/1990; Sennhauser 2010.
4 Braunfels 1965.
5 Erstes großes Resümee: Müller *et al.* 2013. Siehe besonders Beitrag von Judith Ley in diesem Band.
6 Hölscher 1927; Schürer 1934.
7 Clemen 1890.
8 Rauch 1976.
9 Sage 1976.
10 Grewe 1998.

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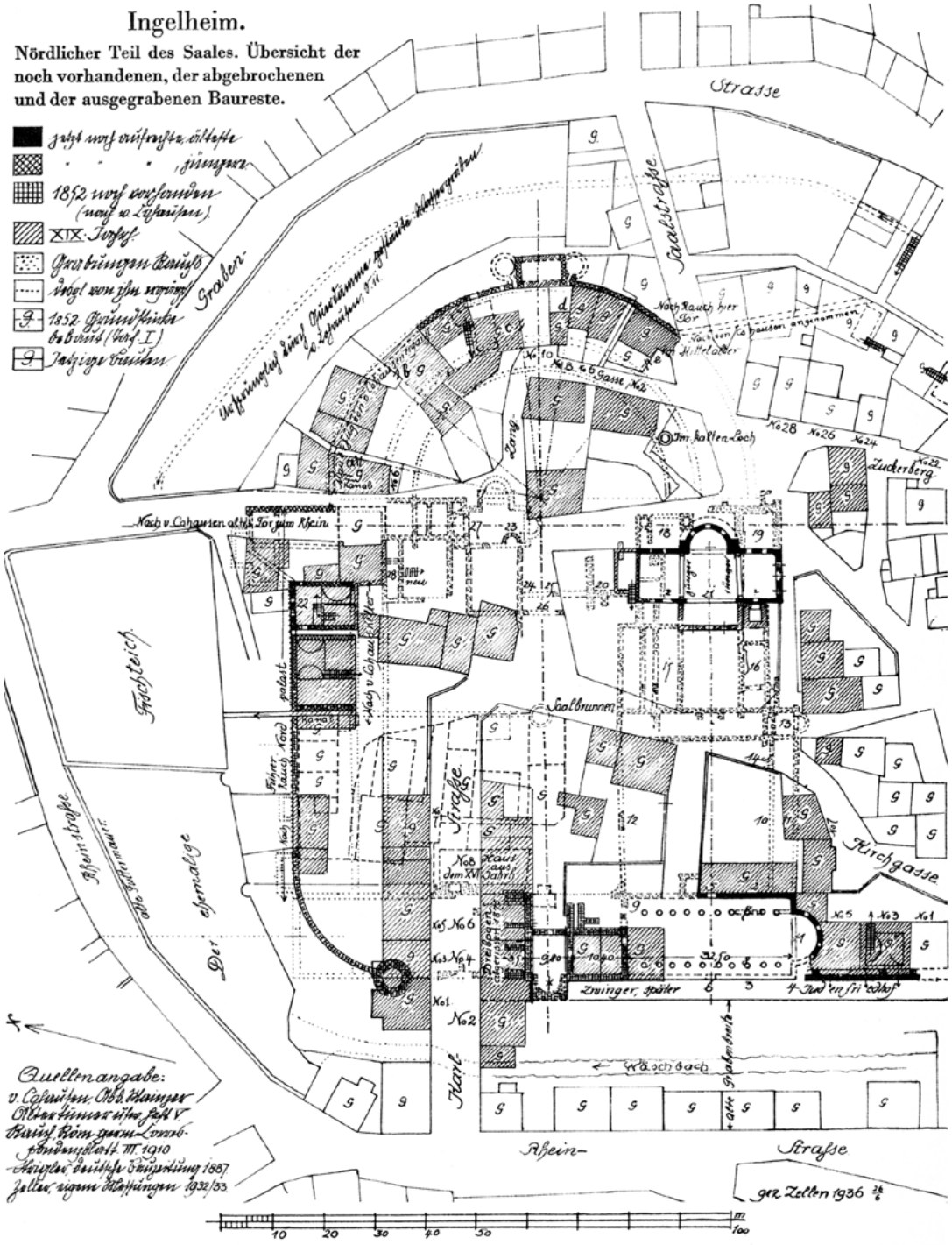

Abb. 1 Ingelheim, Pfalz; Gesamtplan der Grabungen, Stand 1935.

vielfältig präzisieren und auch verändern.[11] Die archäologische Suche nach der bedeutendsten Pfalz Südwestdeutschlands in Bodman am Bodensee zwischen 1885 und 1904 durch Konrad Plath führte demgegenüber zur Entdeckung kaum deutbarer Mauerreste, blieb bis 1977 unpubliziert und hat allenfalls einen kleinen Ausschnitt der Gesamtanlage erfasst.[12]

11 S. unten S. 111–114.

12 Bodman 1891; Erdmann 1977; Erdmann 1979, 136–144; Maurer 2004, 18–45. Vgl. jetzt Scholkmann 2010, 21–23.

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Im Dritten Reich initiierten Prähistoriker die archäologische Erforschung vollständig zerstörter Pfalzanlagen, die an einigen Orten zu Grabungen in großem Maßstab führten.[13] In überraschender Weise wurden dabei – vermutlich entgegen den ursprünglichen Erwartungen – keine monumentalen Repräsentationsgebäude gefunden, sondern lediglich ausgedehnte Siedlungen mit Steinbauten für Wohnräume und Kirche, die sich kaum von anderen frühen Adelsburgen unterschieden. Große Hallen waren allenfalls Holzbauten ohne erkennbaren architektonischen Aufwand. Für einen reisenden Hof, der seine Ausstattung mit sich führte, war dies zweifellos angemessen – es waren allerdings keine „Paläste", die den Rang des deutschen Königs auch bei seiner Abwesenheit repräsentierten.

Wegen ihrer aussagekräftigen, siedlungsgeschichtlichen Befunde wurden viele der Grabungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg fortgesetzt. Auf dem Pfingstberg bei Tilleda am Kyffhäuser[14] legten Heinrich Butschkow und Paul Grimm 1934–1939 und 1958–1979 eine ausgedehnte, dreigliedrige Burganlage des 7./8.–13. Jahrhunderts frei, mit einer Vielzahl von kleineren Wohn- und Handwerksbauten. Aufwändige Steingebäude fehlen selbst in der „Hauptburg" fast ganz, von einer mäßig großen Burgkirche mit angrenzenden Räumen, einem 8 × 14 m großen Saal und einem Wohnbau an der Bergspitze abgesehen. Als „Palast" – geeignet für größere Zusammenkünfte – können lediglich zwei große, in traditioneller Weise aus Holz gebaute Hallen angesprochen werden.[15] In Werla (nördlich von Goslar), 926–1025 Ort zahlreicher Herrscheraufenthalte, fand sich bei flächigen Grabungen von Hermann Schroller 1934–1939 und Carl-Heinrich Seebach 1957–1964 eine ähnlich ausgedehnte, dreigliedrige Burganlage des 10./11. Jahrhunderts mit wenigen, mäßig großen Steinbauten[16], darunter einer Kapelle mit Anräumen und einem beheizten Saal von nur 9 × 12 m Größe mit angrenzendem, beheizten Rundbau (Abb. 2). Das 1002 genannte „große Haus" (*domus magna*) lässt sich deshalb im Grabungsbefund nicht sicher identifizieren. Die kritische Neuauswertung der Grabungen, verbunden mit neuen Feldforschungen ab 2007 macht gleichermaßen deutlich, dass ottonische „Pfalzen" keine monumentalen Palastbauten erhielten, aber wichtige Handwerkszentren waren. Der große „Palas II" in der Hauptburg entstand erst im 12. Jahrhundert.[17] Auch in der im 10. und frühen 11. häufig besuchten Pfalz Grone (unweit der jüngeren Stadt Göttingen), ergraben 1935 und 1957–1973, fehlen frühe, große Steinbauten; der große Palas dürfte auch dort erst dem 12. Jahrhundert angehören.[18] Für die archäologisch erforschte, königliche Burganlage auf dem Klausberg bei Gebesee mit ihrer großen Zahl von Werkstattbauten wurde der Begriff „Pfalz" gar nicht mehr eingeführt;[19] nachgewiesen ist hier nur ein Königsaufenthalt.[20] Keine dieser Pfalzen ist später zu einer Stadt geworden.

Die Kunstgeschichte schied damals – von Aachen abgesehen, bis heute – weitestgehend aus der Pfalzenforschung aus: Nicht mehr die Analyse monumentaler, „königlicher" Bauten, sondern siedlungs- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Fragen zu Königshöfen traten in den Vordergrund. In Frankfurt kamen zwar 1953–1957 monumentale Bauten karolingischer Zeit zutage;[21] aber erst für Magdeburg, wo Ernst Nickel 1965–1968 bei schon 1959 begonnenen Forschungsgrabungen auf dem

13 Blaich/Weber 2008; Blaich 2010.

14 Grimm 1968/1990; Gockel 2000, 549–631, bes. 563–577; Binding 1996, 179–190.

15 Dapper 2007, 156–159.

16 Rieckenberg 1954; Schroller 1965; Seebach 1967. Zur Bewertung und Rezeption der Grabungen vgl. Blaich/Weber 2008; Blaich 2010. Zu Befundfragen: Gauert 1979; dazu Binding 1996, 168–178.

17 Blaich 2013a; Blaich 2013b; Blaich/Geschwinde 2012, bes. 116f.

18 Gauert 1965; Zotz 1987; Binding 1996, 162–164. – Der Eintrag „Grone" im Corpus „Die deutschen Königspfalzen, 4: Niedersachsen" ist noch nicht erschienen.

19 Donat 1999.

20 Gockel 2000, 149–155 (Lieferung 1984 erschienen), noch ohne Kenntnis der bedeutenden Grabungsbefunde.

21 Stamm 1955; Hundt/Fischer 1958.

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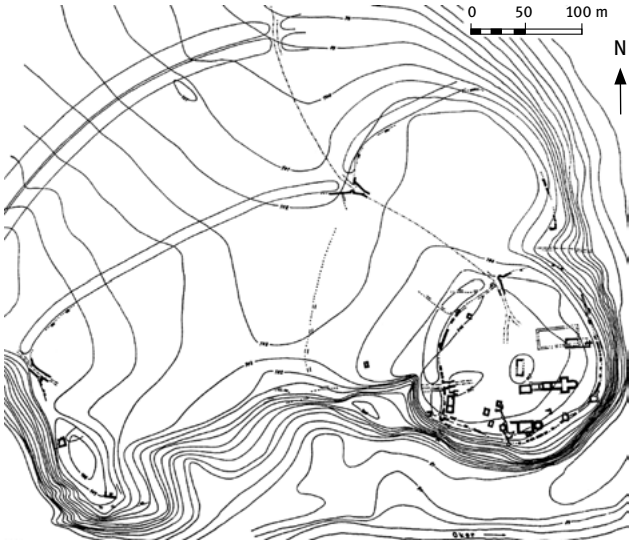

Abb. 2 Rottweil, Pfalz; rekonstruierender Plan der Steinbauten.

Domplatz ein noch monumentaleres, damals als ottonische Pfalz angesprochenes Gebäude fand,[22] sahen sich Kunst- und Architekturgeschichte später wieder angesprochen.[23]

Den notwendigen Schritt in eine interdisziplinäre Erforschung bewirkte nach 1960 das Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen, das damals ein Langzeitprojekt „Deutsche Königspfalzen" initiierte. Unter diesem Titel erschienen ab 1963 bis 1979 drei wichtige Sammelbände vornehmlich mit Beiträgen von Historikern und Archäologen.[24] Zur Ausführung kam nun ein neues Corpuswerk „Die deutschen Königspfalzen", das unter der Federführung von Historikern stand.[25] Alle Orte, an denen deutsche Herrscher bis 1198 Regierungsakte ausgeübt hatten, werden dort dargestellt – nur an den wenigsten davon waren aussagekräftige archäologische wie architektonische Überreste fassbar. Die erste Lieferung erschien 1983; bis heute ist nur der Band Thüringen abgeschlossen, die Bände Hessen, Baden-Württemberg und Niedersachsen sind es noch nicht.[26]

Einen neuen Impuls zur Beschäftigung mit Pfalzen als monumentalem Baukomplex gaben ab 1964 die Grabungen von Wilhelm Winkelmann in Paderborn, der dort nicht nur große Palastbauten, sondern sogar – wie man heute weiß, irrig – einen Thron Karls des Großen fand.[27] Ähnlich groß angelegte Grabungen in der Pfalz Rottweil 1975–1979 durch Lothar Klappauf ergaben allerdings wieder nur eine von frühmittelalterlichen Holzbauten geprägte, wenn auch frühstädtische Siedlung, aber keine Monumentalbauten (Abb. 3) – auch wenn der Ausgräber glaubte, sie ohne tragfähige Befunde rekonstruieren zu müssen.[28] Noch enttäuschender waren 1972–1975 die Voruntersuchungen von Wolfgang Hübener in der Pfalz Neudingen.[29] Auch am Weinhof in Ulm war die

22 Nickel 1973a, 126–135; Nickel 1973b, 304f., 321.

23 Vgl. dazu unten S. 118.

24 Deutsche Königspfalzen, Bd. 1–3 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 11,1–3). Göttingen 1963–1979.

25 Die deutschen Königspfalzen, Bd. 1(–4). Göttingen 1983(–2003).

26 Nach Auflösung des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte in Göttingen wurde das von Caspar Ehlers geleitete Projekt durch das Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte in Frankfurt übernommen; die erste neue Lieferung des Pfalzencorpus erschien 2013 für Baden-Württemberg, und die Bearbeitung weiterer Bundesländer wurde begonnen: Ehlers/Päffgen 2013.

27 Winkelmann 1970.

28 Seine Dissertation blieb ungedruckt: Klappauf 1980. Vorberichte: Klappauf 1979; Klappauf 1982. Vgl. jetzt Gildhoff 2010, 299–304, 333–339; Scholkmann 2010, 12–17; Maurer 2013, 1–45, bes. 18–20.

29 Hübener 1979. Vgl. jetzt auch: Beck 2010; Scholkmann 2010, 19f.

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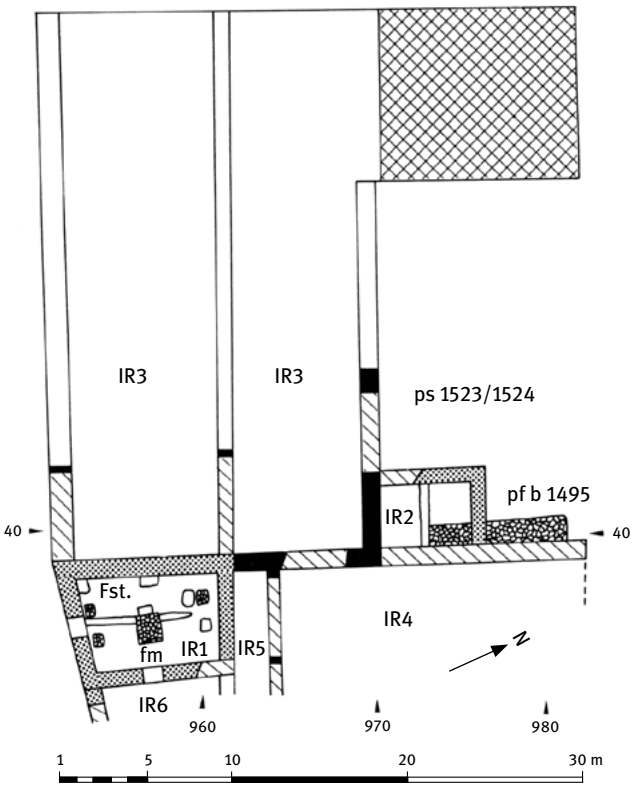

Abb. 3 Werla, Königshof; rekonstruierender Gesamtplan der Baubefunde.

Suche nach der monumentalen Pfalz 1953, 1958 und 1961–1963 erfolglos geblieben,[30] so dass kürzlich sogar ein anderer Standort für die Pfalz vorgeschlagen wurde.[31]

Letztlich erlosch sogar das Interesse der archäologischen Forschung an den karolingischen und ottonischen Pfalzen; frühe Städte und „zentrale Orte" boten erfolgreichere Fragestellungen. Auch bei denkmalpflegerischen Notgrabungen in den folgenden Jahren wurden nirgends aufsehenerregende Funde gemacht, die dieses Bild korrigiert hätten.

Neue Forschungsansätze nach 1990

Einen Neubeginn bedeutete die Einrichtung eines umfangreichen Auswertungsprojekts für die Pfalz Paderborn im Jahr 1993 durch die Westfälische Bodendenkmalpflege und die Mittelalterarchäologie an der Universität Tübingen. Anlass waren die hoch bedeutenden, rasch publizierten Ausgrabungen von Uwe Lobbedey im angrenzenden Dom, die dort die Abfolge der frühmittelalterlichen Dombauten geklärt hatten,[32] zugleich aber Korrelationsprobleme im Anschluss an die ältere Pfalzgrabung aufwarfen – und erneut ein Ausstellungsprojekt zu Karl dem Großen.[33] Im Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte wurde diese Initiative aufgegriffen und gab zu mehreren Tagungen Anlass, mit denen die Reihe „Deutsche Königspfalzen" wiederbelebt und bis 2007 durch fünf Bände fortgesetzt wurde. Zeitgleich 1993 begannen auch in Ingelheim neue Grabungen und der schon erwähnte, bescheidener konzipierte Ansatz zur Neuauswertung der älteren Untersuchungen.

30 Fehring 1967; Rieber/Reutter 1974. Vgl. jetzt Kottmann 2010; Maurer 2013, 189–208 [1. Lfg. erschienen].

31 Dumitrache *et al.* 2006; Dumitrache *et al.* 2008. Dazu Brenner 2011, 185f.; Maurer 2013, 198–203.

32 Lobbedey 1986.

33 Erste Ergebnisse wurden präsentiert in der Ausstellung „799. Karl der Große und Paderborn" (Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999); Fenske *et al.* 2001; Gai 2007.

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In Frankfurt führten die Grabungen von 1991–1993 in der Stiftskirche St. Bartholomäus, der Pfalz unmittelbar benachbart und zugeordnet,[34] erst mit etwas Verzögerung zur Neuauswertung der Pfalzbefunde ab 2004. Auf neue Initiativen mussten auch Magdeburg bis 1998, Werla bis 2007 und sogar Aachen bis 2006 warten.[35] Abschließende, allen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen genügende Publikationen aus diesen Projekten liegen bislang nur für die älteren Bauphasen der Pfalz Paderborn vor.[36]

Festzuhalten bleibt, dass nach dem aktuellen Stand archäologischer und historischer Forschung eine Königspfalz nicht unbedingt mit einem repräsentativen, großen Palast ausgestattet war und dass die von der Kunstgeschichte erwünschte, terminologische Unterscheidung zwischen „Königshof" und „Königspfalz" von den zeitgenössischen Quellen her nicht eindeutig möglich ist. Immerhin scheint die Rekonstruktion der wirtschaftlichen Leistungsfähigkeit ottonischer Königsorte eine Abstufung zwischen den „*palatia*" und den „*curtes*" zu zeigen.

Weiterhin gilt aber, dass es im 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert „Paläste" gab, die sich die fränkischen und deutschen Könige als aufwändig gestaltete Orte ihrer Herrschaft errichten ließen. Für drei von diesen – Ingelheim, Paderborn und Frankfurt – soll nachfolgend der aktuelle Kenntnis- und Diskussionsstand knapp präsentiert werden; für das derzeit nicht mehr als Pfalz gedeutete Bauwerk in Magdeburg bleiben die Deutungslinien zu prüfen.

Neue Bilder karolingischer Pfalzen: Ingelheim – Paderborn – Frankfurt

Als bedeutende Bauleistung Karls des Großen nennt schon Einhard das *palatium* Ingelheim, ca. 15 km rheinabwärts der Bischofsstadt Mainz unweit des Rheinlaufs erbaut. Bereits die ältesten Grabungen 1888 zeigten ihre ungewöhnliche Bauform mit einem 90 m weiten, nach Osten geöffneten Halbrund, an das weitere Bauten anschließen (Abb. 4).[37] Sicher identifiziert ist die partiell erhaltene, monumentale Aula von 14,5 × 33 m Größe, mit einer nach Norden gerichteten Apsis. Sie steht östlich des Halbrunds und quer dazu. Reste einer aufwändigen Ausstattung wurden ergraben. Durch ein spätkarolingisches Gedicht des Ermoldus Nigellus (um 830/835)[38] ist für diese Aula ein bemerkenswerter, vielteiliger Bildzyklus überliefert, der wichtige Herrscher bis zu Karl dem Großen darstellte. Erkennbar zu figürlichen Fresken gehörende Putzfragmente fehlen allerdings, so dass dieser Zyklus derzeit nur als literarisches Denkmal zu würdigen ist (und sogar seine ehemalige Existenz in Zweifel gezogen wurde).[39] Ein zweiter von Ermoldus überlieferter Bildzyklus schmückte die Kirche der Pfalz. Allerdings wurde im engeren Pfalzgebiet bislang keine angemessen große Kirche karolingischer Zeit identifiziert. Die große, kreuzförmige Saalkirche, die als Kern der heutigen Pfarrkirche erhalten blieb, stammt erst aus dem 10. Jahrhundert; lediglich ein kleiner Drei-(oder Vier-)konchenbau dürfte als früher Sakralbau anzusprechen sein.[40] Schon der zweite überlieferte Aufenthalt Karls des Großen zu Weihnachten 787 und Ostern 788 bedurfte einer angemessen großen Kirche. Allerdings fand noch 948 eine Synode Ottos I. in der Remigiuskirche statt – einer frühen Pfarrkirche ca. 400 m westlich der Pfalz. Sie war vielleicht auch zuvor die vom

34 Hampel 1994; Lobbedey 1995.
35 Zu Aachen vgl. den Beitrag von Judith Ley in diesem Band.
36 Preißler 2003; Gai/Mecke 2004.
37 Clemen 1890; Rauch 1976; Grewe 2001. Holger Grewe hat seine neuen Befunde überwiegend nur, aber oft eindrücklich im Internet bekanntgemacht: http://www.kaiserpfalz-ingelheim.de/ – Zum sichtbaren Bestand vgl. Krienke 2007, 359–372.
38 In honorem Hludowici, lib. 4, v. 179–284: Ermoldi Nigelli carmina, hrsg. v. Ernst Dümmler. In: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, 2 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini medii aevi 2) Berlin 1884, 63–66.
39 Lammers 1971/73; Ratkowitsch 1994/95; Dubreucq 2010.
40 Grewe 2007a, bes. 102–106.

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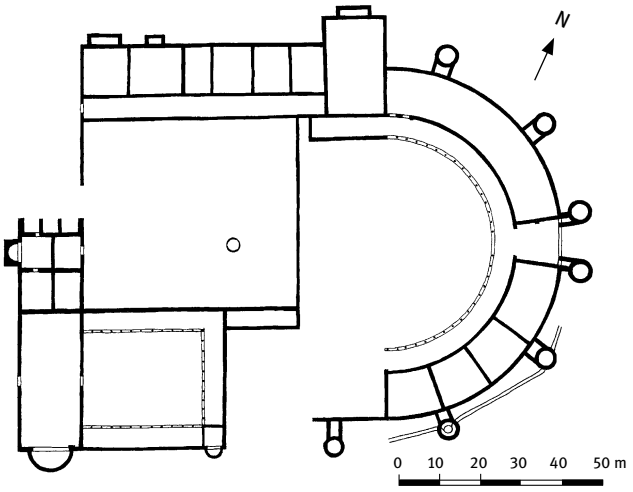

Abb. 4 Ingelheim, Pfalz; rekonstruierender Befundplan.

Abb. 5 Ingelheim, Pfalz; Visualisierung des halbrunden Säulengangs.

Hof genutzte Pfalzkirche, ist schon 741/742 urkundlich und neuerdings mit Befunden der Zeit um 700 auch archäologisch fassbar.

Das monumentale Halbrund bildet nach außen die Umfassungsmauer; im Scheitel öffnete sich ein turmflankiertes Tor, weitere vorgestellte Rundtürme geben der Anlage ein „römisches", wehrhaftes Erscheinungsbild. Innen wird der Halbrundbau im Erdgeschoss lediglich von kleinen Räumen gebildet, denen allerdings ein aufwändiger antikischer Säulengang vorgelagert war (Abb. 5). Die Funktion dieses Halbrundbaus innerhalb der Pfalz bleibt noch unklar – er gilt derzeit primär als „Repräsentationsarchitektur", die gleichermaßen nach außen und innen wirken sollte. Von zahlreichen weiteren Gebäuden in diesem Pfalzareal sind Fundamentreste ergraben, wiederum noch ohne dessen funktionale Gliederung zu erhellen.

Höchsten Aufwand im Stil römischer Herrscher zeigt die Anlage einer gemauerten Fernwasserleitung von 8 km Länge, nach dem Vorbild der römischen Wasserleitung von Mainz, deren Quellen unweit der neu genutzten lagen.[41] Die Pfalz Ingelheim war als Ganzes nicht wehrhaft; Königs-

41 Haupt 2007; Grewe 2007b.

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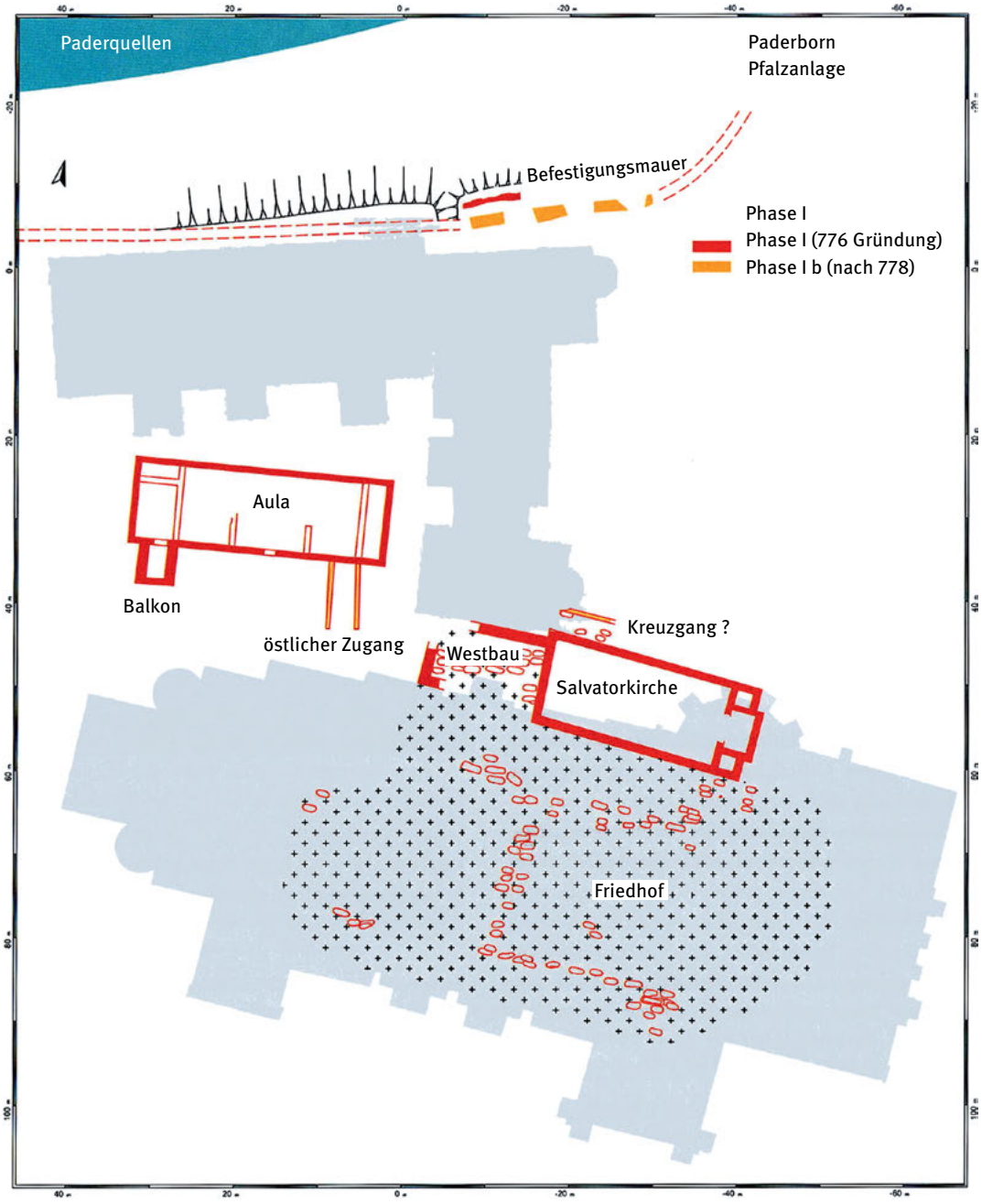

Abb. 6 Paderborn, Pfalz; rekonstruierender Gesamtplan der Gründungsbauten von 776 und der ersten Neubauten nach dem Brand von 778.

aufenthalte brechen vielleicht deshalb in der Zeit der normannischen Invasionen ab und fehlen von 876 bis 893, setzen dann aber wieder in hoher Intensität ein.

Die Pfalz Ingelheim scheint polyzentrisch gewesen zu sein – dies erschwert, wie auch in Aachen, ihre archäologische Erforschung. Immerhin ist ebenso wie dort die zentrale Repräsentationsarchitektur mit der Aula gut erkennbar.

An den eindrucksvollen Karstquellen der Pader, tief im sächsischen Gebiet, ließ Karl der Große um 776 ein 250 × 300 m Areal umwehren und über der Hangkante eine zweigeschossige, steinerne Aula von 10 × 31 m Größe errichten, neben ihr eine Salvatorkirche mit Räumen für den Klerus (Abb. 6).[42] Nach überlieferten und auch im Grabungsbefund fassbaren kriegerischen Zerstörungen

42 S. zum folgenden Anm. 36 und 44.

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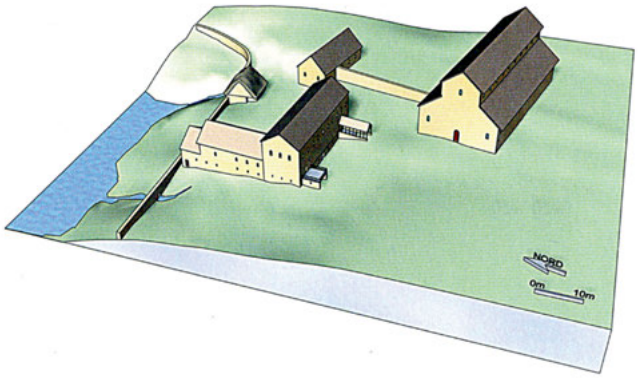

Abb. 7 Paderborn, Pfalz; Visualisierung des Bauzustands von 799.

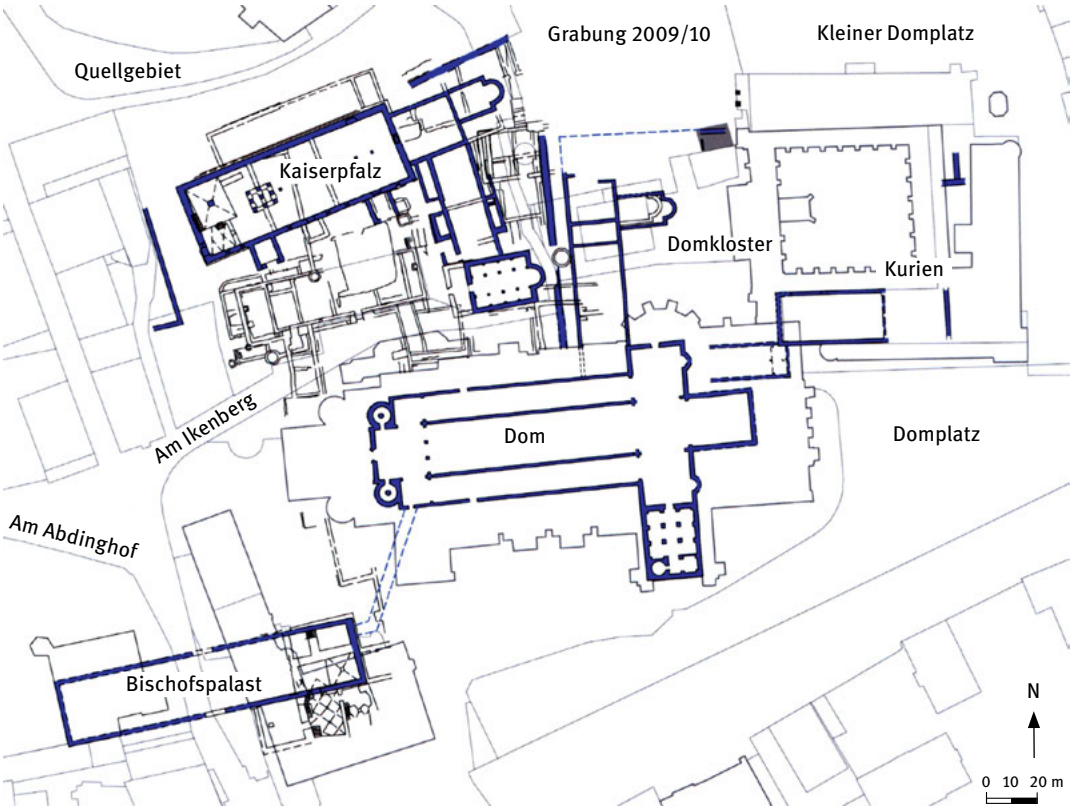

Abb. 8 Paderborn, Pfalz; rekonstruierender Gesamtplan der Neubauten unter Bischof Meinwerk, um 1020.

778 und 793/794 wurde die Aula jeweils wieder hergestellt und durch einen großen Nordanbau und steinerne Nebengebäude erweitert (Abb. 7). Zur Einrichtung eines neuen Bistumssitzes am Pfalzort gehört der Bau einer dreischiffigen Großkirche (*ecclesia mirae magnitudinis*), in der Papst Leo IX. 799 einen Altar weihte (Abb. 8). Die Verfügung über die Anlage scheint 806 an den Bischof von Paderborn übergegangen zu sein; 815, 840 und 845 fanden noch Reichsversammlung an diesem Ort statt, ein Königsaufenthalt ist dann erst wieder 958 fassbar. Die Bischofskirche selbst mit dem angrenzenden Domkloster wurde im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert anspruchsvoll ausgebaut und mehrfach umgebaut. Die umfangreiche, zweifellos sorgfältige Publikation löst in der Korrelation von Befunden und Schriftquellen den notwendigen interdisziplinären Anspruch allerdings nicht ein und bietet ein allzu harmonisiertes Gesamtbild.[43] Paderborn wird in den Quellen nicht als *palatium* genannt, und die Rolle des Bischofs bleibt weiter zu klären.

43 Untermann 2008.

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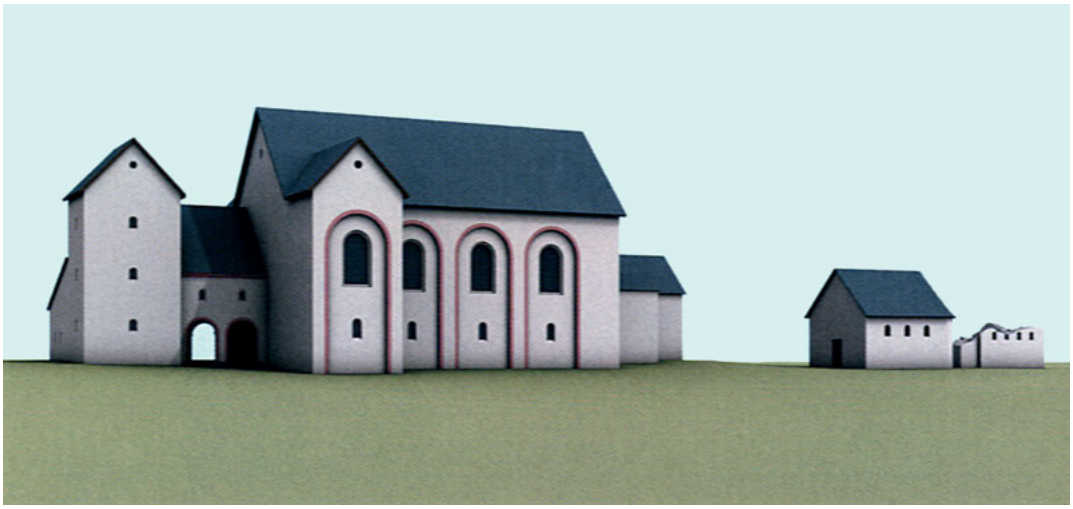

Abb. 9 Frankfurt, Pfalz; Visualisierung des Saalbaus.

Nach einem Stadtbrand im Jahr 1000 ließ Bischof Meinwerk (1009–1036) nicht nur den Dom, sondern auch die Pfalz neu bauen.[44] Mit Ostern 1013 setzte eine neue, dichte Reihe von Herrscheraufenthalten Heinrichs II. (1002–1024) und seines Nachfolgers Konrad II. (1024–1039) ein. Die Aula wurde aufwändig und größer neu gebaut; im Keller ist nun eine der Karstquellen integriert. Ihr vielräumiger Wohnbereich wurde mit zwei neuen Kapellen verbunden, von denen die zum Dom hin gelegene Bartholomäuskapelle architektonisch besonders anspruchsvoll und einzigartig gestaltet war. Der Bischof selbst ließ sich eine Kapelle am Südquerarm des Doms und eine eigene, kaum kleinere Aula südwestlich davon erbauen. Aula, Wohngebäude und Dom umschließen einen großen Platz, und die hoch aufragende Aula prägte nun die Hangkante oberhalb der Quellen. Paderborn wurde damals zu einer ausgedehnten, mit weiteren Kirchen und Klöstern versehenen, polyzentrischen Stadt, in der der Dom- und Pfalzbezirk weiterhin ein ausgeschiedenes Areal bildete.[45] In Baugestalt und Urbanistik wurden hier Maßstäbe gesetzt, die noch im späteren 11. und im 12. Jahrhundert die Pfalzanlagen in Goslar und Braunschweig bestimmen – insgesamt präsentierte sich Paderborn aber als sächsische Bischofsstadt.

In Frankfurt ist die frühe Bedeutung des Ortes schon in der Merowingerzeit durch außergewöhnlich reiche Gräber unterhalb der späteren Pfalzstiftskirche erkennbar,[46] ohne dass der Ortsname überliefert wird. Der Neubau einer Pfalz für Ludwig den Frommen ist für das Jahr 822 in mehreren Quellen genannt.[47] Ludwig hielt sich in den Folgejahren dann wiederholt in Frankfurt auf. Ältester archäologisch fassbarer Bau ist eine große Aula mit Nebenräumen, die westlich des Gräberfelds über die Ruinen einer römischen Thermenanlage erbaut wurde.[48] Die Rekonstruktion der Aula mit einer monumentalen Blendarkadengliederung,[49] der bisherigen Rekonstruktion der Aachener Aula entsprechend, ist im Grabungsbefund nicht zureichend begründet (Abb. 9).[50] Der erste große Kirchenbau neben dieser Aula, eine dreischiffige Basilika mit Querschiff, die durch ein Atrium mit der Pfalz verbunden war, wird mit der überlieferten Stiftsgründung durch König Ludwig den Deutschen und eine Weihenachricht zum 1. September 852 verbunden (Abb. 10). Unter Ludwig dem Deutschen wurde Frankfurt faktisch zur Hauptstadt des ostfränkischen Reichs.

44 Die seit 2007 angekündigte Schlusspublikation ist noch nicht erschienen. Vgl. Gai 2007; Balzer 2009, bes. 116–132; Gai 2009.
45 Spiong 2009.
46 Wamers 2012.
47 Orth 1985/96, 160 f.
48 Wintergerst 2007; Wamers 2011.
49 Wintergerst 2007, 57 f.
50 Geändert bei Wamers 2011, 109.

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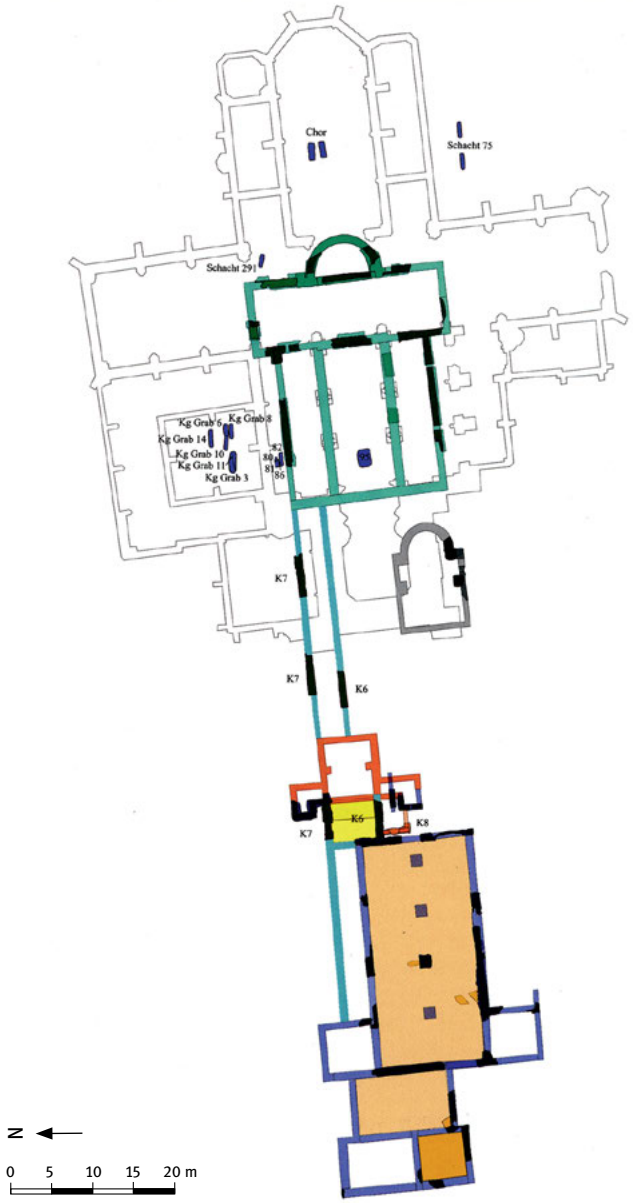

Abb. 10 Frankfurt, Pfalz; rekonstruierender Gesamtplan des Zustands um 855.

Die Frühgeschichte dieser Pfalz bleibt unklar: Kleinfunde und Keramik belegen eine Siedlungskontinuität seit dem 7. Jahrhundert.[51]

Auffallenderweise ist der genaue Ort des großen Frankfurter Konzils von 794 derzeit noch unbekannt.[52] Es fand in der *aula sacri palatii* statt, und Karl stellte am Ende seines achtmonatigen Aufenthalts eine Urkunde *in palatio* aus. Ein Teil der Forschung rechnet lediglich mit rasch errichteten, ephemeren oder mit weiter genutzten, alten Bauwerken und hält die erste, mäßig große Saalkirche für ausreichend, auch wenn sie kleiner war als die erste Kirche der Pfalz Paderborn.[53] Historiker dagegen erwarten eher repräsentative Bauten und möchten die Baunachricht von 822 auf einen Umbau beziehen.[54] Es ist in der Tat schwer vorstellbar, dass 794 Frankfurt und nicht Mainz, Ingelheim oder Trebur in nächster Umgebung aufgesucht wurde, wenn dort kein angemessener

51 Wintergerst 2002.
52 Berndt 1997.
53 Orth 1985/96, 157, 161, 164; Binding 1996, 117, 120; Zotz 2001, 20–22; Wamers 2011, 108 f.
54 Schalles-Fischer 1969, 227 f.

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Palast- und Kirchenbau zur Verfügung stand. Befriedigend gelöst ist die Frage nach der Frankfurter Pfalz Karls des Großen also nicht – vielleicht stand sie nicht am Ort der späteren Pfalz. Allerdings wird das ergrabene Mauerwerk von Aula und Kirche bislang eher mit Bezug auf die Schriftquellen des 9. Jahrhunderts als durch archäologische Kriterien datiert – die Neuauswertung blieb in dieser zentralen Frage hinter den Erwartungen zurück.

Keine ottonische Königspfalz? – Magdeburg

Das bis 2001 als „ottonische Königspfalz" angesprochene Gebäude gehört zu den ungewöhnlichsten Werken der mittelalterlichen Baukunst im Deutschen Reich (Abb. 11). Der notwendige Versuch der Grabungsauswertung eröffnete allerdings so viele neue Fragen und regte neue Grabungen an, dass die Forschungslage derzeit – zu Recht – noch ganz unklar erscheint. Die von Hansjürgen Brachmann begonnene, von Babette Ludowici 1998–2004 erarbeitete und in Vorberichten publizierte[55] Auswertung der 1959–1968 von Ernst Nickel auf dem Areal nördlich des Magdeburger Doms durchgeführten archäologischen Untersuchungen stehen inzwischen im Kontext mit alten und neuen Grabungen im Umfeld der Gebäude,[56] mit einer Forschungsgrabung 2001–2003 von Rainer Kuhn am Ostteil des anfangs als „Pfalz" gedeuteten Monuments[57] sowie mit neuen Forschungsgrabungen 2006–2009 im Inneren des gotischen Doms,[58] für die jeweils zahlreiche Vorberichte publiziert sind. Hinzu kommt eine kritische Überprüfung der historischen Quellen durch Caspar Ehlers, der den Standort der königlichen Pfalz an anderer Stelle in Magdeburg lokalisiert, nämlich im Areal der späteren Altstadt.[59]

Das Gebiet nördlich der gotischen Domkirche war seit dem 6./7. Jahrhundert von Spitzgräben umwehrt; die Befestigung wurde im 9. Jahrhundert vergrößert und erst im 11. Jahrhundert endgültig aufgelassen. Handwerksspuren belegen bis ins Hochmittelalter hinein die Tätigkeit von Schmieden und Webern.[60] Ein 1965 gefundenes, sehr großes und vielräumiges Steingebäude in diesem Areal war vom Ausgräber und dann von Kunst- und Architekturhistorikern bereitwillig als monumentale Pfalzanlage Ottos des Großen angesprochen worden,[61] spätestens als Bau seines Enkels Otto III.[62]

Jürgen Sistig und Franz Jäger stellten diese Deutung infrage und deuteten das Gebäude im Vergleich mit dem auffallend ähnlichen Westbau der 1978–1988 ergrabenen, frühottonischen Abteikirche St. Maximin vor Trier[63] als Westbau einer Kirche bzw. Eingangsbau eines Atriums.[64] Ludowici konnte im Zuge der Grabungsauswertung belegen,[65] dass der von Nickel publizierte Grundriss des ergrabenen Bauwerks zwei Bauphasen zusammenfasst und sprach es ebenfalls als Bauteil einer Kirche an.

Der größere Westteil gehört zu einer zweiten Bauphase des 12. Jahrhunderts; er blieb unfertig und wurde später (wohl während des Domneubaus nach 1209) als Ort von Bronzegusswerkstätten genutzt. Bald darauf hat man diese Bauruine abgetragen. Es handelte sich um einen mächtigen, mindestens zweigeschossigen Querbau mit östlich angefügten Treppentürmen und einem rechteckigen, westlichen Risalit, der zwei gegenständige Konchen aufnahm. Ein Längsfundament

55 Ludowici 2000; Ludowici 2006.
56 Kunz 2006.
57 Meller/Schenkluhn 2005.
58 Meller *et al.* 2009; Meller *et al.* 2012.
59 Ehlers 2006.
60 Kunz 2006; Ludowici 2006.
61 Nickel 1973a, 126–135; Nickel 1973b, 304 f., 321; Lehmann 1983; Meckseper 1986; Lehmann 1989.
62 Binding 1996, 155–161, hier 161.
63 Neyses 2001, Bd. 1, 178–184; der Vergleich mit Magdeburg bereits bei Neyses 1989, 108 f.
64 Sistig 1995, 102 f.; Jäger 1999. Beide Studien wurden von Ludowici 2000 noch nicht rezipiert.
65 Ludowici 2000.

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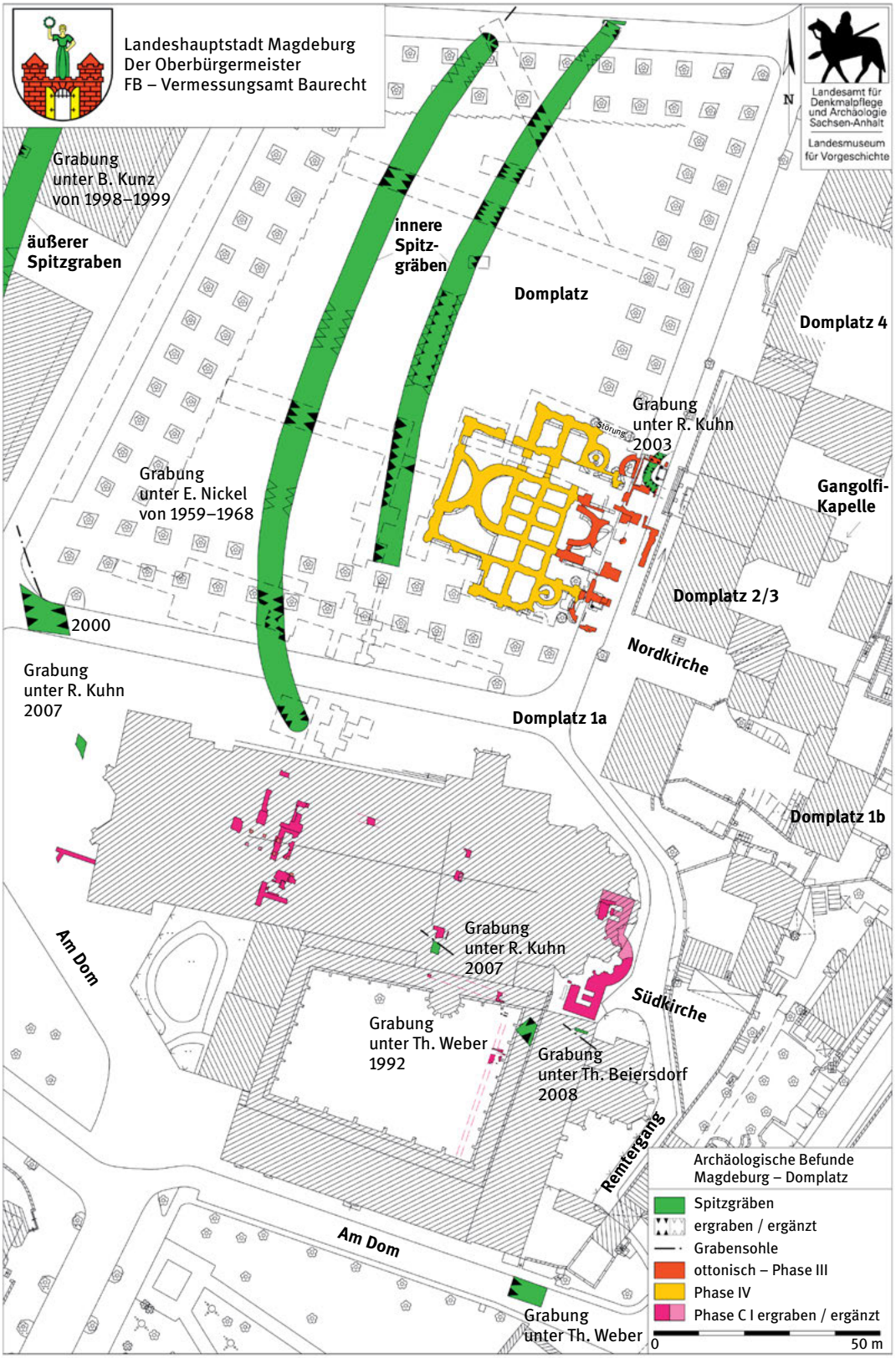

Abb. 11 Magdeburg, Befestigungsgräben und Steinbauten am Domplatz sowie unter dem gotischen Dom; Ausschnitt aus dem Gesamtplan.

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Abb. 12 Magdeburg, Domplatz; großer Steinbau mit zwei Hauptbauphasen.

und sechs Querfundamente zeigen, dass der Hauptbau in zwei Schiffe mit Jochen unterschiedlicher Größe geteilt war; die über den Kreuzungspunkten zu rekonstruierenden Stützen trugen den Fußboden des Obergeschossraums. Ludowici sprach diesen Bauteil zuletzt als „neues westliches Querhaus“[66] der vermuteten Kirche an.

Älter war im Grabungsbefund von Nickel nur der östlich angeschnittene Bauteil mit zwei nach Westen gerichteten Apsiden sowie einem gleichartigen, schmaleren Risalit, der wiederum zwei gegenständige Konchen aufnahm (Abb. 12). Ludovici deutete ihn ebenfalls als Westbau einer Kirche.[67] Weitere Teile dieses östlichen Gebäudes wurden 2001–2003 von Rainer Kuhn

66 Ludowici 2006, 65.
67 Ludovici 2000, 456.

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ausgegraben.[68] Ein querrechteckiger Mittelraum setzt den Risalit mit seinen ungewöhnlich dicken Außenmauern fort; schmale Räume verbinden ihn mit den äußeren, zu den Apsiden gehörenden Räumen, in denen sich einige Bestattungen fanden. Die Deutung als Kirche galt damit als gesichert. Eine erste Ansprache als großer Zentralbau[69] wurde nach dem Fund des „Querschiffs" zugunsten einer Rekonstruktion als große Basilika aufgegeben. Es folgte eine Deutung als „Dom Ottos des Großen"[70]. Damals wurden aber auch andere Deutungsmöglichkeiten sichtbar, da für die ottonische Frühgeschichte Magdeburgs mehrere, bislang nicht lokalisierte, große Kirchen überliefert sind – insbesondere die Klosterkirche St. Mauritius und die Nonnenklosterkirche St. Laurentius.[71] Attraktiver erschien zuletzt die Deutung als „Kathedralgruppe" mit zwei Hauptkirchen, wie sie aus Südeuropa (und Trier) bekannt sind.[72] In diesem Sinn ist derzeit von „Nordkirche" auf dem Domplatz und „Südkirche" unter dem Dom die Rede.[73] Ehlers wies darauf hin, dass im 12. Jahrhundert am Domplatz ein verfallenes, Otto dem Großen zugeschriebenes, mehrgeschossiges Gebäude stand, das damals als Turm einer ehemaligen Kirche galt – diese Deutung fügt sich zum ergrabenen ottonischen „Westbau".[74] Das Kapitel „Pfalz in Magdeburg" könnte damit geschlossen sein.

Die archäologische Widerlegung wurde von Cord Meckseper sogleich selbstkritisch akzeptiert.[75] In der Kunstgeschichte ist aber die neue archäologische Deutung dieser Bauten sonst bislang nicht aufgegriffen worden, jedenfalls nicht außerhalb des Magdeburger Forschungsprojekts. Dafür gibt es zumindest drei Gründe: Das monumentale Gebäude der zweiten Bauphase – im 12. Jahrhundert begonnen, unfertig geblieben und im 13. Jahrhundert wieder abgebrochen – findet im Sakralbau keine Parallele und lässt sich nicht sinnvoll als Westquerschiff einer hochromanischen Kirche deuten. Gleiches gilt für das ältere, ottonenzeitliche Gebäude, das von Rainer Kuhn als Westabschluss und als „ungewöhnlich breiter, fünfgliedriger Bau" [76] angesprochen wird. Der Vergleich mit St. Maximin in Trier reduziert sich auf die mutmaßliche Eingangssituation mit der Doppelkonche; die vermutete Doppelkonche am Hildesheimer Dom existierte dort nicht.[77] Ganz untypisch für Sakralbauten dieser Epoche erscheint die Verbindung sehr kräftiger, breiter Fundamente für „Eingangsbau" und „Mittelschiff" mit deutlich schwächeren Fundamenten für die Außenwände. An den bekannten kirchlichen Westbauten des 9.–11. Jahrhunderts gibt es keine echten Parallelen.[78] Zum Dritten fehlen für die eigentliche Kirche, zu der dieser „Westbau" gehören müsste, bislang eindeutige Befundanschlüsse. Auch wenn die Hangkante des Elbe-Hochufers, die auch die Ostflucht des nebenstehenden Doms bestimmt, genau östlich des Grabungsbereichs bislang nicht lokalisiert ist, erscheint die Annahme eines weit nach Osten reichenden, angemessen großen Kirchenbaus im Vergleich der Baufluchten des Doms kaum wahrscheinlich.[79] Die Verbindung eines nicht eindeutig als „Westbau" interpretierbaren Befunds mit einem völlig hypothetischen Langhaus und Ostbau, die entweder ungewöhnlich kurz wären oder die Annahme von erheblichen Veränderungen der Hangkante erfordern, überzeugte die Fachwelt bislang nicht. Der von Helten angesprochene, ottonische Zentralbau[80] wurde nie zeichnerisch visualisiert.

68 Kuhn 2005.
69 Helten 2005, 77 f.
70 Ludowici 2006, 67 (wie Anm. 55).
71 Brandl/Jäger 2000; Brandl 2005, 98–101.
72 Päffgen 2006.
73 Kuhn 2009; im Ergebnis gleich: Kuhn 2012, 9–11.
74 Ehlers 2006, 21–23.
75 Meckseper 2001a; Meckseper 2001b; Meckseper 2001c.
76 Kuhn 2009, 222 f.
77 Kruse 2000, 80–85, 117.
78 Lobbedey 2002.
79 Helten 2005, 77–79.
80 Helten 2005, 77 f.

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Die Deutung des ottonischen Gebäudes ist nur in einer Gesamtschau mit dem angrenzenden Gebäude des 12. Jahrhunderts möglich. Zur Zeit des großen Domneubaus ab 1209 gibt es keinerlei Quellenhinweise auf eine damals noch im Bau befindliche – teilweise wohl auch noch nutzbare – Kirche in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft: Das Kloster St. Mauritius war schon 968 nach Berge verlegt worden; das Kloster St. Laurentius existierte ebenfalls schon im 11. Jahrhundert nicht mehr. Die schriftliche Überlieferung bedarf deshalb einer neuen Sichtung – nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund der komplexen Pfalz- und Kirchenbefunde in Paderborn.

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Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Zeller, Adolf 1935, *Die Auswertung des Befundes früher Bauanlagen im Saale in Ingelheim, Reichsaal und Kaiserwohnung*, Berlin, Blatt 6.

Abb. 2. 4: Binding 1996, 107; 170.

Abb. 3: Klappauf 1979, Abb. 14b.

Abb. 5: Grewe, Holger (2014), *Auf den Spuren Karls des Großen in Ingelheim*, Petersberg, 39, Abb. 14.

Abb. 6, 7: Gai/Mecke 2004, 108, Abb. 55; 128, Abb. 75.

Abb. 8: Lobbedey, Uwe (1987), „Anmerkungen zur archäologischen Stadtkernforschung in Paderborn“, in: Jäger, Helmut (ed.), *Stadtkernforschung*, Köln, Wien, 154, Abb. 3.

Abb. 9, 10: Wintergerst 2007, 58, Abb. 2; Plan 14.

Abb. 11, 12: Kuhn 2009, 223. 228.

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Judith Ley

Aquis palatium: Spätantiker Palast oder frühmittelalterliche Pfalz? Architekturhistorische Überlegungen zur Ikonographie der Aachener Pfalz

Die Pfalz in Aachen hatte im karolingischen Reich Karls des Großen die Sonderrolle einer dauerhaften *sedes*. Die Verstetigung der Aufenthalte des Königs und seines Hofes in der bereits existierenden Pfalz begann ab 794. Die jüngsten Untersuchungen zeigen, dass etwa zur gleichen Zeit auch mit den Baumaßnahmen für die großen repräsentativen Regierungsgebäude begonnen wurde (Abb. 1)[1]. Infolge der Situierung von Institutionen wie Hof und Stift sowie der Schaffung eines baulichen Ensembles aus Pfalzkirche, Königshalle und einem sie verbindenden Gang wurde Aachen nach und nach zum stetigen Regierungssitz inmitten des aufrechterhaltenen Netzes der anderen Pfalzorte. Diese dienten weiterhin als Stationen für das fränkische Reisekönigtum, während die Pfalz in Aachen zunehmend Aufgaben übernahm, wie sie von den zentralisierten antiken Regierungssitzen bekannt sind. In dem Beitrag soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, inwieweit die in Aachen errichtete Palastarchitektur diese Zwitterrolle erfüllte.

Bereits ein Blick auf die Geschichte der rekonstruierten Aachener Pfalzmodelle zeigt, dass die bauhistorisch an der Wende von der Antike zum Mittelalter entstandene Anlage nicht ohne weiteres in die eine oder die andere Epoche einzuordnen ist. Das letzte angefertigte, bis heute verbreitete Modell der Pfalz stammt aus den 60er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts (Abb. 2b)[2]. Aufgrund der in der damaligen Forschung konstatierten Vorbildwirkung antiker Bauten – vorrangig San Vitale in Ravenna für die Pfalzkirche und die Palastaula in Trier für die Königshalle – bekam die Pfalz ein zunehmend antikes Erscheinungsbild. Dieses unterschied sich damit deutlich von dem vorhergehenden Modell aus dem Jahre 1925, das die Pfalz eher in das Umfeld der mittelalterlichen Burgen rückte (Abb. 2a)[3]. An den vielfältig in der Literatur und im Internet verbreiteten Umzeichnungen der Modelle wird jedoch deutlich, dass bis heute ganz unterschiedliche Vorstellungen von der Pfalz in Aachen existieren: die Einen sehen in ihr eher ein Gut in ländlicher Umgebung mit unbefestigten Wegen und bröckelndem Putz, die Anderen interpretieren sie als Palast in klaren antiken Formen in einer geordneten Umgebung.

Die im Modell von 1965 durch Bauforschung, Archäologie und vergleichende Baugeschichte verdeutlichte Antikenrezeption bedurfte gleichzeitig einer Interpretation durch die Fächer Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte. Diese vertraten die Meinung, dass Aachen die Idee einer *Roma secunda* zugrunde lag, d. h. von Beginn an mit imperialem Anspruch geplant worden sei[4]. Diese Interpretation beruhte hauptsächlich auf dem literarischen Vergleich Aachens mit Rom im Paderborner Epos[5]. Heute wird jedoch angezweifelt, dass das Gedicht die tatsächliche ursprüngliche Konzeption der Pfalz wiedergibt. Es wird vielmehr als Lobgedicht gedeutet, welches die nachträglich-wertende Sicht der Zeitgenossen auf Aachen widerspiegelt[6].

1 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 54–60, 143–157.

2 Kreusch 1965, 463–533; Hugot 1965, 534–572.

3 Zu den historischen Rekonstruktionen vgl. Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 54–60, 97–116.

4 Vgl. etwa Erdmann 1951, 1–51; Beumann 1958, 515–549; Beumann 1966, 1–54; Schlesinger 1968, 258–281; Mann 1986, 311–326; Jacobsen 1994, 23–48; zum Begriff *Roma secunda* vgl. Binding 1998, 188–191.

5 Brunhölzl 1966, 66, vers 94.

6 Müller 2009, 197f; Patzold 2009, 247.

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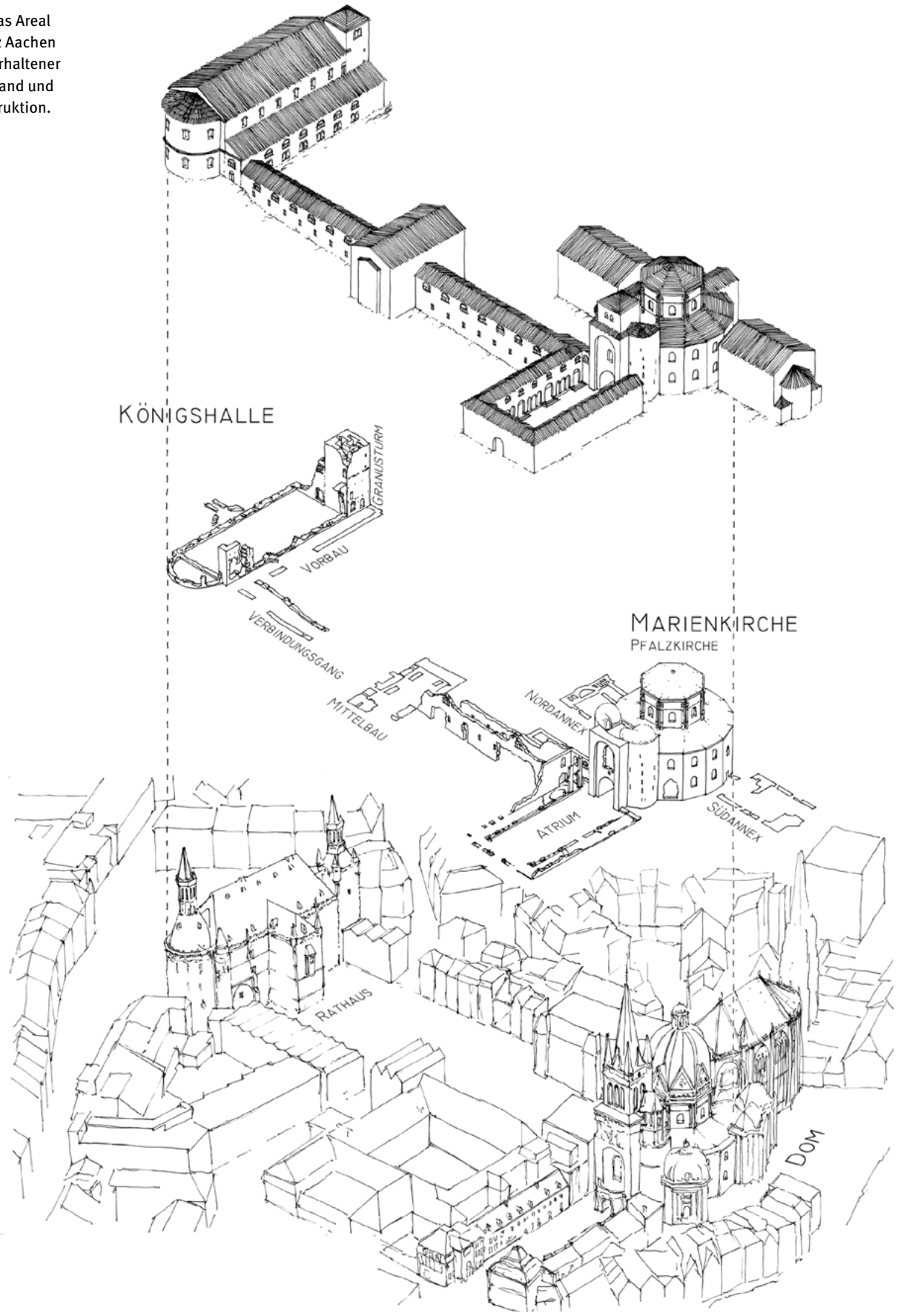

Abb. 1 Das Areal der Pfalz Aachen heute, erhaltener Baubestand und Rekonstruktion.

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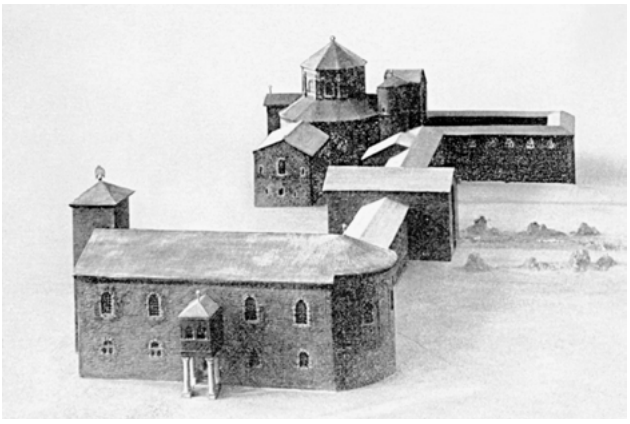

Abb. 2 a Rekonstruktion der Aachener Pfalzanlage von Josef Buchkremer und Albert Huyskens (1924/25).

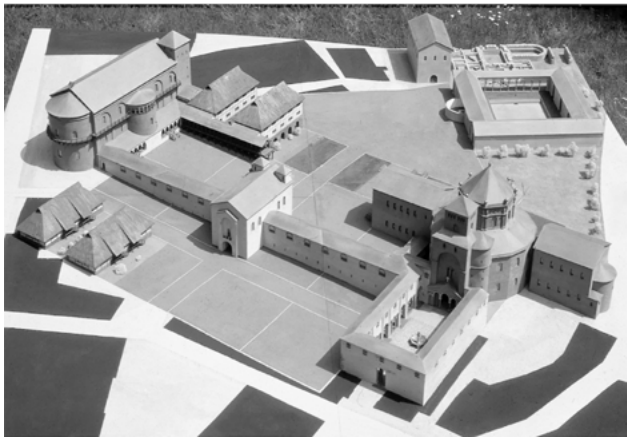

Abb. 2 b Rekonstruktion der Aachener Pfalzanlage von Leo Hugot (1965).

Unterstützt wurde die Interpretation Aachens als *Roma secunda* zudem dadurch, dass in den karolingischen Quellen für Aachen ebenfalls die Bezeichnung „Lateran" genannt wird[7]. Jedoch ist auch die Datierung dieser Quellen erst für den Zeitraum nach dem Baubeginn der Pfalz gesichert. Ferner lässt sich die Bezeichnung nicht ohne weiteres auf die gesamte Pfalzanlagen übertragen, da sie sich eindeutig auf ein Gebäude bezieht, eventuell den südlichen Annexbau der Kirche.

Zusätzliche Indizien für die Interpretation Aachens als *Roma secunda* boten die Aussage von Karls Biographen Einhard, die Säulen der Pfalzkirche stammten aus Rom und Ravenna sowie die Existenz von bronzenen Plastiken, die auf Rom verweisen: eine Bärin, die als römische Wölfin interpretiert wurde, ein Pinienzapfen, der eine verkleinerte Version der Pigna aus dem Atrium von Alt-St. Peter darstellt, und die überlieferte Aufstellung eines aus Ravenna nach Aachen gebrachten Reiterstandbildes des Ostgotenherrschers Theoderich († 526). Aber auch diese Indizien wurden inzwischen angezweifelt, zumal nicht klar wird, ob Einhards Äußerung – falls die Säulen tatsächlich aus den erwähnten Orten stammen sollten – einen politischen Hintergrund hatte oder nur den materiellen Wert der Säulen hervorheben sollte[8]. Zudem kann nicht nachgewiesen werden, dass die Bronzeplastiken zum ursprünglichen Bestand der Pfalz gehörten. Das Reiterstandbild ist erst 801 nach Aachen gebracht worden[9], die in römischer Zeit entstandene Bärin wurde das erste Mal in mittelalterlichen Quellen erwähnt und der Pinienzapfen wird nach den letzten Untersuchungen als ein ottonisches Werk angesehen[10].

7 Nennung und Diskussion der Quellen vgl. Falkenstein 1966, 3f.
8 Binding 2007; Jacobsen 1996, 155–177.
9 Strabo, De imagine Tetrici, MGH Poetae 2, 370–378.
10 Untermann 1999, 162; Effenberger/Drescher 1993, 115–118, Künzel 2003.

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Dennoch sind in den erhaltenen Pfalzbauten die Anleihen aus der antiken Architektur unübersehbar. Diese reichen vom Bestreben, eine monumentale Steinarchitektur zu schaffen, über die Anlehnung an Bautypen, wie Apsidensälen oder die als Zentralbau angelegten Herrscherkirchen sowie an Bauformen und Ornamenten, wie z. B. die korinthischen Säulen im Inneren der Kirche, bis hin zur Bautechnik, wie z. B. die Errichtung von weit spannenden Gewölben.

Der Gestus der Architektur blieb jedoch weitgehend der eigenen Tradition verpflichtet. So wurden auf eine spätantik-illusionistische Raumvorstellung zu Gunsten streng gegliederter Raumkompartimente, additiver Entwurfskonzepte und stereometrischer Baukörper verzichtet. Im Gegensatz zu den ausgedehnten, aus zahlreichen Räumlichkeiten zusammengesetzten antiken Palastanlagen bestach die Pfalz in Aachen mit der Gegenüber- und Parallelstellung von Kirche und Königshalle zudem durch ihre auffällig einfache, dafür aber klare Konzeption.

Da sich in den letzten Jahren immer mehr Widersprüche hinsichtlich der Interpretation der Pfalzanlage aufgetan haben[11], wurde die Frage nach deren ursprünglicher Bedeutung in Aachen wieder aufgegriffen – diesmal von einer interdisziplinär angelegten Forschergruppe[12]. Deren Thesen sollen hier als Zwischenbericht noch laufender Untersuchungen vorgestellt werden[13].

Herausgearbeitet werden konnte, dass in den literarischen Quellen der karolingischen Zeit die Pfalzkirche in Aachen mehrmals als *templum Salomonis*[14] bezeichnet wird und den an ihrer Errichtung beteiligten Personen die Namen der Erbauer des Jerusalemer Tempels zugewiesen werden[15]. Daher wurden auch ihre Ikonographie und das dem Bau zugrunde liegende Maßsystem aus den Angaben für das Himmlische Jerusalem in der Offenbarung des Johannes hergeleitet (Offb 21, 15–17)[16]. Entsprechend ist der Aachener Palast mit „Palast Davids“ bzw. *sacrum palatium* betitelt worden[17]. Auch tritt die Gegenüberstellung von *basilica divina* und *basilica humana* auf[18]. Grund hierfür ist der ideelle Vergleich Karls des Großen mit den biblischen Königen David bzw. Salomo[19]. David hatte im Auftrag Gottes das israelische Reich geeinigt und ihm mit der Überführung der Bundeslade nach Jerusalem ein Zentrum verliehen (2 Sam 6,1–23). Durch Gottes Gunst vom Hirtenjungen zum König aufgestiegen, baute er dort einen ersten Palast. Jedoch erst seinem Sohn Salomo fiel, wiederum im Auftrag Gottes, die Aufgabe zu, anstelle der Stiftshütte einen festen Tempel zur Aufbewahrung der Bundeslade zu errichten. Der Tempel wurde zum Zeichen für den Bund zwischen Gott und dem israelischen Volk (1 Kön 5,15–6,38). Der Tempel galt als Wohnstätte Gottes, der der Palast als Sitz des irdischen Königs gegenüberlag. David und Salomo versinnbildlichen somit das Ideal einer weisen und gottesfürchtigen Herrschaftsausübung, deren sichtbare Zeichen die Einrichtung eines Regierungssitzes und die Stiftung des Tempels waren.

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11 Untermann 1999, 152–156; Meckseper 2001, 211–228; Lobbedey 2003, 129–153; Binding 2009, 319–328; Binding 1999, 162; Effenberger/Drescher 1993, 115–118, Künzel 2003.

12 Am Arbeitskreis Pfalzenforschung Aachen beteiligt sind: Abteilung Denkmalpflege und Stadtarchäologie der Stadt Aachen; Dombauleitung Aachen; LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland; Rathausverein Aachen; RWTH Aachen: Historisches Institut, Lehrstuhl für Baugeschichte, Lehr- und Forschungsgebiet Denkmalpflege, Lehr- und Forschungsgebiet Stadtbaugeschichte.

13 Ausführlich dargelegt in Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 209–272.

14 Alcuini Epistolae, MGH Epp. 4, Nr. 145, 235; Alkuins Grußbotschaft an die Aachener Freunde, MGH Poetae 1, 360–362; Alcuini Epistolae, MGH Epp. 4, Nr. 144, 230; später auch: Notker, Gesta Karoli, I,27, 38; MGH Poetae 2, 374; Vgl. auch Binding 1998, 195–211; Binding 1996a, 353f; Heckner 2012, 35–40; Ley 2014, 95–110.

15 Einhard (um 770–840) wurde der Name des Erbauers und Ausstatters der jüdischen Stiftshütte „Beseleel“ (Ex 35, 30–35) verliehen: Alkuin, Carmen 26, MGH Poetae 1, 245; Alcuini Epistolae, MGH Epp. 4, Nr. 172, 285; Theodulf von Orléans, Carmen 27, MGH Poetae 1, 492; Strabo, De imagine Tetrici, MGH Poetae 2, 377; wer als „Hiram“ (1 Kön 3,7.13f; 2 Chr 2,12f) bezeichnet wurde, ist nicht bekannt: Theodulf, Carmen 27, MGH Poetae 1, 493, Vers 93f; vgl. Binding 1996a, 44–47.

16 Isar 2009, 316f; Heckner 2012, 43–62; Heckner 2013, 11–25, Ley 2014, 95–195.

17 Vgl. Alkuins Grußbotschaft an die Freunde, MGH Poetae 1, 360–362. Brief des Fridugis, MGH Epp. 2, Nr. 36, 552–555, hier 552; Zum Begriff *sacrum palatium* in karolingischer Zeit vgl. Zotz 1990, 73–75; Zotz 1994, 9–10.

18 Notker, Gesta Karoli, I, 30, 41.

19 de Jong 2003, 1243–1269; Garrison 2000, 154–156.

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Abb. 3 Vergleich der Innenräume: Grabesrotunde in Jerusalem, Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel, San Vitale in Ravenna und Pfalzkirche in Aachen.

Dieses biblische Bild griffen bereits vor Karl dem Großen christliche Herrscher wie die Kaiser Konstantin I. (306–337) und Justinian I. (527–565) auf, um durch den Bau bzw. die Stiftung entsprechender Palast- und Kirchenbauten nicht nur ihre erst errungene Regierung zu legitimieren, sondern insbesondere auf deren herausragende Bedeutung hinzuweisen (Abb. 3)[20]. Sie alle

20 Ousterhout 2010.

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strebten danach, ihr Reich unter einem christlichen Glaubensbekenntnis zu einen. Im Sinne eines Sakralkönigtums wurde dann auch Karl der Große als „Haupt, Lehrer und Zierde seines Reiches“[21] bezeichnet.

Mit der Übernahme der Jerusalem-Vorstellung wurde Aachen zu einer zentralen *sedes* stilisiert, deren Bedeutung nicht nur von der eigenen fränkischen Bevölkerung und den besiegten germanischen Stämmen verstanden werden sollte, sondern auch weit über die Grenzen des fränkischen Reiches hinaus. Der diplomatische Austausch mit Reichen, die in der antiken Tradition Roms und Konstantinopels einen zentralen Regierungssitz als einen entscheidenden Machtfaktor ansahen, nahm mit der steigenden machtpolitischen Bedeutung der Franken zu. Daher musste in Aachen eine Palastanlage errichtet werden, die sowohl die Ansprüche des fränkischen Königs erfüllte, der basierend auf der Idee des Reisekönigtums für sein Volk präsent sein musste, aber auch auswärtige Gäste und Gesandtschaften beeindruckte.

Eine der offenen Fragen ist, warum die Ortswahl auf Aachen fiel. Einhard berichtet, dass die natürlichen heißen Quellen der eigentliche Grund gewesen wären[22]. Entscheidend war sicherlich aber auch, dass es sich um eine größere römische Siedlung handelte, die zentral im Kernland der Franken lag und sich wahrscheinlich im königlichen Besitz befand[23]. Die schriftlichen Quellen berichten bereits von einem Aufenthalt von Karls Vater Pippin 765 in der Pfalz[24]. Durch archäologische Befunde ließ sich inzwischen nachweisen, dass nicht nur die Pfalzkirche einen Vorgängerbau besaß, sondern auch die Königshalle innerhalb einer zu dieser Zeit noch deutlich erfahrbaren spätantiken Befestigung errichten worden ist[25].

Da die Gesandten zu einem großen Teil aus Gebieten kamen, die eine lückenlose Architekturüberlieferung aus der Antike aufwiesen, konnte der fränkische König durch das Zitieren eben dieser Architektur an einem von Römern gegründeten Ort darauf verweisen, dass auch er sich als selbstbewusster Vertreter dieser machtpolitisch bedeutenden Traditionslinie sah. Die eigentliche Aufgabe bestand nun darin, ein Zitat nicht kommentarlos aus der römischen oder byzantinischen Architektur zu übernehmen, sondern es in die eigene Kultur einzufügen. So konnte es den persönlichen Ansprüchen und Gewohnheiten genügen und diese sogar noch hervorheben.

Zitiert wurden demnach spätantike Bautypen, die an anderen Orten in Gebrauch waren und deren Bedeutung weithin bekannt war. Dabei spielten insbesondere Symboliken eine Rolle, die sich zuvor die christlichen Kaiser angeeignet hatten. So galten bereits die durch Konstantin I. gestiftete Grabeskirche in Jerusalem und die durch Justinian I. in Konstantinopel errichtete Hagia Sophia als Neuer Salomonischer Tempel[26].

Im Gegensatz zu dem im Alten Testament beschriebenen längsrechteckigen alten Tempel (1 Kön 6,2–29) handelt es sich bei diesen Kirchen um Zentralbauten. Sie folgen hiermit dem im Neuen Testament beschriebenen Bild vom Himmlischen Jerusalem, das sich u.a. aus der Beschreibung des Tempels ableitete und infolgedessen mit diesem verschmolz.

So ist bereits die Tempelvision des Propheten Ezechiel (Ez 40,3–42,2) deutlich mehr auf einen Mittelpunkt hin angelegt (Abb. 4). Nach der Zerstörung des alten Tempels und der Verschleppung des israelischen Volkes ins babylonische Exil wurde ihm in einem Traum von einem Engel der Bauplan eines neuen Tempels detailliert beschrieben. Die Form des Tempels selbst entspricht der des alten, jedoch umgeben ihn zwei stark befestigte Höfe, von denen der äußere eine quadratische Umfassung hat.

21 Vgl. Alcuini Epistolae, MGH Epp. 4, Nr. 177, 292f.
22 Einhard, Vita Karoli, c. 22.
23 Vgl. Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 60–65.
24 Annales regni Francorum zum Jahr 765, 22; RII Nr. 101a–b.
25 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 4–48.
26 Vgl. ausführlich in: Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 209–246; Ley 2014, 99–104.

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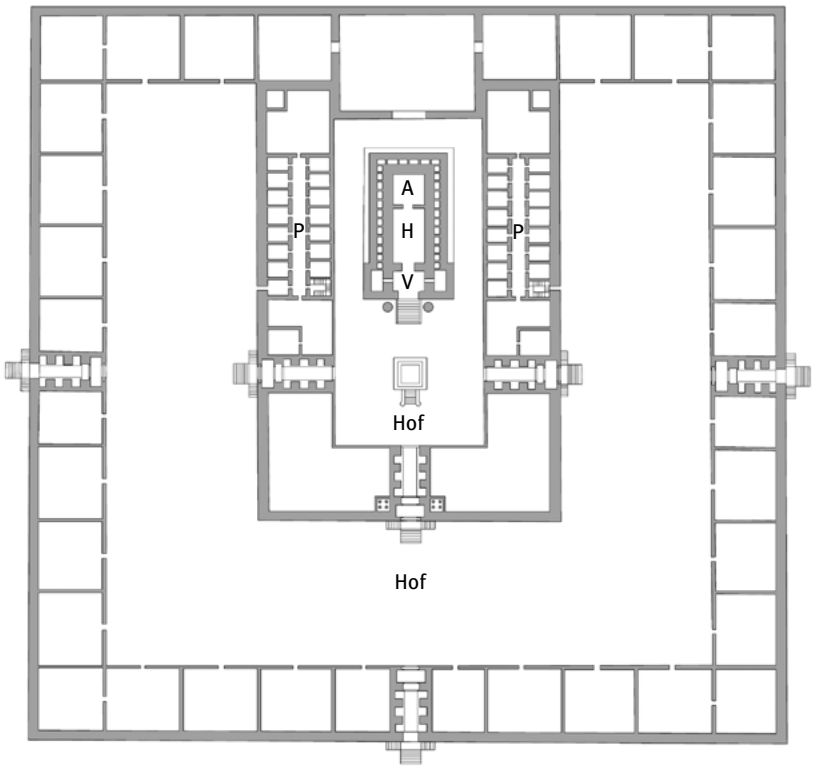

Abb. 4 Ezechielischer Tempelentwurf, Rekonstruktion nach Louis Hugues Vincent, 1956.

Die Beschreibung des Himmlischen Jerusalem in der neutestamentarischen Offenbarung des Johannes (Offb 21) greift schließlich auf diese nun apokalyptisch umgedeutete Tempelvision zurück. Die Vorstellung von einem unter Gottes Anleitung wieder zu errichtenden Gotteshaus wurde damit zum Sinnbild für den neuen Bund zwischen Gott und den Menschen in der christlichen Kirche[27]. Im Zentrum der explizit als konzentrisch beschriebenen Stadtanlage befindet sich anstelle des gebauten Tempels nun Gott.

Die als Tempel gedeuteten, als Zentralbauten angelegten Kirchenbauten versinnbildlichten somit das Himmlische Jerusalem und den Schauplatz des Weltgerichts (Offb 4). Als Abbild des himmlischen Reiches waren sie zugleich Sinnbild und Garant der jeweiligen christlichen Reiche auf Erden.

Das Konzept eines christlichen Kaisertums, demzufolge das irdische Kaiserreich eine Nachbildung des himmlischen Reiches Gottes sei und der Kaiser somit sein Statthalter auf Erden, hatte Eusebius von Caesarea (260/62–339/40), Kirchenlehrer und gleichzeitig Biograf Konstantins, in einer Rede zum 30. Regierungsjubiläum des Kaisers im Jahr 335 entwickelt[28]. Diesem Bild entsprechend bezeichnete er die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem bei deren Einweihung, die ebenfalls Teil der Jubiläumsfeierlichkeiten war, als Tempel der neuen christlichen Kirche, der den zerstörten Tempel des alten Bundes ablöst[29]. Da die Kirche die Stätten der Passion und der Auferstehung Christi umfasste, wurde sie zum Ort, an dem das Weltgericht erwartet wurde und damit zum geistigen Zentrum der legalisierten christlichen Religion (Abb. 5a). Die Kirche zählte zu den wichtigsten Pilgerzielen der Christenheit, wodurch ihre Gestalt allgemein bekannt war. Verbreitung fand vor

27 Naredi-Rainer 1994, 47–55.

28 Tricennatsrede an Constantin, Eusebius von Caesarea, Laus Constantini, 1–10.

29 Eusebius von Caesarea, Vita Constantini, III, 33; Eusebius bezieht sich in seiner Beschreibung auf die zu diesem Zeitpunkt vollendete fünfschiffige Emporenbasilika. Die eigentliche Grabrotunde wurde erst wenig später fertig gestellt. Die Beschreibung des Eusebius ist daher irrtümlich oft auf die später fertig gestellte Grabrotunde bezogen worden; vgl. Schmaltz 1918, 40–67; Wistrand 1952, 4–18.

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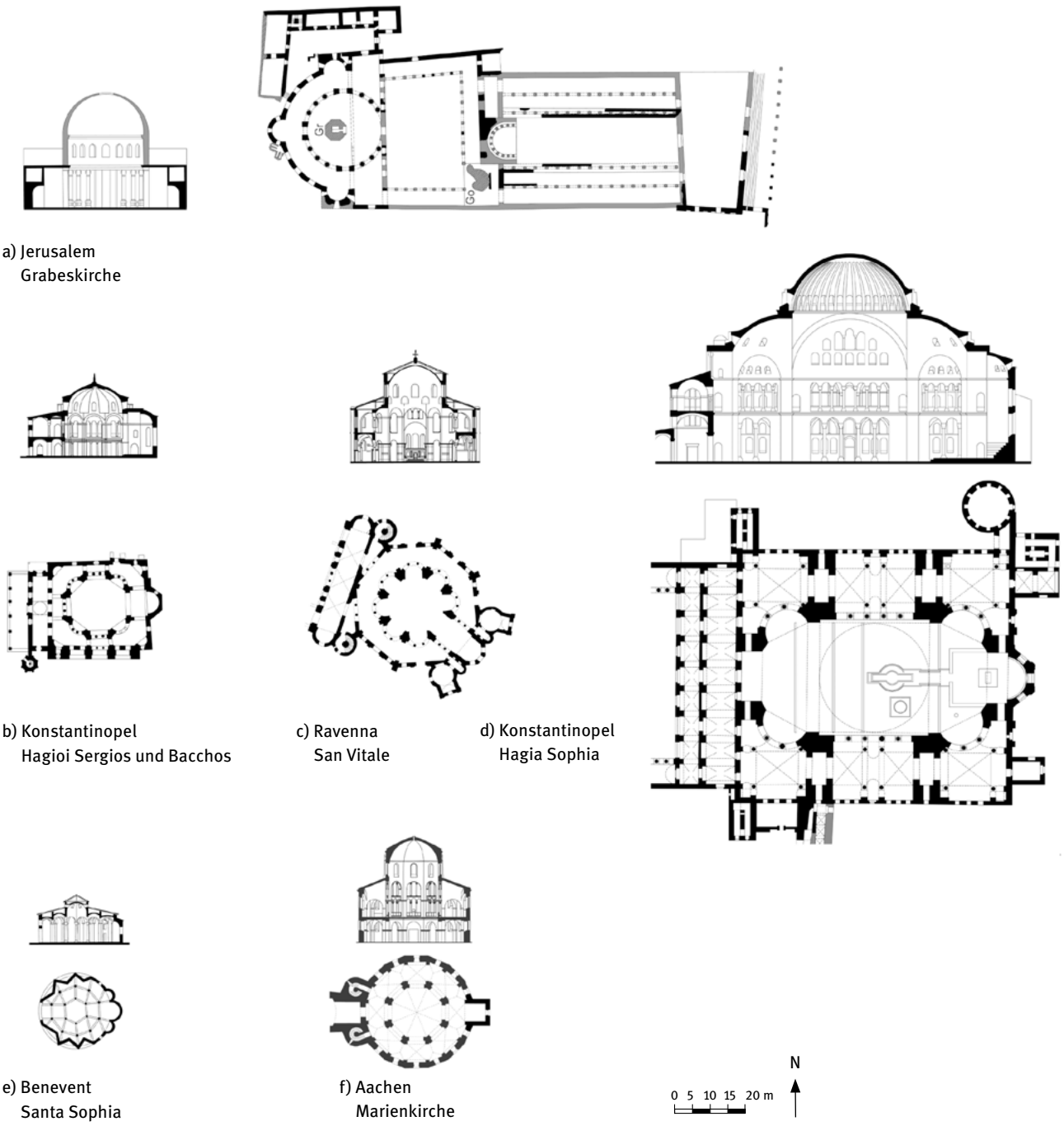

Abb. 5 Byzantinische und frühmittelalterliche Zentralbaukirchen im maßstäblichen Vergleich.

allem ein Plan des fränkischen Bischofs Arculf vom Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts, der zusammen mit seinem Reisebericht „De locis sanctis" veröffentlicht und mehrmals kopiert wurde (Abb. 6).[30]

Ein Austausch zwischen dem Patriarchen von Jerusalem und Karl dem Großen ist erst nach Beginn des Kirchenbaus in Aachen in den Schriftquellen nachweisbar. Die geschilderten Ereignisse sind jedoch so weitreichend, dass von einer vorhergehenden Kontaktaufnahme auszugehen ist. So wurden im Jahr 799 Reliquien vom Heiligen Grab nach Aachen gesandt. Im Jahr 800 erhielt Karl schließlich die Schlüssel zum Heiligen Grab, zur Kreuzigungsstätte und zur Stadt Jerusalem

30 Untermann 1989, 34–41.

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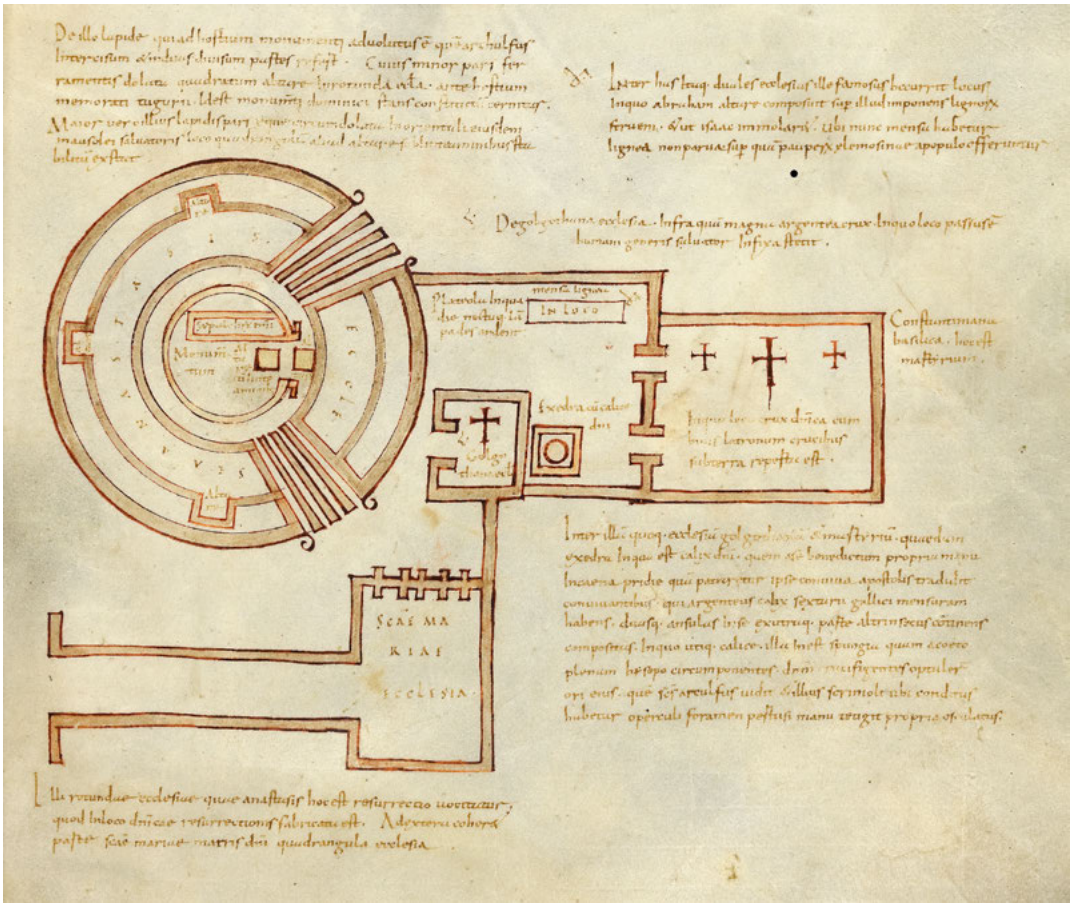

Abb. 6 Grundriss der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem nach Arculf, um 680/90, Kopie 9. Jahrhundert Kloster auf der Insel Reichenau.

mitsamt ihrer Fahne.[31] Einen Hinweis hierauf könnte auch eine Münzprägung geben, auf deren Vorderseite Karl der Große als IMP(erator) AVG(ustus) dargestellt wird, während auf der Rückseite mit der Umschrift XPICTIANA RELIGIO ein Gebäude abgebildet ist, dass der damalig üblichen Darstellung des Heiligen Grabes entspricht[32]. Bemerkenswert ist, dass Einhard den Begriff der *religio Christiana* ebenfalls als Stiftungsgrund Karls des Großen für den Bau der Marienkirche nennt[33].

Wie vor ihm Konstantin mit der Grabeskirche setzte auch Justinian mit der Stiftung der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel ein deutliches Zeichen seiner Machtausübung (Abb. 5d). Er soll bei der Einweihung der Kirche im Jahr 537 gerufen haben: „Ruhm und Ehre dem Allerhöchsten, der mich für würdig hielt, ein solches Werk zu vollenden. Salomo, ich habe Dich übertroffen“[34]. Der Ausspruch verweist eindeutig auf eine Steigerung des im Alten Testament beschriebenen Tempels[35]. Diese spiegelt sich sowohl in der besonders prachtvollen Ausstattung als auch der gewaltigen Größe des Baus wieder, insbesondere aber auch in dessen außergewöhnlicher Bauform, einer dreischiffigen Kuppelbasilika. Diese Kombination aus Längs- und Zentralbau bildet eine schlüssige Verbindung zwischen dem Tempelbau des Alten Testaments und dem Tempel des Neuen Bundes, wie er durch Konstantin in der Grabeskirche verwirklicht worden war.

Die Gestalt der Hagia Sophia war bei den Franken wiederum in jedem Fall durch die Beschreibungen der Pilgerreise des Arculf bekannt: „von der hochberühmten, bemerkenswert großen,

31 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 75f.
32 McCormick 2011, 187–193.
33 Einhard, Vita Karoli, c. 26.
34 Pseudo-Codinus, 143.
35 Scheja 1962, 44–58.

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steinernen Kirche dieser Stadt … die … vom Untersten der Fundamente an sich in drei Wänden dreifach erhebt über jene und oben vollendet wird von einem hoch erhobenen, ganz runden und überaus schönen einzigen Gewölbe. Dieses wird von riesigen Bögen getragen und umschließt einen weiten Raum zwischen den einzelnen Wänden“[36].

Eine Zentralbaukirche, die dieser Beschreibung ebenfalls sehr nahe kommt und schon seit Langem als direktes Vorbild für die Pfalzkirche in Aachen gilt, ist San Vitale in Ravenna (Abb. 5c).[37] Da die Stadt um 530 noch von den Ostgoten besetzt war, handelt es sich hierbei um keine kaiserliche Stiftung.[38] Mit ihrem Bau wurde daher wahrscheinlich auch erst nach 540 begonnen, als Ravenna wieder Hauptstadt des Weströmischen Reiches war. Die Wahl der für Memorialbauten in Italien ungewöhnlichen Zentralbauform sowie die markanten Bildnisse des Kaiserpaares in der Hauptapsis machten die enge Beziehung zu Byzanz unverkennbar deutlich. Formal lehnt sich der Kirchenbau an die von Justinian und Theodora gestiftet Kirche Sergios und Bacchos in Konstantinopel an, die ca. zwischen 527 und 536 in den Baukomplex des Hormisdas-Palastes eingefügt worden war (Abb. 5b).[39]

Dass die Tradition, herrschaftliche Stiftungen als Zentralbaukirchen zu errichten, weiterhin bei den Langobarden bekannt war als Karl der Große 774 deren König wurde, belegt insbesondere der Bau der Kirche Santa Sophia in Benevent um 760 durch Herzog Arechis II. (758–787) (Abb. 5e).[40] Als Karl der Große im Jahr 787 Ravenna besuchte, sahen die Karolinger in San Vitale daher womöglich – entsprechend der Beschreibung des Arculf – ein Zitat der Hagia Sophia. Aufgrund dieser Herleitung ließ sich die Zentralbauform der Kirche auch als Abbild des Neuen Salomonischen Tempels verstehen und die damit verbundenen religiösen Vorstellungen nach Aachen übertragen (Abb. 5f).

Bei einem Vergleich beider Kirchen wird deutlich, dass Übereinstimmungen hauptsächlich nur mit dem Obergeschoss des Aachener Baus bestehen (Abb. 3. 7b). Die achtseitigen überkuppelten Innenräume sind von hohen Arkaden umgeben, in die Säulengitter eingestellt wurden. Letztere täuschen in Aachen die in San Vitale vorhandene Zweigeschossigkeit nur vor und sind anders als dort nicht in einschwingenden halbrunden Nischen angeordnet, sondern stehen in einer Ebene mit der Wand. Die Arkaden- und Säulengliederung ist somit als Zitat übernommen worden. Die spätantik-illusionistische Raumvorstellung aber wurde negiert und in einzelne, voneinander abgesetzte Raumkompartimente umgewandelt.

Das Erdgeschoss der Pfalzkirche lässt sich hingegen möglicherweise als ein Zitat der Grabesrotunde in Jerusalem verstehen. Eine Überblendung mit deren ursprünglichem Grundriss zeigt, dass es auch hier stark abstrahierte Anleihen gibt (Abb. 7a). Sie konnten durch eine gemeinschaftlich bekannte Ikonografie übermittelt und in eine neue Architektursprache übersetzt werden[41]. So basiert das Grundrissschema beider Zentralbauten auf dem Christus symbolisierenden griechischen Kreuz, das sich jeweils zwischen den Pfeilern einschreiben lässt: in Jerusalem zwischen die in die zwei Achsen der Kirche gestellten Arkadenbögen, in Aachen direkt in das Oktogon. Übereinstimmend ist auch die Lage der Maria und Petrus geweihten Altäre in der Hauptachse, während das leere Heilige Grab in Aachen womöglich bewusst nicht dargestellt wurde.

Für die Pfalzkirche in Aachen wurde demnach ein nie dagewesenes Entwurfsprinzip angewandt: die vertikale Addition zweier Zentralbaukirchen, deren Vorbilder aus der gleichen Traditionslinie stammen und inhaltlich durch die Deutung als Neuer Salomonischer Tempel bzw. als Abbild des Himmlischen Jerusalem eine Synthese eingehen konnten (Abb. 7c).

36 CCSL 175, 228; Untermann 1989, 106.

37 Deichmann Bd. 1 1969, 226–256; Deichmann 1976, 47–230; Bandmann 1965, 439–458.

38 Deichmann Bd. 2,2 1969, 21–27.

39 Krautheimer 1965, 161–165; Bandmann 1965, 442–444.

40 Untermann 1989, 110–112; Bandmann 1965, 435–439; Belting 1962, 169–193.

41 Zur Architekturikonologie und -ikonografie vgl. Meckseper 1999, 65–85; Krautheimer 1998; Bandmann 1951; Reinle 1976; Untermann 1989, 46–48.

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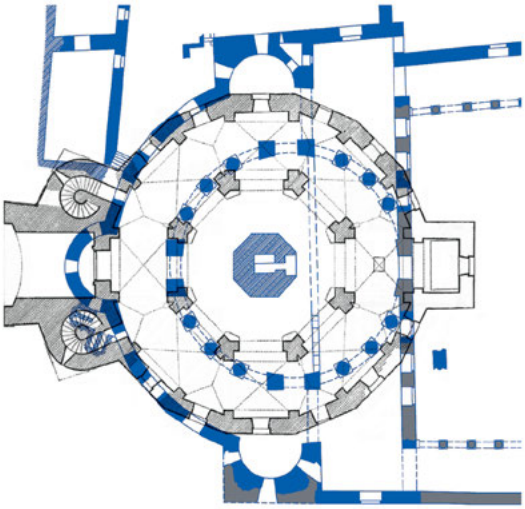
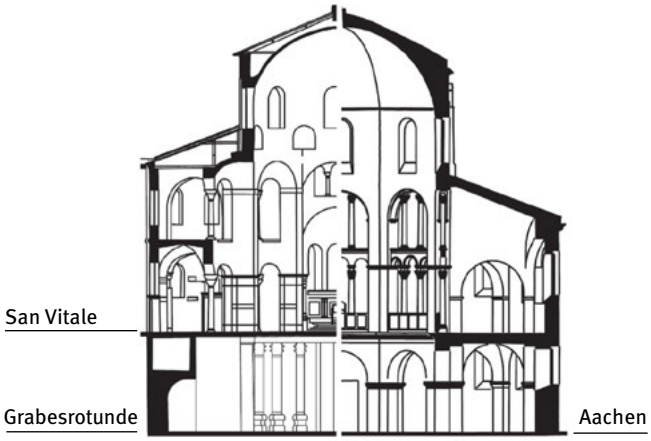
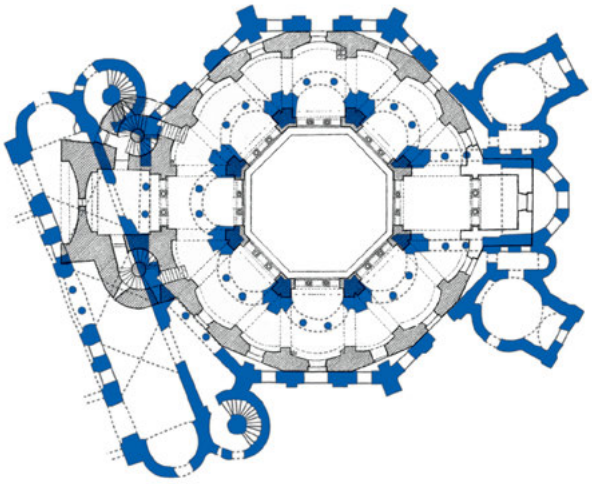


a) blau: Grabesrotunde Jerusalem
grau: Pfalzkirche Aachen Erdgeschoss



c) Pfalzkirche Aachen: Erd- und Obergeschoss
Überhöhung durch die Imitatio von zwei Vorbildern



b) blau: San Vitale Ravenna
grau: Pfalzkirche Aachen Obergeschoss

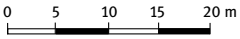


Abb. 7 Ableitung der Zweigeschossigkeit der Aachener Pfalzkirche aus der Imitatio der Grabesrotunde in Jerusalem und San Vitale in Ravenna.

Durch die *imitatio* beider Bauten in seiner Kirchenstiftung stellte sich Karl der Große bereits als fränkischer König nicht nur in die Tradition der christlichen Kaiser, sondern übertrumpfte diese noch als besserer König Salomo. Da es den Franken niemals möglich gewesen wäre, eine Kirche in der Größe der Hagia Sophia zu errichten, steigerten sie deren Konzept. Waren in Konstantinopel noch der alte und der neue Tempel miteinander verschränkt worden, so fungierte in Aachen der Neue Salomonische Tempel als zweifaches Vorbild.

Will man dem Bild vom Salomonischen Tempel weiter folgen, so ließen sich das Atrium und die Annexbauten der Pfalzkirche entsprechend den Nebenbauten des Tempels als Vorhof bzw. dienende Räume der Priester deuten (z. B. Sakristei, Kleiderkammer, Bibliothek).[42]

42 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 246–252.

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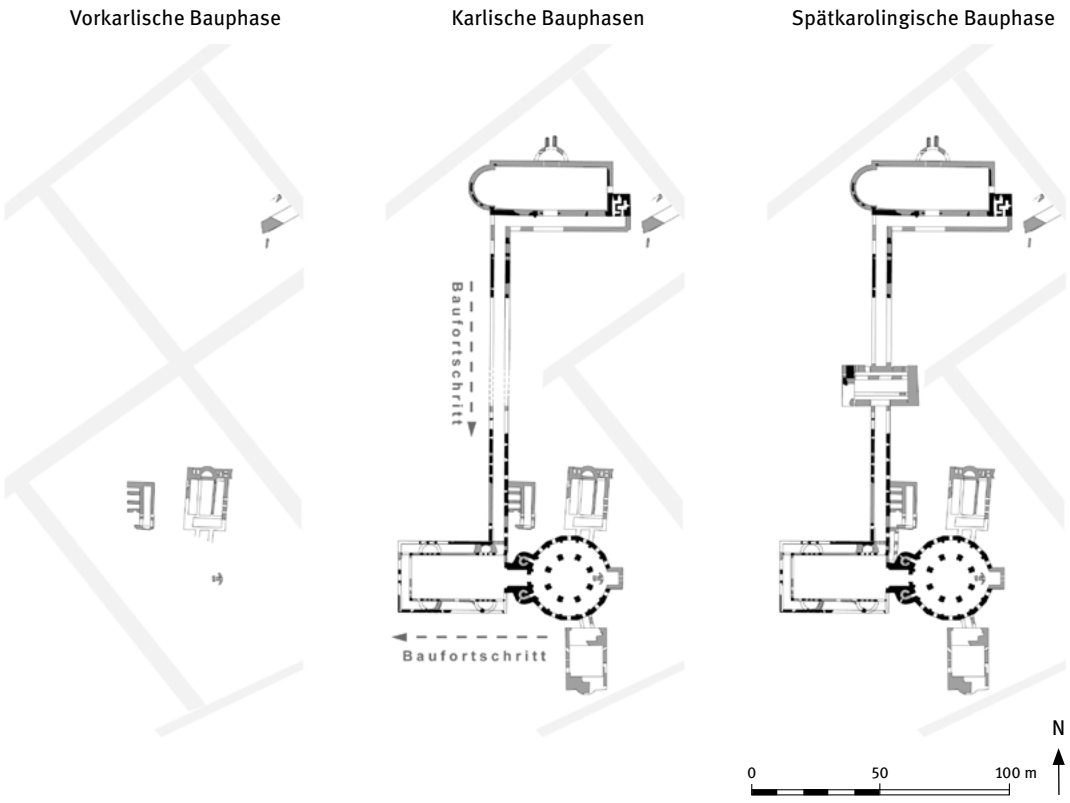

Abb. 8 Bauphasen der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund erhebt sich die Frage, ob die architektonische Gestalt der gesamten Pfalzanlage als *sacrum palatium* aufgefasst wurde, bzw. die Königshalle als Palast Davids. Diese Frage ist insofern von Bedeutung, da infolge der jüngsten Forschungen vermutet wird, dass der Bau der großen Halle mit ihrem Vorbau und dem Verbindungsgang möglicherweise erst kurz nach der Pfalzkirche begonnen wurde, wodurch beide Gebäudekomplexe nicht zu einer ursprünglichen Konzeption gehören[43]. Sicher ist, dass der sogenannte Mittelbau erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts in den Verbindungsgang integriert wurde (Abb. 8).[44]

Auffällig ist jedoch, dass auch die Königshalle strikt nach den Himmelsrichtungen orientiert und der Pfalzkirche bewusst gegenübergestellt wurde. Auch die Höhen beider Gebäude wurden aufeinander abgestimmt. So ermöglichte beispielsweise der Verbindungsgang den Übergang auf einer Ebene vom Obergeschoss der Kirche zum Laufniveau der Aula. Es handelt sich somit offensichtlich um eine Erweiterung des ursprünglichen Plans. Hintergrund dieses neu geschaffenen architektonischen Ensembles könnte wiederum das durch die Bibel vermittelte Bild vom Tempelberg in Jerusalem sein (Abb. 9). Die Parallelstellung von Tempel und Palast ist in der Bibel zwar nicht zwingend vorgegeben, in der Beschreibung des Palastes wird jedoch deutlich, dass er sich in direkter Nähe des Tempels befand und beide Bauten als Zeugnisse der weisen Herrschaft Salomos angesehen wurden (1 Kön 7, 1–12, 10, 1–10; 2 Chr 9, 1–8).

Denselben Weg, wie die Idee, den Salomonischen Tempel als Zentralbau aufzufassen, nahm auch der Begriff *scarum palatium*[45]. Er ging vom Tempelberg in Jerusalem auf den Großen Palast in Konstantinopel über und ist von hier auf die Paläste in Ravenna übertragen worden[46]. Er wurde schließlich ebenso von den Ostgoten, Langobarden, Karolingern und Westgoten verwendet und

43 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 116–143.
44 Giertz 2005/6, 69f; Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 157, 376–378.
45 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 252–273.
46 Carile 2012; Bolognesi/Franseschini 2003, 114–119.

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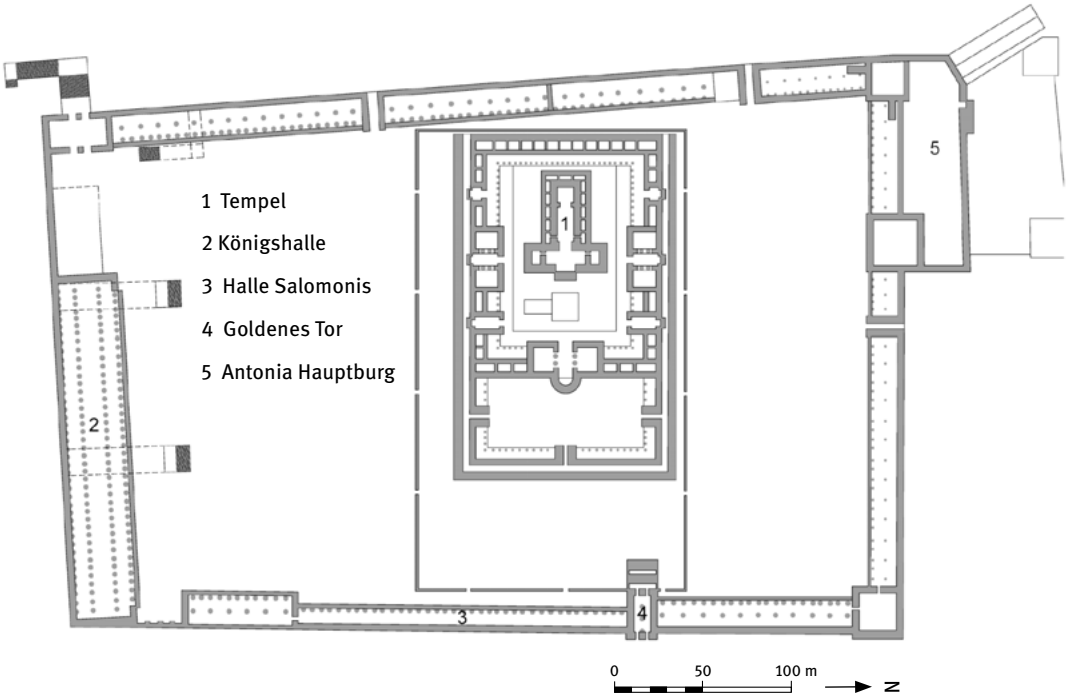

Abb. 9 Herodianischer Tempelbezirk in Jerusalem, Rekonstruktion nach Theodor A. Busink 1980.

ging später auf den Lateranpalast des Papstes in Rom über. Es handelt sich hierbei um eine Bezeichnung, die sowohl für die Institution als auch für den Palast selbst genutzt wurde. Da wir über die bauliche Struktur der Paläste in Italien aufgrund des Mangels an archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften jedoch nicht oder nur unzureichend informiert sind, ist es kaum möglich festzustellen, ob hier bereits eine ähnliche Entwurfsidee wie in Aachen angewandt wurde. Sicher existierte – wie schon bei den römischen Palästen – eine sichtbare Gegenüberstellung von Heiligtum und Empfangshalle.[47] Fraglich ist aber, ob diese Gegenüberstellung in der Palastarchitektur vor Aachen bereits mit der gleichen Konsequenz in der Geometrie der Anlage umgesetzt wurde. Auch in den Pfalzen sind Halle und Kirche häufig einander gegenübergestellt worden, aber auch hier ohne einen eindeutigen architektonischen Bezug zueinander (Abb. 10). Bemerkenswert ist nun, dass in Aachen mittels einer strengen Strukturierung ein in sich schlüssiges Pfalzensemble geschaffen wurde. Wie auch beim Entwurf der Pfalzkirche besticht seine auf den ersten Blick schlichte Konzeption, die weder in den Dimensionen noch in der Anzahl der Räumlichkeiten mit den antiken Palastanlagen zu wetteifern sucht. Vielmehr war womöglich hier ebenfalls die Idee, eine ideelle und ehrfurchtsvolle Nachbildung des *sacrum palatium* zu schaffen die eigentliche Steigerung des Entwurfsgedankens.

Wie beim Bau der Pfalzkirche wurde aber auch beim Bau der Königshalle auf antike Vorbilder zurückgegriffen. Die Errichtung von Apsidenhallen hatte bei den germanischen Völkern keine Tradition und blieb für die karolingischen Pfalzen in Ingelheim und Aachen einmalig (Abb. 11).[48] Für die Aachener Königshalle wurden als Vorbilder bisher die Palastaula Konstantins I. in Trier sowie das Triklinium Leos III. im Lateranpalast herangezogen – die Palastaula u. a. wegen ihrer ähnlichen Proportionen, das Leotriklinium wegen seiner beiden Nebenapsiden.[49] Für beide Bauten ist die direkte Vorbildwirkung jedoch nicht gesichert. So war die Halle in Trier im 8. Jahrhundert wahrscheinlich schon im Verfall begriffen.[50] Zudem ist nicht bekannt, dass der karolingische Hof

47 Wulf-Rheidt 2007, 280–288.
48 Binding 1996b, 99–114, Ley/Wietheger 2014, 236–245.
49 Hugot 1965, 546–555; Hugot 1969, 9–11; Luchterhandt 1999, 212; Luchterhandt 2006, 179–191.
50 Fontaine 2003, 143, 153–154.

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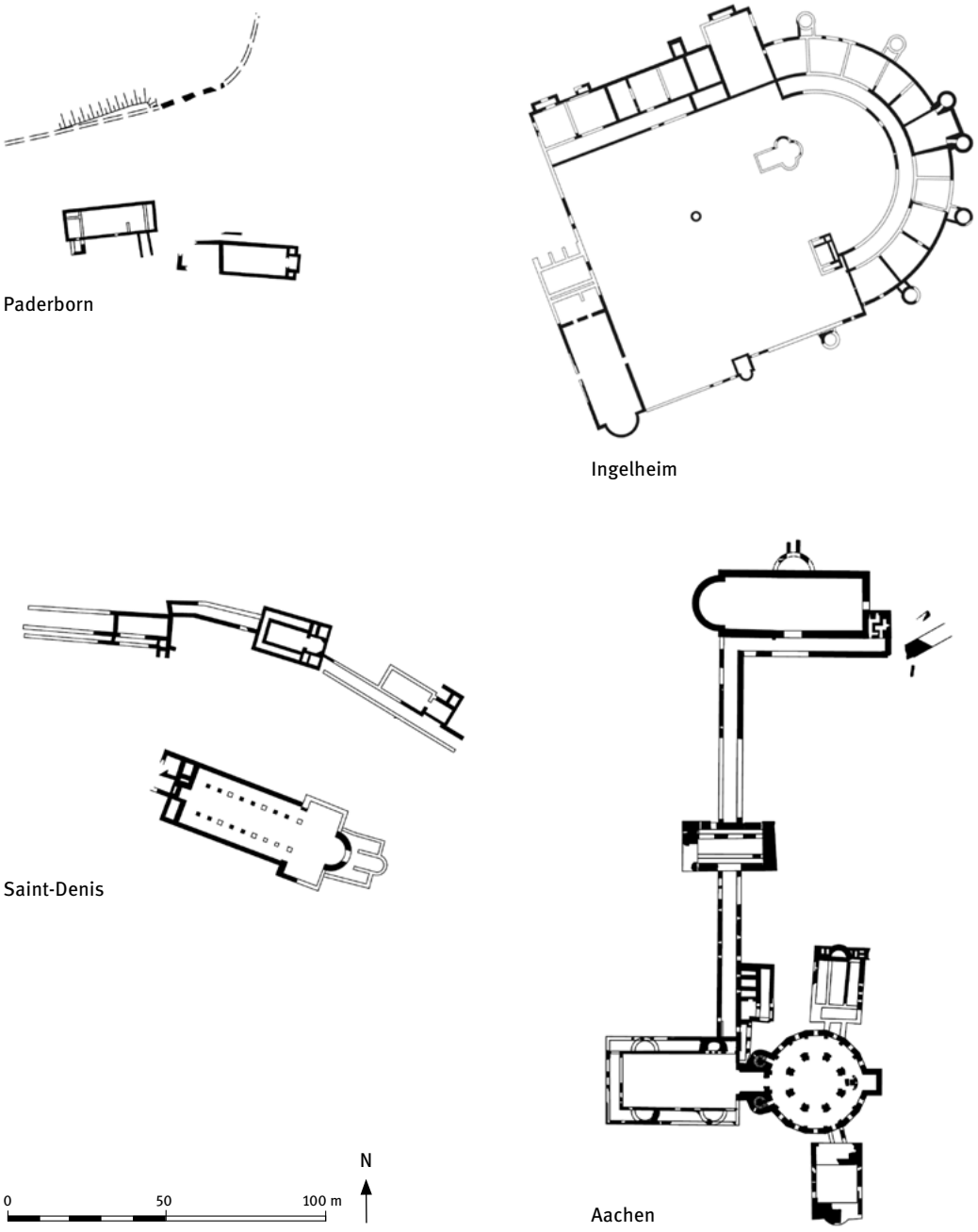

Abb. 10 Maßstäblicher Vergleich der Pfalzen: Paderborn, Saint-Denis, Ingelheim und Aachen.

jemals in Trier weilte, und auch bei seinen Rombesuchen in den Jahren 774, 781 und 787 wird Karl der Große von Papst Hadrian noch im Vorgängerbau des Leotrikliniums, vermutlich der *basilica Vigilii*, empfangen worden sein.[51] Das um 797/798 errichtete Triklinium Leos III. kann Karl also erst bei seiner Kaiserkrönung im Jahr 800 gesehen haben.

Die nicht genau fassbaren, aber auf jeden Fall sehr nahe beieinander liegenden Bauzeiten der Regierungshallen in Rom und Aachen lassen aber vermuten, dass ihrer Errichtung der gleiche Anlass zu Grunde lag: Durch das enge, im Leotriklinium sogar bildlich dargestellte Bündnis zwischen dem fränkischen König und dem Papst wurde die Macht beider gestärkt. Dies ließ sich u. a. durch den repräsentativen Ausbau des jeweiligen Palastes zeigen. Dass aufgrund der engen Bezie-

51 Meckseper 1998, 119–128.

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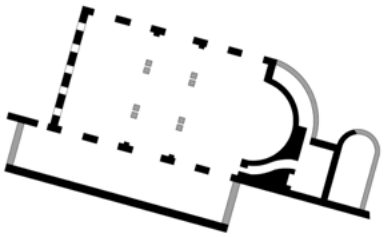
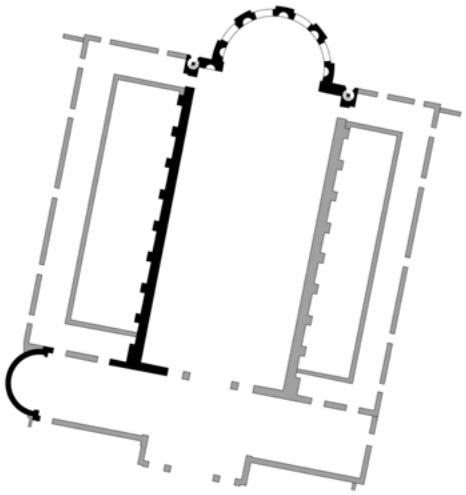
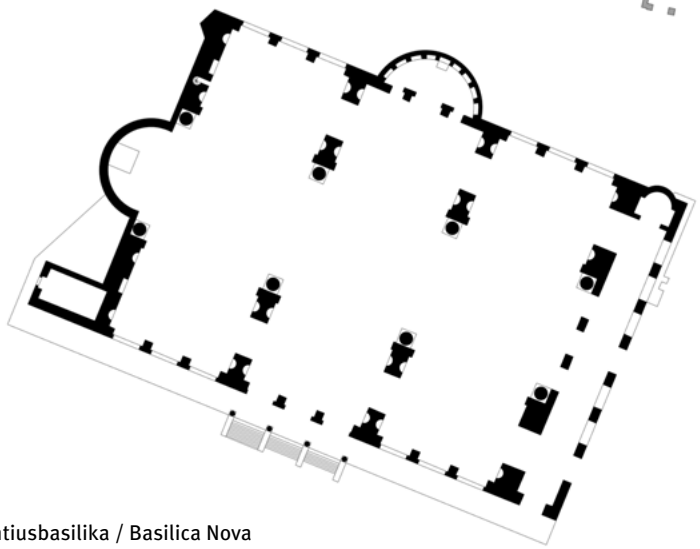


Rom
Halle des Palatium sessorium
Santa Croce in Gerusalemme
Anfang 3. Jh.
Umbau zur Kirche 1. Hälfte 4. Jh.

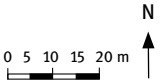


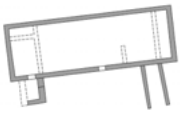
Trier
Palastaula
1. Hälfte 4. Jh.



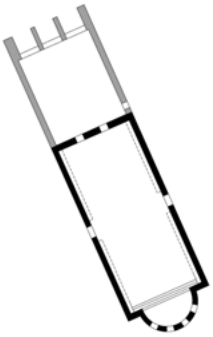
Rom
Maxentiusbasilika / Basilica Nova
Anfang 4. Jh.
Umbau Ende 4. Jh. / Anfang 5. Jh.

Rom
Lateran
Triklinium Leos III.
Ende 8. Jh.



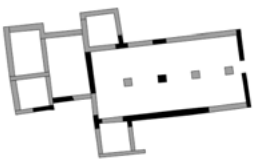


Paderborn
Königshalle
2. Hälfte 8. Jh.

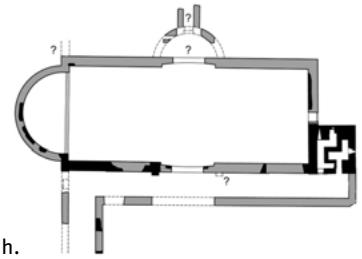


Ingelheim
Königshalle
2. Hälfte 8. Jh.

Saint-Denis
Königshalle
Ende 8. Jh.



Frankfurt
Königshalle
2. Hälfte 9. Jh.



Aachen
Königshalle
Ende 8. / Anfang 9. Jh.

Abb. 11 Maßstäblicher Vergleich der Grundrisse spätantiker und karolingerzeitlicher Hallen.

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hungen dann auch ein Gebäude in der Aachener Pfalz als Lateran bezeichnet wurde, ist eine logische Konsequenz dieser politischen Verbindung. Später als in Aachen ist dann auch für das *episcopium* bzw. *patriarchium* des Papstes in Rom die Bezeichnung *palatium lateranense* bzw. *sacrum palatium* nachweisbar.[52]

In der Forschung wird schon seit Längerem aufgrund der sehr unterschiedlichen Größen der beiden Hallen auch deren formaler Bezug aufeinander kritisch diskutiert. So können die Nebenapsiden in Aachen beispielsweise nicht wie im Triklinium als *accubita* gedient haben.[53] Die Ableitung voneinander wird in jüngster Zeit zusätzlich dadurch entkräftet, dass durch die Aufarbeitung der Altgrabungen für Aachen festgestellt werden konnte, dass es keine belastbaren Hinweise für die südliche Seitenapside der karolingischen Halle gibt.[54] Aus der Betrachtung der besonderen Eingangssituation in Aachen ergeben sich jedoch zwei weitere mögliche Vorbilderbauten der römischen Antike: So erfolgte der Hauptzugang zur Aachener Aula über den Vorbau an ihrer südlichen Langseite und nicht, wie bei den antiken Hallen üblich, über die Schmalseite. Eine ähnliche Zugangssituation besaßen infolge von nachträglichen Umbauten zwei ältere römische Regierungshallen, die Karl der Große bei seinen Rombesuchen hat kennenlernen können: die Maxentiusbasilika und die zur Kirche Santa Croce in Gerusalemme umgewidmete Halle des *palatium sessorium*[55]. Über die Baugeschichte beider Hallen ließe sich ein ideologischer Bezug zu Kaiser Konstatin I. und Rom bzw. Jerusalem herstellen.[56] Nachzuweisen ist diese Ableitung aber nicht.

Deutlich wird in Aachen aber, dass man sich beim Bau der Königshalle einer insbesondere in Italien noch gängigen antiken Typologie bediente, die in verkleinerter Form auch in Villenbauten oder Bischofspalästen anzutreffen war. Die Adaption von Apsiden scheint demnach eine Folge des gesteigerten Repräsentationswillens Karls des Großen gewesen zu sein, mit dem er seinen machtpolitischen Anspruch insbesondere ausländischen Gesandten gegenüber verständlich bekunden konnte.

Wie das Triklinium im Lateran übernahm auch die Königshalle in Aachen als Raum für Festessen und Empfänge eine Doppelfunktion. Die oben benannten Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Eingangssituation weisen jedoch auf verschiedene Nutzungsbräuche beider Säle hin. Die traditionellen Hallen der Franken waren einfache längsrechteckige Räume, wie beispielsweise die um 777 begonnene Aula der Paderborner Pfalz oder die repräsentativen fränkischen Wohnbauten.[57] Der Plan des Refektoriums im St. Gallener-Klosterplan gibt die Möblierung und die Sitzordnung eines solchen Saals wieder, der zufolge der Abt an dessen Schmalseite saß, während die Gäste vor dem Lesepult, dem Haupteingang gegenüber, in der Querachse des Raumes Platz nahmen (Abb. 12). Wie die Bänke und Tische im Plan zeigen und es für den Besuch Papst 799 in Paderborn beschrieben wurde, saßen die Franken beim Essen, während im Lateranpalast das Essen nach byzantinischer Tradition in den *accubita* im Liegen eingenommen wurde.[58]

Gleiches gilt für die Pfalzkirche. Auch hier macht die schriftliche Überlieferung deutlich, dass mit der Typologie des spätantiken Emporen-Zentralbaus nicht auch herrschaftlich-byzantinische Zeremonien übernommen wurden. So nahmen die karolingischen Herrscher, im Gegensatz zu den byzantinischen Kaisern, nicht aktiv an der Liturgie teil. Auch handelt es sich bei dem Obergeschoss der Aachener Kirche nicht allein um eine in den Kirchenraum eingezogenen Empore, sondern, wie ein hier durch Quellen bezeugter Salvator-Altar belegt, um eine zweite Kirche. Diese war der Gemeinde vorbehalten, zu der auch der König gehörte, während sich die Stiftsherren im zentralen Oktogon, dem eigentlichen Chor der Kirche aufhielten.[59]

52 Vgl. Falkenstein 1966, 141–142.
53 Luchterhandt 1999, 184.
54 Hinweis von Sebastian Ristow.
55 S. Croce in Gerusalemme: Krautheimer 1937, 165–195; Brandenburg 2004, 103–108.
56 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 257–263, Ley/Wietheger 2014, 242–244.
57 Gai 1999, 182–196, Binding 1996b, 123–130.
58 Luchterhandt 2006, 184–185.
59 Müller/Ley/Schaub/Pohle 2013, 193–209, 246–252; Bayer 2011, 41–64.

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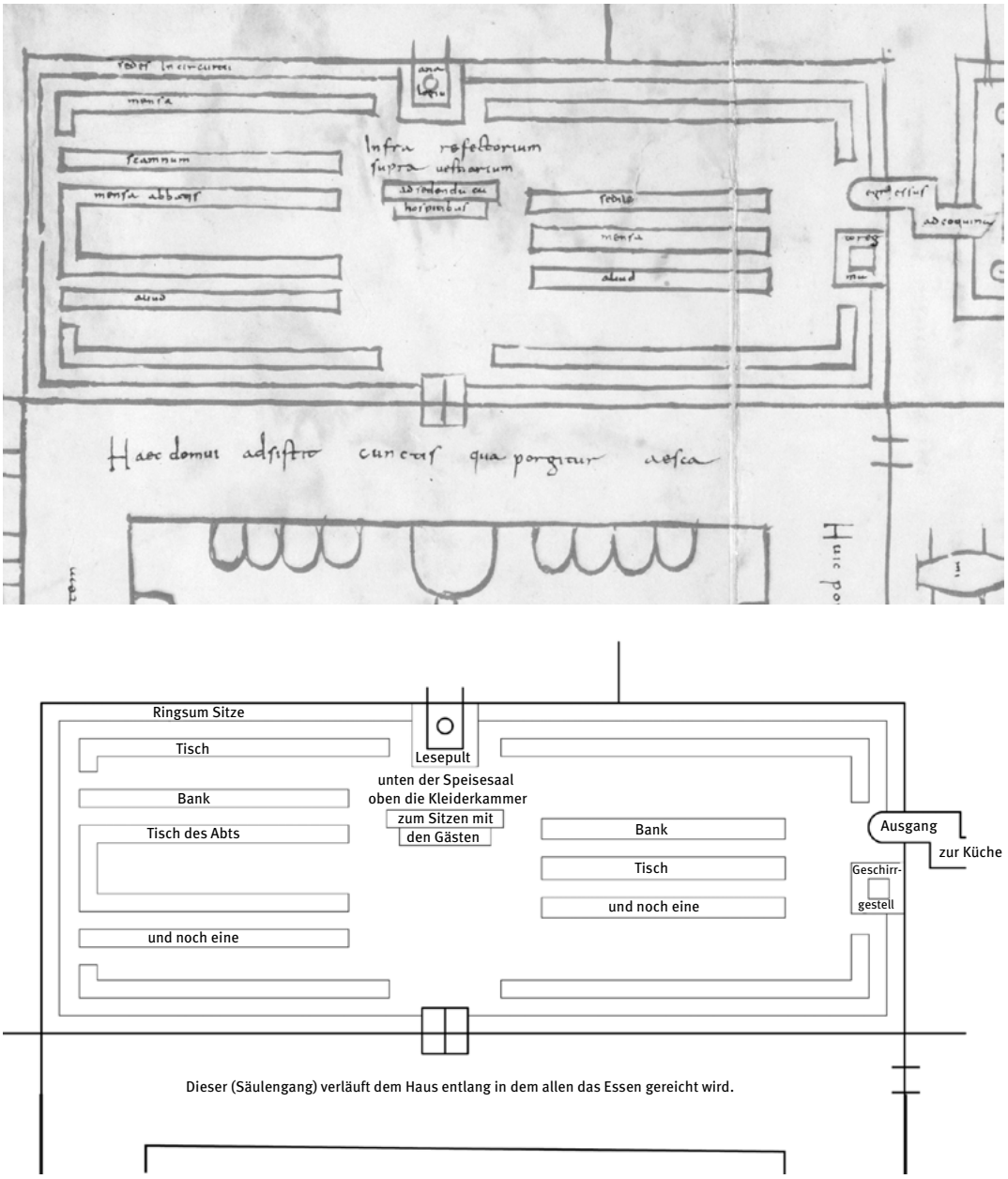

Abb. 12 St. Gallener Klosterplan: Tischordnung im Refektorium.

Letztendlich war Aachen eine fränkische Pfalz in einem antiken Gewand, das die hier vertretenen politischen Vorstellungen gleichermaßen weit über die Grenzen des fränkischen Reiches hinweg verständlich machen sollte. Demzufolge stieg Aachen zur größten und am aufwendigsten ausgestatteten Pfalz innerhalb des Reiches auf. Ihr Nutzungskonzept blieb aber weiterhin den eigenen Traditionen und Herrschaftsvorstellungen verpflichtet. Auf das Mindestmaß reduziert, waren dennoch alle wesentlichen, andernorts noch in Funktion erlebbaren Elemente eines antiken Palastes vorhanden. Diese waren für die nach Aachen kommenden fremdländischen Besuchern deutlich zu erkennen, auch wenn sie selbstbewusst in die eigene Architektursprache übersetzt worden sind.

Wie die sehr einfache Struktur der Pfalzanlage zeigt, wurde der Versuch, sich mit den monumentalen Ausmaßen der spätantiken Paläste zu messen, hingegen gar nicht erst angestrebt. Ein solches Ansinnen wäre sicher als anmaßend empfunden worden, entsprechend dem mystifizierten und prunkvollen Auftreten der byzantinischen Kaiser in ihrem Palast. Darüber hinaus wurden am

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Hof Karls des Großen die eigenen Potentiale stets genau erwogen, um nicht zu scheitern. Daher hatte das verfolgte Konzept vielmehr eine inhaltlich-ikonographische Steigerung zum Ziel, die einerseits aus allgemeinverständlichen biblischen Bildern und andererseits symbolhaften, antiken Bautypen entwickelt wurde.

Da am karolingischen Hof die Vorstellung von einem Sakralkönigtum nach dem Vorbild der Könige David und Salomo propagiert wurde, liegt der Gedanke nicht fern, die Pfalz in Aachen infolge ihrer Aufgabe als zentrale *sedes* als Neues Jerusalem des karolingischen Reiches zu deuten. Als Karl der Große den Kaisertitel anstrebte, ließ sich die hierfür verwendete antik-imperiale Bautypologie schließlich leicht mit der Vorstellung von einer *Roma secunda* vereinen.

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Michael Featherstone

The Everyday Palace in the Tenth Century

Like the imperial residence on the Palatine in the Old Rome, which was extended successively alongside the Circus Maximus, so did Constantine's new palace – the Great Palace of Constantinople – grow over the centuries alongside the Hippodrome from its original nucleus on an upper level at ca 32m above sea level (outlined in red in Fig. 1) down to a lower level at ca 16m beside the sea of Marmara (outlined in green).

But unlike the Palatine, for which we have extensive archaeological evidence, only small fragments of the Great Palace – now buried beneath the district of Sultanahmet of Istanbul – have been excavated, and we must rely on literary sources, for the most part, on the tenth century text commonly known as the *De Cerimoniis*, or *Book of Ceremonies*.[1]

Reflecting the buildings of all phases of the Great Palace until the tenth century, on both the upper and lower levels, the *De Cerimoniis* is a rich source of detail, and it is mainly on the basis of it that modern scholars and amateurs have produced elaborate reconstructions of the palace, capturing the imagination of all with the supposed use of the Late Antique structures throughout the Middle Byzantine period, until the plundering of the Fourth Crusade in 1204.[2]

However, when one reads the *De Cerimoniis* and other textual sources carefully, taking into account also the – albeit exiguous – archaeological record, it becomes clear that the ceremonies described in the old buildings on the upper level had no continuous tradition; indeed, already in the ninth century the old buildings were no longer officially part of the Palace. Just as the Late Antique public buildings in the city of Constantinople had been abandoned or transformed by the change to a Mediaeval way of life, so had the Palace undergone similar changes as it moved from the complex on the upper level – now a white elephant – to later buildings on the lower level, where junior members of the imperial family had had their private villas.[3]

The preface to Book One of the *De Cerimoniis* states that the text will present in orderly fashion ceremonies which have fallen into disorder and oblivion; Book Two on the other hand has been written to describe ceremonies for which there is as yet no documentation.[4] It is Book Two that mainly interests us here, since it begins with a description of the current everyday palace routine. But first let us mention what the everyday routine was *not*: that is the ceremonies for great church feasts and occasions of state, when the court processed through the old buildings of the upper palace on their way to St Sophia or to the neighbouring Magnaura – the site of the present Four Seasons excavations –, where the emperors sat on the so-called Throne of Solomon with its automata of singing birds and roaring lions.[5] There are also descriptions in the *De Cerimoniis* of the now fossilised races held on set days in the Hippodrome, as well as instructions for banquets, including those for the twelve days of Christmas when guests reclined in antique fashion in the dining hall

1 For the Palatine, see Wulf-Rheidt 2007, esp. 173–176. For the Great Palace of Constantinople, see most recently Berger 2013,13–20. Greek text of the *De Cerimoniis*: Cer. Reiske I; partial text with French translation and commentary in Cer. Vogt I–II; text and English translation in Cer. Moffatt I–II.

2 Reconstructions: Miranda 1966, plates; Cer. Vogt, *Commentaire* I, folding plan; Öner 2009.

3 On the shifting of the court to the palace on the lower level and discontinuity of the old palace, see Featherstone 2013, 23–29; cf. Berger 2013, 17–20. This would argue against the view of the Palace as a ‚dam against change', Kazhdan/McCormick 1997, 196. For an excellent discussion of the political and cultural ramifications of building in the Palace, see Magdalino 2013, esp. 59–64.

4 Preface to Book I: Cer. Reiske I, 3–5; Cer. Moffatt I, 3–5. Preface to Book II: Cer. Reiske I, 516–517; Cer. Moffatt II, 516–517.

5 On the various registers of ceremonial, see Dagron 2003. For receptions of state in the Magnaura: Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch. 15), 566,11–598,12; Cer. Moffatt II, 566–598; Featherstone 2007, 81–107. Recent excavations of the site: Denker 2013, 22–24, 26–27. On the automata: Berger 2006; Signes 2013, 448–451.

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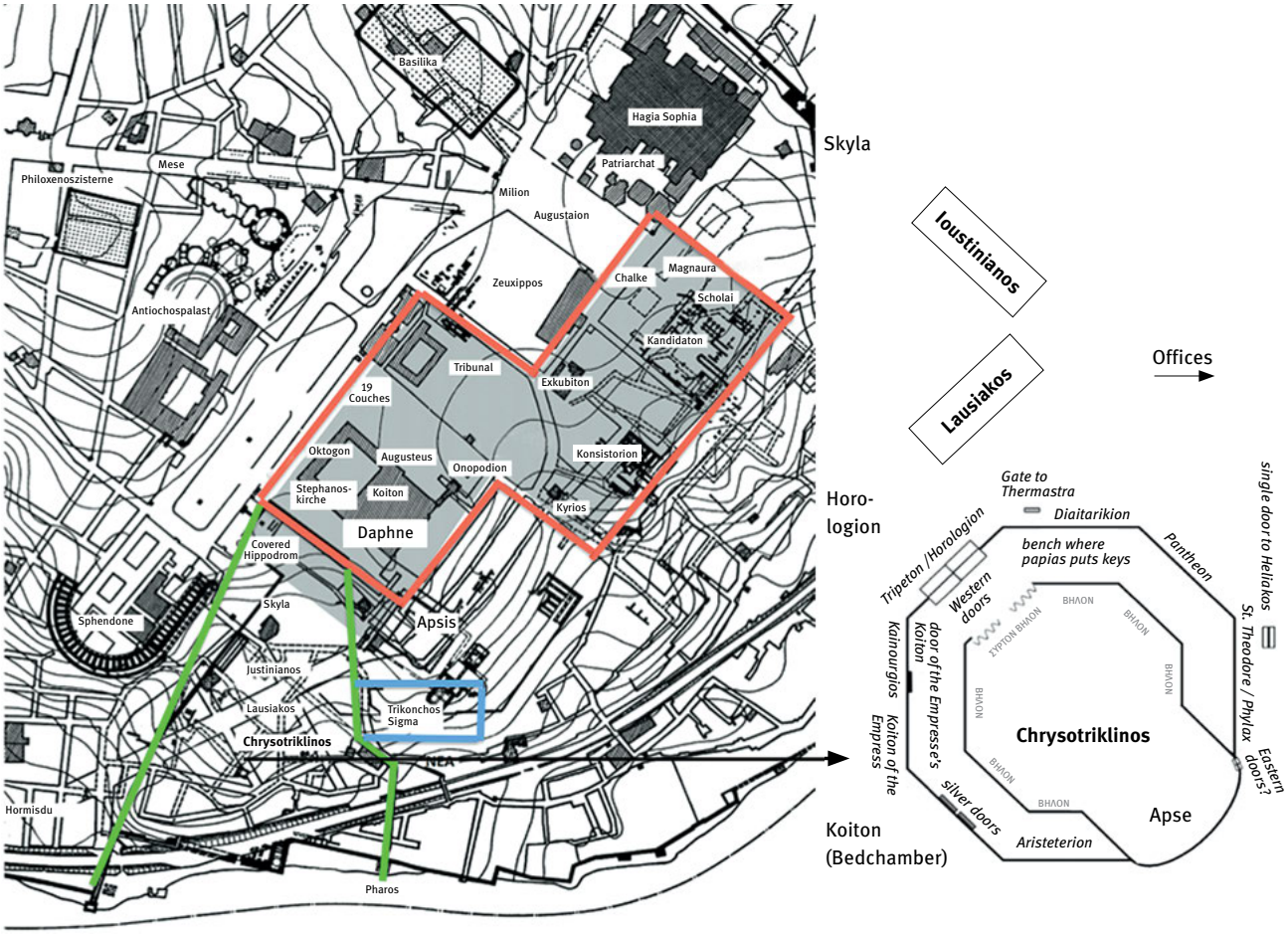

Fig. 1 (left)
The Great Palace with the old Upper Palace (red), the Lower Palace (green), and the Triconchos-Sigma complex of Theophilus (blue).

Fig. 2 (right)
The Chrysotriklinos and surrounding buildings.

of the old palace, the *19 Couches*.[6] Finally we might mention the promotions of the highest officials which took place in the Consistorium, the throne room of the old palace.[7] All of this, then, is presented under the mantel of venerable tradition; but the *De Cerimoniis* should be used with caution: it is in fact an ingenious instrument of propaganda of the rulers of the time, the so-called Macedonian dynasty.[8]

In their rejection of the previous Iconoclastic emperors, whom they characterised not only as heretics but also barbarians, the Macedonians affected a return to the good old Roman traditions of earlier reigns, beginning with Constantine the Great. And just as they re-opened the latter's Mausoleum in the church of the Holy Apostles in order to bury themselves in the company of their chosen forebear, so they re-invented ceremonies in the disused buildings of the old palace.[9] On these occasions the old buildings, which now stood empty, were fitted out with various Late Antique artefacts brought up from the lower Palace and installed in what was supposed to be their original places.[10]

6 Text with translation and commentary on chapters from the *De Cerimoniis* on the races in Hippodrome: Binggeli/Featherstone/Flusin 2000; cf. *Exhibition. Hippodrom/Atmedani* 2010; Dagron 2011. Christmastide banquets in the 19 Couches: Oikonomides 1972, 165–189; Cer. Moffatt II, 741–757; cf. Malmberg 2003, 91–98.

7 Promotions in the Consistorium: Cer. Reiske I (Book I, ch.46), 231–236; Cer. Moffatt I, 231–236. About the old palace, see Kostenec 2004, 4–10; Berger 2013, 15–18.

8 Featherstone 2013, 29–30.

9 Macedonians buried in Constantine's mausoleum: Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch. 42), 643,4–22; Cer. Moffatt II, 643; cf. *Necrologium imperatorum* in the *Chronicon Altinate*, Cer. Moffatt II, 815–816, 819; cf. Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger 2006, 120–127.

10 Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch.15), 570–582; Cer. Moffatt II, 570–582.

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But in any case, none of this had anything to do with the everyday palace. On ordinary days the emperor and court stayed and worked on the lower level, in the buildings beside the emperor's residence which were officially – and exclusively – the Palace. Try as the Macedonians did, the old buildings on the upper level remained distant; the very names of some of them had been forgotten.[11] The emperor and high officials normally went up to St Sophia or to the Hippodrome through the system of private corridors dating in part from the sixth century.[12] Even the main entrance of the old palace, the recently excavated Chalke Gate, though it retained a monumental significance, was now also disused. Behind the Chalke the imperial guards still had their quarters, with names derived from the old divisions: the Scholai, Exkoubita and Kandidatoi. There, too, were the Numera, the quarters of the Arithmos (Watch), and the old baths of Zeuxippos, both of which had become prisons.[13] Further to the south the archaeological record shows that in the eighth century a mint had been installed in older structures beside the Walker Trust Peristyle – the present Mosaic Museum –, in the area called the "Apsis" (Arch) in the tenth century.[14] In the space between the Chalke, the Apsis and the Hippodrome stood the old palace buildings – apparently disused, as we have said. Nor do the literary sources mention any works of restoration on the upper level by the last of the Iconoclast emperors, Theophilus, who built – or rebuilt – many structures on the lower level. These latter included the lavish Triconchos-Sigma complex on the higher ground to the north-east of the Chrysotriklinos (blue in Fig. 1) which he apparently intended as a new centre of the lower palace, as well as a number of pavilion-like lodgings and halls reminiscent of residences of the Abbasid rulers of Baghdad, with whom Theophilus had close contacts.[15]

Theophilus had no use for the old palace. Even on such a great occasion as his triumph for the capture of Tarsus in the year 831, when Theophilus made a ceremonial stop in front of the Chalke Gate, he did not go in. Instead, he rode to the Hippodrome and entered the gate under the Kathisma, or imperial box, going through the court of the Daphne, which had become the usual way of entry from the city to the lower Palace.[16]

It was on the lower level that the emperors now lived, beside the throne room known as the Chrysotriklinos or Golden Hall (Fig. 2). Built in the second half of the sixth century by Justinians's

11 E.g., the Consistorium is called in the tenth century chapters of Book II of the *De Cerimoniis* "the hall where the baldaquin stands and the magistroi are promoted": Cer.Reiske I (Book II, ch. 15), 573,9, 578,13, 584,12, 595,7; Cer. Moffatt II, 573, 578, 584, 595.

12 E.g. for receptions in the Magnaura: Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch. 15), 567, 2–8, 570, 6–10; Cer. Moffatt II, 567, 570. Corridors which appear to have been part of the system connecting the upper and lower levels of the Palace were found in the so-called ‚Building of the Long Corridors' and, further to the south, near the present Mosaic Museum (the area called ‚Apsis' [Arch] in the tenth century), see Mamboury/Wiegand 1934, 32–33; Brett/Martiny/Stevenson 1947, 17–18; Talbot Rice 1958, 7–10, 13.

13 Quarters of the guards and prisons near the Chalke, Zeuxippos/Numera: Janin 1964, 111–112, 169–170; Mango, 1959, 41–42, 97–98; cf. Theoph. Cont. 175, 14–20 about the sister-in-law of the emperor Theophilus: "living as a widow and dwelling with her sister near the Palace, taking the eparch by the hand, and also accompanied by the *teichiotes* and the *noumeros* (chiefs of the guards of the Walls and of the Watch), she set out at the beginning of each month on foot, step by step, through the Scholai to [visit] those confined in the prisons of the Chalke and the Praitorion and the Noumera." On the excavations of the Chalke, see Denker 2013, 24–26.

14 For remains of the mint found in the Walker Trust excavations, see Brett/Martiny/Stevenson 1947, 25–26. On the Peristyle, see Jobst/Vetters 1992.

15 Theophilus took such joy in his new constructions that he moved the daily procession to the Triconchos; and abandoning the *koiton* beside the Chrysotriklinos, he slept in the bedchamber of the pavilion called Margarites in summer, and in that of the Karianos in winter. See Theoph. Cont., 139,17–147,1 (transl. Mango 1986, 161–165). For possible Abbasid inspiration in Palace furniture in the time of Theophilus, see the contribution of Mabi Angar in this volume, 181–200. For possible Abbasid parallels to Theophilus's palace buildings, see most recently Signes 2013, 446–451.

16 Theophilus's triumph in 831: Cer. Haldon 146, 825–150, 873. Albrecht Berger has recently argued that the gate under the Kathisma was the main entry from the city to Constantine's original Palace, which formed a rectangle beside the Hippodrome between the Kathisma and the baths of Zeuxippos. The guards quarters and the Chalke were added in the mid- to late-fifth century, see Berger 2013, 17.

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successor, Justin II, the Chrysotriklinos was the interface between the private parts of the palace – that is, the Koiton, or imperial Bedchamber – on its southern side and, on its northern side, the public buildings containing the organs of government. An octagon, in contrast to the apparently basilical form of the Consistorium of the old palace, the Chrysotriklinos had a raised apse on its central eastern side, and an outside corridor with connecting vaults on the other seven sides, opening through arches into the central space under a dome with sixteen windows. The openings of the side apses were closed with curtains, so that one could pass from one side vault to the other without being seen from the central space. And inside the doors of the main entry on the western side hung curtains which parted in the middle and were drawn aside for the entrance of those who came into the presence of the emperor sitting in the eastern apse (Fig. 3).[17]

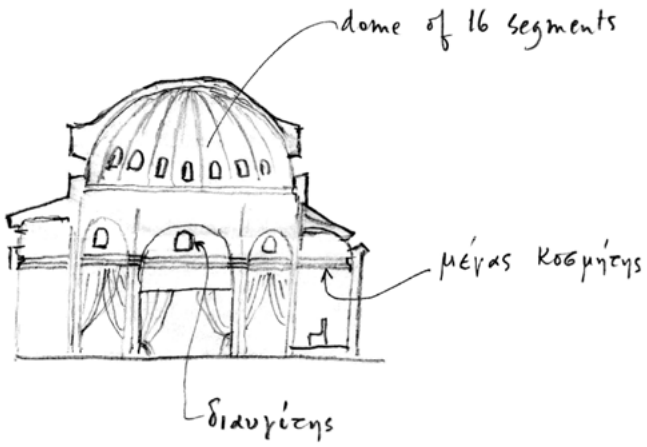

Fig. 3 The Chrysotriklinos by Cyril Mango.

Just beside the Chrysotriklinos were the long halls of the Lausiakos and Ioustinianos, with benches along their side walls. The Lausiakos flanked the Chrysotriklinos on the northern side. It contained a chapel and also kitchens, and it connected on its eastern side with the state Offices (*ta Asekretia*). The Ioustinianos opened on its southern side towards the porch of the Chrysotriklinos, called the Clock (probably a sundial), and on its northern side it connected through its antechamber, called the Skyla or "Trophies" – perhaps from naval victories – to the so-called Covered Hippodrome, perhaps the hippodrome of a former private villa – that of Priscus on his estate in the quarter of Boraides? – which had been roofed over and converted into a vestibule of the lower Palace.[18] It was in this Covered Hippodrome that imperial officials, coming from the city Hippodrome through the Kathisma and the Daphne, waited each day for the opening of the Palace at the Skyla, which led into the Ioustinianos and Lausiakos.[19]

The officials then took their places on the benches in these two halls in accordance with their rank, rising when those of higher rank walked past. Failure to do so was grounds for the charge

17 On the Chrysotriklinos, see Bělaev 1891, 11–45; Ebersolt 1910, 77–92; Ebersolt 1934, 22, 144 (Notice 51); Janin 1964, 115–117; Featherstone 2005, 834–840.

18 On the Lausiakos and Ioustinianos *Patria* (III, 130), 257, 1–2. As others, e.g. Kostenec 2004, 11–13, I formerly believed that the "Covered Hippodrome" was part of the old upper Palace, a rectangular garden similar to the so-called "Stadio" on the Palatine in Rome. However, it seems more likely that it was a real hippodrome of a private estate outside the boundaries of the old Palace which was subsequently roofed over and made into a vestibule of the new lower Palace. There is evidence for other private hippodromes in the city, for example on the estate of Hierius called Koparia at Sykai, *Corpus iuris civilis*, *Novella* 159, 738,11; on the estate of Justin II at Deuteron, John of Ephesus (III, XXIV), 111, 24–29; and most importantly, in the time of Heraclius's defeat of Phocas, on the estate of Priscus which had belonged to Justinian's cousin Boraides – near modern Yenikapı and thus in the area of the lower palace, John of Antioch (Fragmentum 321), 552, 21–23 One wonders whether this could not have been the Covered Hippodrome itself.

19 See below, n. 22.

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of lèse-majesté against the emperor. This assembly of officials in the Ioustinianos and Lausiakos, before going to work in their respective offices, was called the "daily procession", the Byzantine successor of the old Roman *salutatio*, or morning greeting, one of the daily duties, *cotidiana officia*, of clients vis-à-vis their masters.[20] Perhaps the best way to illustrate the everyday working of the palace is to paraphrase chapter of the *De Cerimoniis* entitled *All that is to be observed every day when the Palace opens and the daily procession takes place*.[21]

After the dismissal of Matins in the Lausiakos the commander of the guards proceeds with the other officers and their men on weekly duty, together with the *papias*, the Palace Doorkeeper – a Sassanian word. – and his weekly stewards, and they open the Ivory Door leading out to the court of the Daphne. The adjutants' guards on weekly duty come in and ascend the ramp; and they descend another ramp which goes down to the Polished Door, by which they enter the Lausiakos.

Then the commander of the guards and the *papias* return to the Chrysotriklinos and put on their tunics of coloured silk, called *skaramangia* – originally a Sassanian garment – and they go into the Lausiakos. Together with the adjutant guards, they open the hall of the Ioustinianos and the Skyla and the gate leading out to the Covered Hippodrome. The guards are left to sit in the Skyla, whilst their commander and the *papias*, together with the stewards, go back; the commander, going into the Lausiakos, sits in his place there in front of the bronze door of the kitchen; and the *papias* goes into the Chrysotriklinos and sets the keys on the bench in the vault in front of his quarters, on the left side of the western doors. The attendants of the Bedchamber on weekly duty take the emperor's *skaramangion* from the Vestry (in the first vault to left of the apse), and place it on the bench outside the silver doors of the Bedchamber.

Whilst all this is being done within, the highest imperial officials, the *magistroi*, the *praipositos* and the master of ceremonies, wait in the Covered Hippodrome to receive the bow of reverence from those entering the palace at the Skyla. The *silentiarioi* also stand by, holding their rods to remind all of the rule of absolute silence within the Palace. Once the others have taken their places on the benches in the Ioustinianos and Lausiakos, the *magistroi*, the *praipositos* and master of ceremonies pass through, whilst everyone rises. Thereupon –apparently – the other officials go to their work in the Offices.[22]

When the first hour of day has gone, the chief steward goes to the silver doors of the Bedchamber and, raising the bolt of the lock, strikes three times. Forthwith, at the emperor's command, the attendants of the *papias* bring in the *skaramangion* from the bench outside the doors and the emperor puts it on. Then coming out, he enters the Chrysotriklinos and stands in the apse on the eastern side, in which the divine-human image of the Lord is depicted; and rendering the usual prayers and bowing down, he offers reverence as a servant unto God. Then he sits on the golden seat – *sellion*, from the Latin *sella* – which is placed there, and he commands the *papias*, who is standing before the curtains of the western doors: "Admit the logothete!" – that is, a sort of foreign minister.

Forthwith the *papias* goes out into the Lausiakos, where the strap-bearers are standing, and tells the *admensounalios* – a sort of seneschal – to bring in the Logothete. The *admensounalios* goes out to the Offices and brings in the logothete, walking before him; and the *papias*, rising from the bench of the strap-bearers, receives the logothete and, walking before him, leads him into the Chrysotriklinos. When the logothete comes in through the curtain, he falls down in obeisance, and he goes up to the emperor.

20 Winterling 1999, 117–118.

21 Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch. 1), 518,1–522,18; Cer. Moffatt II, 518–522.

22 The details in this paragraph are absent from the description of the daily procession in the *De Cerimoniis* (Book II, ch. 1), but they can be inferred from another chapter, that on the promotion the *proedros* (president) of the Senate at the end of Book I, which speaks also of this official's daily routine (ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμέραις): Cer. Reiske I, (Book I, ch. 97), 441,21–442,21; Cer. Moffatt I, 441–442.

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Fig. 4 Theophilus on the throne (right) and al-Mamun on a sellion (left).

Note that if the logothete goes out and comes in again, he does not do obeisance a second time. The same rule is observed for all who present themselves to the emperor. Note that the golden seat on which the emperor sits is set up in the apse on the right side of the imperial throne; and if there should be other emperors, their seats are placed beneath the apse. Note that on holidays, if there be no pressing matter in the transaction of public affairs, the dismissal – *minsai*, from Late Latin missa – is given after the third hour. Note that when the time of dismissal has come, the emperor says to the *papias*: "Give the dismissal." And forthwith taking the keys from the bench, the *papias* shakes them as he comes out, so all might know from this noise that the *papias* has come out to give the dismissal. Note that on ordinary days the emperor sits on the golden seat which is set up on the right side of the throne, wearing a *skaramangion* without the gold-bordered cloak (*sagion* – another Sassanian borrowing); but on Sundays he sits, vested in the gold-bordered cloak, on the seat covered with purple silk which is set up on the left side of the throne. Note that if the emperor wish that certain foreigners should present themselves, he sits on this same left side of the throne, vested with the gold-bordered cloak; and the chamberlains stand by. If the emperor wish not to wear the crown, he puts on the gold diadem called *kaisarikin* and the all-gold-embroidered cloak with pearls on the borders. If the emperor wish to meet Saracen rulers in privacy, he sees them in this same manner.[23] Note that if the Palace is opened in the afternoon, the same order is observed as in the morning, except that in the morning all come forth in *skaramangia*, but in the afternoon in simple tunics. Note that a high official or general, whether he be on expedition or imperial service or on private business, when he appears before the emperor he does not come in wearing a cloak, but only a *skaramangion*.

So much for the first chapter of the *De Cerimoniis*. From the following chapter,[24] we know that on ordinary Sundays, after the liturgy in the Lausiakos, if the emperor so commanded, there was a Sunday procession. Again, the various officials took their places on the benches. However, on Sunday there were no audiences with the emperor for state business, but only the ceremonial entrance of certain high officials, including the *droungarios* of the Watch, chief of the palace guards, wearing his sword and holding his axe.

23 Such a private audience was given in 946 to envoys from Tarsus: Cer. Reiske I (Book II, ch. 15), 586,15–588,14; Cer. Moffatt II, 586–588.

24 Book II, ch 2: Cer. Reiske I, 522,22–525,15; Cer. Moffatt II, 522–525.

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Fig. 5 Theophilus on the throne surrounded by courtiers.

Then the *artoklines*, or banquet-master called out the names of those invited to dine with the emperor; and whilst the *droungarios* put off his sword, the *papias* went out shaking his keys for the dismissal. A banquet followed in the Chrysotriklinos for those invited, whilst the others went to their homes.

Now, what are we to make of all this? In his book on Roman palace ceremonial, Aloys Winterling speaks of the *salutatio/cottidiana officia* – predecessor of the Byzantine everyday procession – as a *Machtmanifestation*: a reminder to everyone of his place in the world order and of the emperor's absolute authority.[25] As formulated in the preface to Book One of the *De Cerimoniis*, the good order of ritual in the palace is an imitation of the Creator's harmony and movement in the universe. The implications of this comparison are clear: the emperor and his court were the representatives on earth of the Almighty and the heavenly host. The Byzantine emperor had inherited the semi-divine attributes of Late-Roman rulers. The palace and the imperial household were sacred.[26]

Awareness of a higher order was assured by such means as enforced silence[27] and the rigid protocol of what might be called to-day working sessions of the emperor with imperial officials and foreign dignitaries, whereby every man's rank in the world order was kept clear by the degree of his physical distance from the emperor. But of course, the preservation of order in this world below requires constant, very practical effort. Intended for this purpose, the daily procession was, as it were, a lower register of the Palaces's imitation of the universal harmony. In this lower register, focus was placed not on the emperor's semi-divine nature, but on his service to God and, in turn, his subjects' service to him. Just as the emperor bowed before the image of Christ, so everyone bowed before the emperor; however, for expediency of work, only at the first meeting each day. Dress, too, was kept to a minimum: a simple *skaramangion* for everyone, including the emperor. Of course, however, the emperor was never upstaged: junior emperors sat on a lower level; and everyone else remained standing always.

25 This originally paternal morning greeting was transformed into a privilege granted only to the highest officials: Winterling 1999, 117–144; cf. Treitinger 1938, 97–99.

26 Reflection of the Creator's harmony: Cer. Reiske I, 5, 8–10; Cer. Moffatt I, 5. The sixth century court poet Corippus proclaimed that the ceremonies of the Palace imitated heaven itself: Corippus, Book III, ln. 179–180.

27 On silence as a reminder of the other-worldiness of the Palace, see Treitinger 1938, 52–55.

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For greater effect in the case of foreign dignitaries, the emperor wore a cloak (the *sagion*) with the crown or – since this latter seems to have been tedious – a simpler diadem; and the chamberlains stood by. Exceptional though this was, the register remained that of everyday affairs, with the emperor sitting on a simple seat to one side, whilst the empty throne in the centre of the apse represented God's supreme authority. To give some idea I show this schematic twelfth century miniature with the emperor Theophilus sitting on a throne – which we must imagine empty – and the khalif al-Mamun on a *sellion* (Fig. 4).

It was only for official functions, such as the promotion of imperial officials or first audiences with foreigners that the emperor sat with his crown on the throne itself, censed thrice with the thurible by the *papias*, whilst court officials stood round in formation (Fig. 5).

With this we enter the higher register of palace ceremonial, evoking the emperor's position as God's regent on earth before his subjects and the empire's place in the world before foreigners.[28] All this, as we have seen, was carried to new heights by the Macedonian dynasty's reinvention of the old palace. But here we have gone beyond the limits of the everyday palace.

28 As formulated in the Prefaces to Books I and II of the *De Cerimoniis*: Cer. Reiske I, 3,–4,2 and 517, 13–18; Cer. Moffatt I, 3–4 and II, 517.

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Figure credits

Fig. 1: Müller-Wiener 1977, 232, Fig. 2.
Fig. 2: Author's sketch-plan, with inset adapted from Müller-Wiener 1977, 232, Fig. 2.
Fig. 3: Sketch made by Mango for author in 2004.
Fig. 4. 5: *Skylitzes Matritensis* (*Graecus Vitr*. 26-2), fol. 47r. 42v. Photos provided by Vasiliki Tsamakda.

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Ruth Macrides

The "other" palace in Constantinople: the Blachernai

Tucked away in the northwest corner of Constantinople, close to the city walls, on an artificial terrace, far from the ceremonial heart of the city in the southeast, the Blachernai palace was the "other" palace, "other" for centuries from the point of view of the emperors who occupied the Great Palace of Constantine and "other" for most historians of Byzantium. Ironically, it was not until the fourteenth century that this designation was used in a Byzantine text to identify the Blachernai and, by then, the Blachernai was actually the palace occupied continuously by emperors, while the Great Palace could be described more appropriately then as the "other" palace. For, by the mid fourteenth century when Pseudo-Kodinos compiled his work on ceremonial and court hierarchy, the Great Palace was the place where the emperor and his entourage spent the night before and after his coronation in Hagia Sophia, moving back to the Blachernai the following day.[1] The Great Palace, in other words, had become a hotel for the emperor, his family and familiars, and it is only with this function that it appears in Pseudo-Kodinos' work.

The history of the interplay between the two palaces is long and varied, amounting to itinerancy for the court within the city. Yet the pattern of movement between the two palaces has been largely overlooked. It seems that the idea of a plurality of palaces that were actual seats of government and not pleasure palaces or summer palaces[2] is difficult to accept. Even though it is more than forty years since it was demonstrated that in the twelfth century both palaces were inhabited, both were the subject of imperial building projects, both were used to receive foreign visitors and to hold church councils,[3] it is still maintained today that the twelfth century emperors, the Komnenoi, moved to the Blachernai.

Yet the evidence shows that it is a question of movement between the two palaces and not of a "move"; what is more, this pattern was already in place before the Komnenoi. References to the Blachernai as a palace where court business was conducted begin to appear in the early eleventh century. The first reference known to me comes from the reign of Romanos III Argyros in 1031. Constantine Diogenes who had been accused of plotting, "was being examined in the palace of Blachernai by John the *praipositos*".[4] In 1078, Michael VII Doukas "was presiding in the Blachernai palace on Sunday and conducting business with all the senate present with him", while the people of the city were attending the liturgy in Hagia Sophia. The context of this account is the coup of Nikephoros Botaneiates against Michael VII. Some days later the soldiers of the usurper took control of the Great Palace. Michael fled to the Blachernai, while "those in the city established guards at both palaces".[5]

Movement between the two palaces for reasons of government began in the eleventh century and perhaps earlier – to judge from the casual manner in which the sources first report it – and continued through the twelfth century until the fourth crusade and later. The ceremonial of the Komnenoi, and especially of Manuel I, provides evidence of movement between, and use of, both palaces. Synodal meetings were held in Alexios' throne room at the Blachernai in 1094 and 1171 but also in the Great Palace in 1166 and 1170.[6] Manuel received foreign visitors in both palaces: Louis VII and Conrad III on the second crusade (1147) in the Blachernai. Kiliç Arslan, the sultan of Konya,

1 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 238.3–4, 239 note 696. Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy list includes officials who are in charge of each palace: Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 30.38–39. On the Blachernai, see Schneider 1951, 81–120.

2 For these palaces, see Janin 1950, 137–153; Hellenkemper 2013, 63–78.

3 Magdalino 1978, 101–114.

4 Skylitzes 1973, 385.46–48.

5 Attaleiates 2002, 184.25–185.3,195.1–2.

6 For the Blachernai in 1094 and 1171: Gautier 1971, 220; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1963, IV, 109. For the Great Palace in 1166 and 1170: Mai 1834, IV, 36–37; Migne, *PG* 140, 236; Sakkos 1967, 332–333, 341–342.

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in the Great Palace (1162).[7] Amalric, king of Jerusalem was invited to both palaces: the emperor Manuel, accompanied by the king, "moved his residence to the new palace called Blachernae" "for the sake of change ..."[8] Manuel conducted the marriages of his two children in 1180, the last year of his reign, one in each palace: Maria in the "new palace", Alexios in the "palace of Constantine".[9]

Indeed, as far as can be determined, the pattern did not change under the Latin emperors of Constantinople. For them also both palaces were residences and seats of government. Both palaces were assigned to the Latin emperor in the partition of the empire drawn up in March 1204.[10] The first Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin I, occupied the Great Palace after his coronation in May 1204,[11] but the Blachernai was the site of meetings of the doge and barons in the summer of 1204.[12] In 1207, a messenger with news of an attack on a Latin stronghold found Henry, the second Latin emperor, seated at table in the Blachernai palace.[13] The narrative sources show the last Latin emperor Baldwin II at the Blachernai. Baldwin's dinner parties in that palace were said to be the reason the walls were covered in soot, making the palace uninhabitable for Michael VIII.[14] A story told in the reign of Andronikos II about the prophetic neighing of the horse in the icon of St George, in the courtyard of the Blachernai, indicates that Baldwin was living in that palace before the fall of the city to Michael VIII's army.[15] He was at the Blachernai in July 1261 when the victorious troops of the emperor Michael entered the city. He fled from that palace to the Great Palace where he boarded a ship for the West.[16]

The narrative sources indicate that Baldwin resided in the Blachernai but he did not abandon the Great Palace. Clerics were assigned to chapels in both palaces, St. Maria of Blachernai and St. Michael of Boukoleon.[17] In a document of 1241 Baldwin II thanks a Cistercian abbey in Constantinople for providing funds to buy back the Crown of Thorns, an act that never materialized, yet the document was signed and dated in the Great Palace ("Bocco Leonis") which Baldwin refers to as "nostrum palatium".[18]

Thus, although some emperors, both Latin and Byzantine, may have preferred one palace to the other, both were occupied, both were used. There is evidence for the functioning and use of both palaces in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and also during the Latin occupation. However, one palace emerges as *the* house of the emperor, *the* palace. It was the Great Palace that maintained this position until the fourteenth century. This conclusion can be drawn from the way in which all those who attempted to gain the throne by usurpation made it their business to occupy the Great Palace and no other until the fourteenth century. Even John II Komnenos who was the legitimate heir of his father, designated and crowned as such at the time of his baptism, rushed to occupy the Great Palace while his father lay breathing his last in the Mangana palace.[19] It seems, too, that Boniface of Montferrat's occupation of the Great Palace in April 1204, immediately after the city

7 For the Great Palace in 1162 and 1171: Kinnamos 1836, 207.9–11; Choniates 1975, 118–120; William of Tyre 1986, 943–945; for the Blachernai in 1147 and 1171: Odo of Deuil 1948, 58; Kinnamos 1836, 82.22–83.8.

8 William of Tyre, 1986, 945; Babcock/Krey 1976, 382.

9 William of Tyre 1986, 1067.

10 Tafel/Thomas 1856, I, 447: "palatium Blacherne et Buccam leonis"; Villehardouin 1938, §234.

11 Villehardouin 1938, §263.

12 Villehardouin 1938, §283.

13 Villehardouin 1938, §465.

14 Pachymeres 1984, I, 219.

15 Gregoras 1829, I, 303–305. See Macrides 2013, 280–281.

16 Akropolites 1903, 182.26–27 with 183.15–17, Pachymeres 1984, I, 199.12–16.

17 PL 215, col. 1364 (a.1208); PL 216, col. 77 (a. 1209); Pressutti 1888, I, no. 2131 (a. 1219: canon of St Michael), Pressutti 1895, II, no. 5166 (a. 1224: dean of the Boukoleon and Blachernai), no. 5175 (a. 1224: dean of Blachernai and Boukoleon); van Tricht 2011, 257, 260, 269, 310–311.

18 Martin, Cuozzo, Martin-Hisard 1999, 211–223, here 222–223. I thank Filip van Tricht for bringing this document to my attention.

19 Zonaras 1897, III, 763.1–4.

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had been conquered by the crusaders, is an indication that he anticipated his election as emperor or at least was attempting to secure that election.[20]

In 1261, when Michael VIII entered Constantinople for the first time after 57 years of Latin rule, although he eventually went to reside in the Blachernai, he took up residence first in the Great Palace. Pachymeres gives two reasons: the Blachernai was in need of a thorough cleaning after the excesses of Baldwin's dinner guests. In addition, Pachymeres states that the Great Palace provided sufficient security "for an emperor entering for the first time a city whose affairs were in turmoil".[21] The Great Palace was indeed surrounded by high walls built in the tenth century by Nikephoros II Phokas who in this way, cordoned off the older buildings of the upper terrace from the lower.[22] A fourteenth century Russian traveller reported that these walls were even higher than those of the city.[23] Yet, although the security afforded to Michael Palaiologos by the walls of the Great Palace may have been a consideration, Pachymeres implies that in 1261 the new emperor in the newly conquered city had to take up residence in the Great Palace because it was *the* palace of the Byzantine emperors. Thereafter, sometime in the early fourteenth century, the Blachernai took this position, with contenders for the throne striving to occupy that palace,[24] while the Great Palace became secondary, a palace that was visited from time to time, an overnight accommodation for the coronation party. The Great Palace ended up as the Blachernai had begun.[25] It was now the southeast end of the city that was visited from a base in the northwest, a reversal of the previous centuries-long situation.[26]

But how was the "other" palace or rather how "other" was it? In the absence of archaeological investigation, the best clues to the palace structures, both those of the Great Palace as also those of the Blachernai, are embedded in the ceremony books of these palaces. They are guidebooks to each palace, the *Book of Ceremonies* for the Great Palace and Pseudo-Kodinos for the Blachernai. For the armchair archaeologists that we are forced into being, the *Book of Ceremonies*' naming of spaces and descriptions of winding processions through those spaces is the best aid to working out the layout of the palace.[27] But, in contrast to the *Book of Ceremonies*, Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols do not provide proper names for the rooms or buildings, nor do they describe itineraries. Instead, Pseudo-Kodinos indicates spaces by using generic names: hall, church, private chambers, courtyard.[28] He gives us the building blocks of a palace but few hints about how to put them together. Furthermore, if we imagine the Blachernai to have been a palace similar in type to the Great Palace – a large sprawling complex – and we are encouraged to imagine such a palace by the crusader Robert of Clari who mentions 200 or 300 chambers,[29] then this palace was actually in a bad condition by the fourteenth century, reduced to a few buildings, according to Pseudo-Kodinos' description. How can this have been the case, if now the Blachernai was the main palace? Must we assume poverty and decline?

20 Robert of Clari 2005, §80, §93. Cf. Villehardouin 1973, §249.

21 Pachymeres 1984, I, 219.4–10.

22 Skylitzes 1973, 275.77–85.

23 Stephen of Novgorod, in Majeska 1984, 38–39.

24 Kantakouzenos 1831, II, 611.21–612.3; Gregoras 1830, II, 775.2–776.21, Gregoras 1830, III, 242.19–24.

25 See note 26.

26 The *Book of Ceremonies* shows emperors travelling to the Blachernai to celebrate the feast days of the Virgin at the church of the Blachernai and staying in the adjacent halls of the palace, the *triklinoi* of the Holy Soros, the Anastasiakos, the Okeanos and the Danoubios. See Reiske 1829, 147–156. Reiske's text is reprinted with English translation in Moffatt/Tall 2012, 147–156.

27 See Featherstone in this volume; Bardill 2006, 5–48.

28 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013: *triklinos* (hall): 116.11; *ekklesia* (church): 124.23, 132.3, 168.7, 170.14; *kellion* (private chambers): 116.6, 118.8, 170.20; *aule* (courtyard): 132.12, 142.2, 168.4.

29 Robert of Clari 2005, §83. On Robert's description see Macrides 2013, 279–280.

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The answer is that the Blachernai was not at all like the Great Palace, a low-lying atrium house plan with open spaces and gardens,[30] but rather a complex of tall buildings arranged around a central courtyard. Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols attest to the importance of the courtyard,[31] while the height of the buildings is a feature that emerges from narrative accounts of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The buildings – some attributed to Manuel I, others of unknown patronage – are described as "high vaulted", "exceedingly tall",[32] while the views from the palace are singled out for description by Odo of Deuil, Louis VII's chaplain on the second crusade,[33] and on the fourth crusade Villehardouin affirms that the Blachernai is a "high palace".[34]

These tall buildings were arranged around a courtyard that receives a great deal of attention from Pseudo-Kodinos. He describes in detail the ceremonies that took place in this courtyard on elevated platforms. At Christmas and Epiphany the emperor appeared there on a stage raised on four columns, a special structure known as the *prokypsis*. On Palm Sunday the emperor took part in a procession in the courtyard along an elevated walkway, the *peripatos*, that joined his private rooms to the palace church.[35]

Furthermore, the courtyard is the only space of the palace for which Pseudo-Kodinos gives named structures and objects. He specifies the chapel of the Mother of God the "Victory Bringer" and the icon of St George, on the façade of that chapel.[36] The structure and icon are mentioned also in narrative sources contemporary with Pseudo-Kodinos, making it possible to date them and to associate this part of the palace with specific emperors.[37] The icon, and, one assumes, the chapel to which it was affixed, can be dated to the twelfth century.[38]

Other twelfth century structures of the Blachernai palace are mentioned by narrative sources: the Alexiakos,[39] Alexios I's throne room, a tall hall called the Polytimos, and the "lofty buildings called after the German empress", Bertha of Sulzbach, Manuel's first wife.[40] Twelfth century sources also refer to other buildings, not named, some of which may be identical with these.[41]

Some twelfth century constructions were therefore part of the palace at the Blachernai represented in Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies. In addition to the chapel of the Nikopoios in the courtyard, the Alexiakos is known to have been part of the palace inhabited in the fourteenth century and earlier. It was the venue for synods that took place in the late thirteenth and mid fourteenth century.[42] Narrative sources contemporary with Pseudo-Kodinos refer to it by name. Furthermore, this hall was said to have been "next to" the rooms John VI Kantakouzenos, the co-emperor, occupied when he came to live in the palace after the civil war, joining there the empress Anne of Savoy and her son John V, the heir to the throne. [43] Yet the Alexiakos is not named by Pseudo-Kodinos, nor is another hall or open space at the Blachernai which is mentioned by name in the fourteenth century, the Oaton.[44]

30 See the article by Featherstone, with plans, in this volume.

31 See note 35.

32 Choniates 1975, 271.43–45, 544.12–13.

33 Odo of Deuil 1948, 64–65.

34 Villehardouin 1938, §182.

35 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 126–146 (*prokypsis*), 170–172 (*peripatos*).

36 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 238.9–10, 174.14 and 175 note 488.

37 Macrides 2013, 280–282.

38 Magdalino 2007, 5.

39 Gregoras 1855, II, 898.4–7; Pachymeres 1984, II, 339.23, 343.29, Pachymeres 1999, III, 209.29.

40 Choniates 1975, 271.44–45, 544.11–13. Magdalino 1993, 117–118.

41 Benjamin of Tudela 1907, 13 (Manuel's throne room in the Blachernai); Choniates 1975, 206.48–49, 442.35–36 (Isaac II's buildings in both palaces); Choniates 1975, 442.38–47 (Isaac's tower at the Blachernai).

42 Pachymeres 1984, II, 339.23, 343.29, Pachymeres 1999, III 209.29; Gregoras 1830, II, 898.4–9.

43 Gregoras 1830, II, 783. 24–784.10; Magdalino 2007, 4.

44 Pachymeres 1984, II, 517. 23–24. The emperor Andronikos II met there with the patriarch "at midday in summer, after his siesta. He was taking the air inside the Oaton". Magdalino 2013, 61 and note 63, describes it as "unroofed" and

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Given the fourteenth century references to specific, named buildings in the palace at Blachernai, it seems strange that Pseudo-Kodinos does not identify the main spaces of his palace by name. Can one conclude that there was more than one building around the courtyard that could be used as a throne room and that therefore, Pseudo-Kodinos gives generic names rather than specifying a particular building?

Kantakouzenos' situation when he came to live in the palace would seem to support this hypothesis. Since Anne of Savoy and John V "already occupied the buildings that befitted an imperial lifestyle", Kantakouzenos, the co-emperor, took up residence "in the buildings ... next to the huge *triklinos* of the former emperor Alexios".[45] The buildings in which Kantakouzenos lived, as well as the Alexiakos *triklinos*, were not those inhabited by Anne and John. The Alexiakos, it seems, was not their throne room. It may have been Kantakouzenos'. It was certainly the venue for the synod convened under him in 1351.[46] Also, references are made in the narrative sources to other buildings in the courtyard of the palace, such as that built or restored by Andronikos II in which Kantakouzenos' mother was imprisoned and in which Andronikos himself lived his last years.[47] Pachymeres refers also to the "palace of the despoina" in which Andronikos II was living in 1296. A gathering took place there on the occasion of the establishment of a new law court.[48] This may have been another building around the courtyard or a palace elsewhere in the vicinity.

As has been shown, the courtyard is the one space that contains a number of named structures and is the site of ceremonies attached to central feast days. The ceremonial focus is on this space, while the ceremonies that take place inside the palace are described in passing. Furthermore, Pseudo-Kodinos rarely describes movement. His most eloquent evocation of motion is the verb "to go".[49] The contrast with the *Book of Ceremonies* could hardly be greater in this respect.[50]

The lack of description of movement, like the lack of reference to named buildings, may be related to the structure of the palace. The tall buildings in which the last emperors of Byzantium lived were of the single-block type, a style usually associated with western medieval palaces. The thirteenth century palace at Nymphaion in Anatolia, built while Latin emperors occupied the throne at Constantinople, and the surviving palace south of the Blachernai, known as the Tekfur Saray and thought to date from the late thirteenth century, are later examples of the tall single-block type.[51] The Anatolian palace today faces onto the land (Fig. 1) but the Tekfur Saray opens onto a large rectangular closed courtyard. (Fig. 2)

It was this type of palace building that provided the setting for Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies, a single structure with large rectangular hall, private apartments and palace church facing onto a courtyard. At the Tekfur Saray and at Mistra and Trebizond where palaces were built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the throne room was on an upper story.[52] The Blachernai palace must have had the same arrangement. Thus, those who entered the palace to take part in the audience before the emperor, would have ascended to the level of the throne room, but once they were on the higher story, the route to the hall would have been relatively direct and short. The Blachernai had no labyrinthine passages like the Great Palace. There was, therefore, no need for Pseudo-Kodinos to describe movement.

in the courtyard. Pachymeres' reference to high noon would suggest that there was some type of protection against the sun. There was also an Oaton in the Great Palace: Magdalino 2013, 60–61.

45 Gregoras 1830, II, 783.24–784.10; Magdalino 2007, 4–5.

46 Gregoras 1830, II, 898.4–9. Par. Gr. 1242, fol. 5v, shows the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos presiding over an ecclesiastical gathering which is often identified with the synod of 1351. See Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, plate 2.

47 Kantakouzenos 1831, II, 164.20–165.2; Gregoras 1830, II, 616.16–617.9, Gregoras 1829, I, 431.14–432.5.

48 Pachymeres 1999, III, 263.8–9.

49 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 132.2, 3, 172.4, 180.1, 3, 186.16, 188.2, 190.5.

50 Cameron 1987, 112–113, 116–117.

51 Bouras 2007, 105–112; Ćurčić 2000, 12–14.

52 Ahunbay 1997, 248; Bouras 1997, 242; Bryer and Winfield 1985, 184–185.

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Fig. 1 The palace at Nymphaion, Kemalpaşa, Turkey (thirteenth century).

If, as I have been arguing, Pseudo-Kodinos' text reflects the type of palace in which his ceremonies were performed, what of the ceremonies themselves? How do the ceremonies of the late Byzantine court relate to the Blachernai? How did the palace environment of the Blachernai, so far from the hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, affect emperors' visibility in the city? It might be said that late Byzantine emperors had become remote and less accessible. Indeed, some Ottomanists have seen similarities in the Byzantine emperors' withdrawal behind the walls of their castle, as the Blachernai was called in late sources,[53] and the sultans' behaviour.[54] Did late Byzantine emperors turn their backs on the city, remaining within the palace, out of the sight of the people and performing ceremonial routines for and with their court officials alone?

In answer to this question it can be said that many of the features of the palace and the ceremonial of the Blachernai were already present in the southeast end of the city. If the Blachernai was fortified by walls, so too was the Great Palace where a high wall built in the tenth century angered some inhabitants who referred to the palace as a "tyrant's acropolis".[55] If the emperor at the Blachernai crossed the city to attend the liturgy at Hagia Sophia only a handful of times in the year, the emperor at the Great Palace, just next door to the church, celebrated the liturgy there fewer than ten times a year.[56] And, finally, if the emperor at the Blachernai had no hippodrome at which he could make appearances and receive acclamations, the emperor at the Great Palace had already

53 For the Blachernai as a "castle", see Nikolaos Mesarites 1907, §24:41.9–10; Villehardouin 1973, §250; Gregoras 1855, III, 24.23; Kantakouzenos, 1831, II, 611. 21–22, 612.1; Ibn Battuta 1962, II, 508.

54 Kafescioğlu 2005, 39; See Boyar/Fleet 2010, 29 and note 7 for bibliography and a revision of this image of the sultan.

55 Skylitzes 1973, 275.77–85; Mango 1997, 42–45.

56 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 194–202; McCormick 1986, 227–228; Featherstone 2013, 27.

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Fig 2 The "palace of the Porphyrogennetos", the Tekfur Saray, Istanbul (late thirteenth century).

by the tenth century a very much reduced schedule of appearances in an area that was physically connected to his palace.[57]

At the Blachernai it is the palace, its balconies, windows and courtyard that act as the new hippodrome. It is from and in these places that the emperor appears to the people. The ceremonies of Pseudo-Kodinos have a common factor, and that is imperial display from a height. Both of the courtyard ceremonies use platforms as a main prop. In the courtyard on two major feasts of the year, Christmas and Palm Sunday, the emperor was seen elevated on these platforms. At Christmas and Epiphany he appeared on dark winter afternoons, illuminated in a box that framed him. Musical instruments and voices acclaiming him greeted his appearance and verse encomia were sung comparing him to Christ at his Birth and Baptism.[58] To quote Kantorowicz's memorable words, "the emperor staged Christ",[59] through his *prokypsis* appearance. He did so also on his Palm Sunday procession along an elevated walkway in the courtyard of the palace in imitation of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.[60] A fourteenth century author shows that the emperor was not alone with his court in the courtyard of the palace for the *prokypsis* but that the people of the city streamed in to see the performance.[61] Perhaps we can assume the same for the *peripatos* on Palm Sunday.

57 Mango 1981, 744–747; Featherstone 2006, 58.
58 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 144, 146 and commentary.
59 Kantorowicz, 1963, 151.
60 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 413 at note 114, 443.
61 Gregoras 1830, II, 616.20–21, 616.24–617.1, 617.8–9.

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Fig 3 The Tekfur Saray, Istanbul, east facing.

The balconies and windows of the palace likewise functioned as the emperor's box at the hippodrome.[62] (Fig. 3) It is from there that the emperors could see and be seen, as Pachymeres claims when he describes the last triumph Byzantium every celebrated, Michael VIII's victory of 1281. The emperor stood above in the palace in a prominent place, while his prisoners, the defeated army of Charles of Anjou, Michael's greatest foreign enemy, rode past him below in pairs. As they passed below the emperor they were obliged to perform a *proskynesis* from their horses and move on to the prison that awaited them in the city.[63]

The emperor could also be seen on the streets of the city when he collected the petitions of his subjects,[64] as he had for centuries, and also when he processed to churches and monasteries in the city to celebrate feast days.[65]

The Blachernai palace was indeed "other" from the point of view of the Great Palace. We seem very far away from Rome. And yet, the ceremonies that emperors performed in the spaces of that palace were made up of tried and tested features that were repackaged to suit the new architectural environment. Late Byzantine emperors were neither more or less hidden than their predecessors. Rather we should see what went on in the Blachernai as another phase, in fact the last, in the choreography of imperial display and concealment.

62 For eleventh and twelfth century references to emperors looking out from balconies and windows, see Macrides 2015. An indication of the projecting spaces at the Blachernai is provided by the Tekfur Saray which has the remains of a large balcony, on the eastern side, facing the city. It was accessible through a door flanked by two windows. Fig. 3.
63 Pachymeres 1984, II, 651.811, 653.58.
64 Pseudo-Kodinos 2013, 80.582.8, 83 and note 141, 399–400.
65 Macrides 2015b.

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Figure credits

Fig. 1. 2: Ruth Macrides.
Fig. 3: Frouke Schrijver.

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Paul Magdalino

The People and the Palace

As a rule, entry to the emperor's house[1] was by invitation only, and the common people were not invited. Apart from the staff who serviced it, guarded it, and mostly lived there, the only men, and the rare women, who entered the Palace on a regular basis were the hierarchy of titled dignitaries collectively known as the senate.[2] To all other members of society, the emperor was not at home, and he was not meant to feel at home with them.

Yet there were exceptions, both exceptions that broke the rule and exceptions that proved it. The rule was broken most spectacularly on those occasions when the people broke into the palace uninvited. Four such occasions are attested in 1042, 1078, 1185, 1200, all of them at moments of actual or attempted regime change.[3] Individual emperors might also relax the restrictions on access. One who did, apparently, was Justinian, who according to Procopius "did make himself easy of access and affable to his visitors; nobody of all those who sought audience with him was ever denied" (*Anecdota*. 13, 1).[4] This statement is corroborated by Malalas' account of the conspiracy of 562 (18, 141), in which a group of three individuals, including at least one commoner, plotted to murder Justinian as he sat at dinner. If one of them had not indiscreetly mentioned the plot to a friend, they would have got past security with a dagger and a sword.[5] Theophanes reports a similar incident with regard to the emperor Nikephoros I on 1 October 810.[6]

Yet apart from such irregular breaches and of protocol, there were more systematic, indeed systemic, exceptions to the exclusion of the people from the Palace. They were allowed controlled and limited access for two kinds of business: administrative and ceremonial. By looking at the typology, the topography and the chronology of the filters that were applied to them, we can learn much about the political and ideological functioning of the emperor's house.

The admission of visitors on administrative business is indirectly attested by information pertaining to the reign of Basil I. (867–886). According to Skylitzes, Basil established judicial tribunals at three liminal points in the palace precinct: the Magnaura, the Chalke Gate, and the covered hippodrome.[7] It is also clear from Basil's biography that ordinary taxpayers brought their complaints to the Genikon, the general tax office; the *Vita Basilii* cites, as an example of this emperor's great concern for justice, the fact that he would go down there and hear their cases in person whenever he was free from military campaigns and diplomatic receptions.[8] The exact location of the Genikon is a mystery, and the statement of the *Vita Basilii* that Basil was "going down" there (κατιὼν) from the Palace only adds to the enigma, if "going down" is to be taken literally. However, the *Patria* lists the Genikon among the Palace buildings that it attributes to Constantine the Great.[9] Moreover, we know that the records of the central finance office were stored in a domed hall called the Oaton, which lay downhill from the Magnaura.[10] Assuming that the general tax office had to be close to its

1 This paper is the complement to an earlier article, Magdalino 2011, in which I looked at the relationship between the palace and the capital city. All references to the principal source, the *Book of Ceremonies* (*Cer.*), are to the edition by Johann Jakob Reiske, which was used as the basis for the English translation

2 See Kazhdan/McCormick 1997; Magdalino 2009.

3 1042: Skylitzes ed. Thurn 1973, 419–420 (overthrow of Michael V); 1078: Attaleiates ed. Bekker 1853, 260–261 (overthrow of Michael VII); Niketas Choniates ed. van Dieten 1975, 246–247 (overthrow of Andronikos I); 1200: Nikolaos Mesarites ed. Heisenberg 1907 (attempted usurpation of John Komnenos the Fat).

4 Transl. Atwater 1992, 67.

5 Malalas, ed. Dindorf 1831, 493; transl. Jeffreys/Scott,1986, 301–302.

6 Theophanes ed. de Boor 1882, 488; transl. Mango/Scott 1997, 671.

7 Ed. Thurn 1973, 133; Magdalino 1994, 98–99.

8 Ed. and transl. Ševčenko 2011, 122–123.

9 Ed. Preger 1907, 145.

10 Magdalino 2013b, 64–66.

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archives, we may interpret the *Vita Basilii* to mean that Basil I. "went down" to the Genikon after he had finished with receiving foreign ambassadors in the great hall of the Magnaura.[11]

The limited public access to the palatine ministries that is reflected in the sources for Basil I. no doubt continued to exist in later centuries, at least for as long as the institutions in question remained functional, which can be verified in the case of two of them. The tribunal of the (covered) hippodrome, or of the velum, as it came to be known, became the main imperial law-court and continued to sit until 1204.[12] The Genikon appears to have lasted at least until Isaac II (1185–1195) demolished the fine brick building and re-used the materials for residential constructions.[13] Choniates records this as an act of pure vandalism, but it may conceivably have been prompted by the need to re-locate the finance ministry after the violent circumstances of Isaac's accession in 1185. This was one of the occasions when the people broke into the Palace, and the rampaging mob had taken the opportunity to destroy all the tax records.[14]

As to the situation prior to Basil I., while it is clear that the sources exaggerate his personal initiative, there is no evidence for publicly accessible law-courts or fiscal offices within the Palace precinct before the ninth century. This may reflect the general dearth of source material on the Palace before the *De cerimoniis* and *Theophanes Continuatus*, but it also surely has much to do with the fact that until the seventh century, public finance and litigation had largely been handled by the Praetorian Prefecture of the East. We know from the *Chronicon Paschale* that the main offices of the Prefecture were located on the Acropolis of ancient Byzantion, at some distance to the north of the Great Palace.[15] It is thus very tempting to associate the emergence of the palatine law courts and the Genikon with the relocation of the services administered by the Praetorian Prefect of the East, who makes a last, purely titular appearance in the mid-ninth century, although his "ministry" disappears from the sources two centuries earlier.[16]

The ceremonial role of the people in in the Palace is much better documented. It too was largely confined to the liminal areas, except for two ceremonial spaces close to the heart of the complex that were constructed, in the seventh and ninth centuries, with popular participation in mind. Popular participation in palatine ceremonial essentially involved the *demoi* or factions, the four colour-coded (Blue, Green, Red, White) groups of citizens who supported the teams competing in the chariot races of the hippodrome.[17] Their ceremonial function in the Palace took four main forms:

1. Attendance at large, open-air assemblies.
2. The reception and acclamation of the emperor in processions.
3. The performance of acclamations, dances and songs in honour of the emperor on festive occasions.
4. Attendance at imperial receptions.

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11 The documentation on the Magnaura is collected and discussed in Kostenec 1999, though he omits the epigram on the building's renovation by Heraclius (see below). For the Magnaura as the main venue for the reception of foreign ambassadors, see *Cer.* 566–96; transl. Featherstone 2007. A hypothetical plan of the building, based on *Cer.*, is provided by Bauer 2006, 158.

12 Magdalino 1994, 98, 108 and references.

13 Ed, van Dieten 1975, 442.

14 See above, n. 2.

15 *Chronicon Paschale* ed. Dindorf 1832, I, 622; transl. Whitby 1989, 118–119.

16 Brandes 2002, 48–53.

17 Cameron 1976.

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1. Large open-air assemblies within the Palace are attested from the sixth to the tenth centuries. They took place at two venues: the Tribunal of the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, and the atrium of the Magnaura, in front of the staircase on the western side.[18] One assembly was a annual ceremony that is mentioned in the *De cerimoniis*: the *silention* at the beginning of Lent, in which the emperor, from the steps of the Magnaura, on which his household and bureaucracy were arrayed, delivered a homily to an audience consisting of the senate and the "urban crowd".[19] The other assemblies that we know about are reported in narratives of the seventh and ninth centuries, and they were extraordinary events. In chronological order, they are as follows:

– Heraclius unmasked the "treason" of Crispus, son-in-law of the previous emperor Phokas, in an interrogation conducted before an assembly consisting of the senate, "the remaining people of the city", and the patriarch Sergios. The source, Nikephoros, implies that the assembly took place in the Palace, but does not specify the exact location.[20]
– After the death of Heraclius in 641, his widow Martina called an assembly of the patriarch Pyrrhos, the senate, and "the people of Byzantion", to get their consent to the testament of Heraclius regarding the succession. The assembly, however, refused her the leading role in the state that she was claiming. When they "came down" (κατήρχοντο) to acclaim the emperors, she returned "to her palace" (πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς … παλάτιον). Nikephoros again does not specify where the assembly took place.[21]
– The trial of Pope Martin I in 653, as described in the Commemoratio, the eyewitness account by one of his followers.[22] The Pope was brought by the Excubitors to be tried by the imperial *sakellarios*, in the presence of the senate, in the *sakellarios*' office (cella). "After the trial, they brought him out and set him in the middle of the atrium between the *sakellarios*' office and the imperial stable, where the whole people was accustomed to gather and await the arrival of the *sakellarios*. He was surrounded by the excubitors, and it was a formidable sight to the whole crowd. Then after a short while, they ordered the most reverend man to be brought to the terrace, in order that the emperor might watch what was going to happen through the windows of his triclinium. The multitude of people who had gathered there stretched as far as the Hippodrome. So they set the most reverend man in the middle of the terrace, supported by the presence of the senate on either side. There was suddenly a not inconsiderable pressure from the crowd. The doors of the triclinium opened and the *sakellarios*, coming out, ordered the crowd to clear a way. He went up to the holy and venerable man".[23] – After the Pope had been publicly condemned and humiliated, he was taken from the Palace to the praetorium of the city prefect. Although certain elements in this description, notably the office of the *sakellarios*, are not familiar from other sources, the combination of a *triklinos* with a courtyard extending to the Hippodrome seems to point to the Daphne and the *triklinos* of the Nineteen Couches. Moreover, although the presence of the crowd is not explained, the circumstances suggest that it was orchestrated by the *sakellarios* in order to give the maximum publicity and authority to the show trial of the pope.

18 Guilland 1969, 70–80, 141–150; on the Magnaura, see also above and n. 10.

19 *Cer*. 155, 545–548. The description seems to reflect current practice in the tenth century: Symeon Logothete ed. Wahlgren 2006. 294 (Leo VI. had to cancel the ceremony in 912 because of the onset of his terminal illness). Emperors held Lenten *silentia* in the twelfth century, but the venue is not known: Magdalino 1993, 10, 251, 466.

20 Ed. and transl. Mango 1990, 38–39.

21 Ed. and transl. Mango 1990, 78–79. Mango assumes that the assembly was held in the Hippodrome, and that the people "came down" from their seats in the spectator stands.

22 Cited here in the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, edited by J. Sirmond, and reproduced in *PL* 129, cols. 591–600. On the source, see Neil 1998, 100–108.

23 *PL*, 129, cols 594–595.

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- The *silention* of 7 January 730 in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, which was convoked by Leo III "against the holy icons" and forced the Patriarch Germanos to resign, according to Theophanes. Given the location, and the name *selention*, there must have been at least a token presence of the people, if only the leaders of the circus factions.[24]
- The same can be supposed for the daily *silentia* that Constantine V. held in 751–752, again according to Theophanes, in order to prepare the ground for the further implementation of iconoclasm. The venue of these assemblies is not stated.[25]
- In 776, the emperor Leo IV. called a *silention* at the Magnaura to get support for punishing his brother, the Caesar Nikephoros, who had been accused of plotting against him. He put the accusations to the assembled "people", who responded that the Caesar and his fellow-conspirators should be removed. Theophanes comments that they were conveniently forgetting the oath they had sworn to Constantine V., that they would protect the interests of his sons. Again, it is not clear whether "the people" (ὁ λαὸς) consisted of a large crowd, as in the trial of Martin I., or of senior representatives of the circus factions.[26]
- In 784, the empress Eirene "gathered all the people at the Magnaura". She asked the assembly to approve the election of Tarasios as the new patriarch and the calling of an ecumenical council to end iconoclasm and restore unity to the church.[27]
- Michael I., at a *silention* held at the Magnaura (812), "addressed the people and set out the pious doctrines of his godly mind".[28]
- Theophilos on his accession in 829 called a *silention* at the Magnaura, "urging all to attend". He asked his father's accomplices in the murder of Leo V. to identify themselves, and when they had done so, handed them over to the city prefect for execution.[29]
- Theophilos on his deathbed called a "universal assembly" at the Magnaura, at which he commended his widow and young son to the care of the senate and people.[30]
- The emperor Alexander (912–913) on his accession called a *selention* at the Magnaura at which he publicly reinstated the patriarch Nicholas I. Mystikos and humiliatingly deposed Euthymios, who had replaced him during the Tetragamy dispute under Leo VI.[31]

We can also include under the heading of popular palatine assemblies those ceremonies of investiture that took place at the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, and involved the representatives of the popular factions in the acclamation of the newly invested dignitary. Such, according to Theophylact Simocatta (I.1, 1) was the ceremony in which Tiberius appointed Maurice as his co-emperor and successor in 582; the acclaiming audience consisted of the clergy, the emperor's entourage and guards, the entire body of imperial title-holders, "and the most notable members of the populace" (τοὺς ἐπισημοτέρους τοῦ δήμου).[32] This no doubt refers to the officers of the Blue and Green factions.

The *De cerimoniis* describes the procedure for a number of other such ceremonies, all of them probably based on specific occasions of the eighth and ninth centuries. These were the ceremonies for the coronation and wedding of an empress, and for the investiture of a Caesar and a *nobelis-*

24 Ed. de Boor 1883, 408–409; transl. Mango/Scott 1997, 565.
25 Theophanes, ed. transl. de Boor 1883, 427; transl. Mango/Scott, 591.
26 Theophanes, ed. transl. de Boor 1883, 450–451; transl. Mango/Scott 1997, 621.
27 Theophanes, ed. transl. de Boor 1883, 458–460; transl. Mango/Scott 1997, 632–633.
28 Theophanes, ed. de Boor 1883, 497; transl. Mango/Scott 1997, 680.
29 Genesios, ed. Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn 1978, 36; transl. Kaldellis 1998, 49.
30 Genesios, ed. Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn 1978, 51–52; transl Kaldellis 1998, 67–68.
31 Symeon Logothete ed. Wahlgren 2006, 294–295; see also *Life of Euthymios*, ed. and transl. Karlin-Hayter 1970, 118–121.
32 Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. de Boor 1887, 3839; transl. Whitby 1986, 19 and n. 6 (suggesting that the ceremony was performed at the Hebdomon, and not at the Great Palace as implied by Theophylact).

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simos.[33] All these ceremonies included an assembly in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches. In all cases, the senate stood on the steps of the terrace, flanking the emperors, while the popular factions, together with the officers of the *tagmata*, stood below in the courtyard in front of an array of sceptres, labara, and other paraphernalia. When the emperors appeared and the investiture was performed, the cheerleaders (κράκται) shouted a series of acclamations that were then repeated by the factions "and all the people".

The wedding celebrations for the Augusta also involved the factions in the pre-nuptial and post-nuptial rituals of the bridal pair, which took place at the Magnaura.[34] After the wedding ceremony in the church of St. Stephen, the imperial couple process to the Magnaura, where the factions await them "in the Triklinos of the Kandidatoi on either side of the steps of the Magnaura". When the couple appear, "the organs sound of the two factions, who are standing on the left side of the ascent of the said staircase". After acclaiming the newly-weds, the factions proceed ahead of them to the nuptial chamber, where they acclaim them again. The couple then leave and go, apparently now without the factions, to dinner in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches. A scholion to the text notes that in more recent practice, weddings took place in the church of the Pharos, and the couple processed through the Chrysotriklinos, where the factions waited to acclaim them at their exit[35].

According to the older procedure, the factions resumed their role in the ritual of the Augusta's procession to the bath three days after the wedding. They awaited her in the trellised courtyard of the Magnaura, with three organs at the ready along the route. When she came out of the bridal chamber, followed by the senate, the Blues and the Greens acclaimed her in turn, and the organs sounded as she made her descent. This was also preceded or accompanied by a group of musicians. On her return, they followed her with acclamations as far as the apse of the nuptial chamber.[36]

2. The factions' role in the nuptials of the newly-wed Augusta was a secular version of the receptions and acclamations they performed in the course of processions from the Palace to Hagia Sophia.[37] These processions occurred mainly on major religious feasts when the emperor went to attend the liturgy from his chambers in the Lower Palace, but a similar procedure was followed in certain promotion ceremonies, when the newly-invested dignitary went to the church to receive the Patriarch's blessing. The main points of the factions' role may be summarized as follows:

– The factions were generally stationed at five or six points on the way to Hagia Sophia, and five on the return.[38] The first three on the way out, corresponding to the last three on the way back, were (1) the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, at a domed structure known as the Lamps (Lychnoi), not far from the Triklinos of the Excubita; (2) the Triklinos of the Scholae, near the gateway of the church of the Holy Apostles; (3) the arched passage from the Scholae to the dome of the Chalke, the main gatehouse of the Palace. The other three stations lay outside the Palace. One, which served both on the way out and on the return, was just outside the Chalke. On the way to the church, the factions met the cortège at two points: the gateway to the Augousteon, and the clock in the atrium to the west of Hagia Sophia. On the return, the first meeting point was at the south-east corner of the church, where the procession exited via the chamber known as the Holy Well, before making its way back to the Chalke.
– There were two types of greeting by the factions, according to the ceremonial occasion. One was the full reception, in which the faction greeted the emperor with acclamations led by the cheerleaders, and the leader presented the emperor with a *libellarion*. The other was the

33 *Cer*. 204–212, 217–229.

34 *Cer*. 197–210, 213.

35 *Cer*., 201–202.

36 *Cer*., 214–205.

37 *Cer*., 12–14, 19–20, 26–27, 32–49, 59–61, 63–64, 73, 98, 127, 131–132, 135, 144, 145, 163, 168, 181, 186–187, 192, 194–196, 230–231, 237, 240, 242, 250, 252–254, 260.

38 For the topography of the processional route, see Mango 1959, passim and esp. Chapter 3.

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"light" reception, in which the leader merely saluted the emperor as he passed, and the poet of the faction followed the procession reciting iambic verses.

– The groups of faction members taking part in the receptions were of two kinds. One was represented by the main Blue and Green factions, called the "peratic demes", literally the demes "from beyond",[39] each headed by an officer known as the *demokrates* who doubled as the commander of one of the main military companies or tagmata. Thus the *demokrates* of the Blues was the *domestikos* of the Scholae, while the *demokrates* of the Greens was the *domestikos* of the Excubita. The other groups belonged to the factions of the secondary, subordinate colours, the Reds and the Whites. The Whites were paired with the Blues, and were known as the "urban deme of the Blues", while the Reds were known as as the "urban deme" of the Greens, with whom they were similarly paired. Each of these groups was headed by a *demarchos*, and it is clear from their mentions in other contexts that the *demarchoi* were the real heads of the Blues and the Greens. The origin and significance of the division into "peratic" and "urban" demes are not clear, and neither is the reason for the doubling of the commanders of the Scholae and Excubita as *demokratai* of the Blues and Greens respectively, with the military functions of the factions that this implies. G. Dagron does not solve the problem in his recent book on the Hippodrome. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the distinction between "peratic" and "urban" groups was reflected in the deployment of the factions along the processional route from the Palace to Hagia Sophia. The stations of the peratic demes and the *demokratai* were located between the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches and the Chalke, within the military quarters of the Palace. The urban demes and the demarchoi were stationed in urban public space between the Chalke and the entrances to Hagia Sophia.
– The two factions, or pairs of factions, did not have equal shares in the procedure, but the distribution of receptions was strongly weighted in favour of the Blues. In the full and unabridged itinerary, the Blues greet the emperor seven out of eleven times, and on the way to the church they both open and close not only the entire series of receptions but also each of its two component stages, the palace section and the urban section. The *De cerimoniis* describes only two significant departures from this arrangement. One is on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, when the emperor goes to Hagia Sophia via the Magnaura without meeting the factions, and on his return they greet him just once, the Greens at the entrance to the Chalke and the Blues at the triklinos inside.[40] A similar reduction of the protocol appears to occur in the appointment of the city prefect; as the new appointee processes to the Holy Well of Hagia Sophia, he is received once by the Blues at the Lamps, and once by the Greens at the Scholae.[41]
– The emperor's procession through the military quarters of the Palace to the Chalke was greeted by professional groups other than the factions. In particular, we should note that the first reception by the Blues at the Tribunal was attended by foreign ambassadors, the guilds (συστήματα) of the city, and the staff of the city prefect. The Tribunal was decorated for the occasion by two of the most senior guilds, the *vestiopratai* (silk cloth merchants) and the *argyropratai* (silversmiths).[42]
– On certain feast days, mainly in the Easter cycle, which took the emperor to a church in the western part of the city, his processional return to the Palace through the city was marked by a series of alternating Blue and Green receptions along the route.[43] It is not clear whether this

39 That is, they formally belonged to places "beyond" one of the stretches of water that flanked Constantinople – either the Golden Horn or the Bosphoros. This may refer to the military units stationed in Asia Minor, or it may be a relic of the existence of Blue and Green factions in cities throughout the empire.

40 *Cer*. 124–128.

41 *Cer*. 265–269.

42 *Cer*. 12–13.

43 *Cer*. 49–52, 53–54, 55–61, 80–84, 105–108, 110–111, 149–150, 167–168, 375–376.

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was the model for the palace receptions, or vice-versa, or whether they both evolved at the same time.

3. The most elaborate ceremonial performed by the popular factions within the Palace was the cycle of acclamations and dances that we may call the *deximon* cycle. This was associated mainly with secular festivals, like the emperor's birthday, the birthday of an imperial child, and the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople, although it could be instituted on any festive occasion. The standard sequence is described in Book I of the *De cerimoniis* following the chapter on imperial burial, and preceding the chapters concerning the Hippodrome.[44] The ceremonial comprised four separate and detachable elements: (1) the assembly of the factions to request a celebration, (2) the evening performance of a dance with torches, the *phaklarea*, (3) the *deximon* proper: acclamation of the enthroned emperor with songs and organ music by each of the factions in turn, (4) the *saximon*: a ballet performed by each of the factions in turn before the emperor and senate while they were dining after the *deximon*.[45] The *De cerimoniis* locates these ceremonies at three places. The *deximon* took place in the fountain-courtyards (*phialai*) of the Blue and Green factions, beneath the terraces where the emperor, flanked by the senate, sat enthroned on a balcony overlooking the proceedings.[46] The courtyard of the Greens, where the proceedings began, lay beneath the terrace of the Hall of Justinian (II.). The emperor and senate then passed through the Chrysotriklinos to the terrace of the Pharos, where they presided over the Blue *deximon* from the canopied balcony overlooking the courtyard of the Blues. After this, they returned to the Hall of Justinian for the dinner at which the *saximon* was performed. The other ceremonies – the preliminary assembly and the torch dances – were held in the Mystical Fountain-Courtyard of the Triconch, also known as the Sigma.[47] Indeed, this was also used for the *deximon* when bad weather prevented its performance in the fountain courtyards. It is clear, moreover, from Book II of the *De cerimoniis* and from narrative sources, that the Phiale of the Triconch was the normal venue for the imperial Brumalia and for unscheduled performances of the *saximon*.[48]
4. Finally, we should note the occasional, token presence of the popular factions at certain imperial receptions in the great Palace throne rooms. Thus the *demarchoi* were among the irregular contingent of minor officials who took part in the receptions and processions of Palm Sunday, beginning with their admission into the Chrysotriklinos in the eleventh place, after the directors of the public hospitals.[49] The *Kletorologion of Philotheos*, on the order of seating at imperial banquets, lists the *demarchoi* among the guests invited to Christmas dinner in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches. They came on the ninth day of Christmas, along with the runners in the recent foot-races;[50] on the same occasion, faction members were also involved in the so-called Gothic Games.[51] Interestingly, the *demarchoi* were not invited on the seventh day of Christmas together with the rest of the urban contingent: the Eparch, his staff, and the "mayors" (*geitoniarchai*) of the 12 urban districts.[52]

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44 *Cer.* 278–303; see also 216–217, 617.
45 For the ceremonial on these occasions, see Pitarakis 2013.
46 Guilland 1969, 211–216.
47 Guilland 1969, 94–119, 132–140.
48 *Cer.* 601–602, 632–633; Symeon Logothete ed. Wahlgren 2006, 228; *Theophanes Continuatus* ed. Bekker 1838, 141–142.
49 *Cer.* 173.
50 Oikonomidès 1972, 180–183.
51 *Cer.* 381–386; cf. Bolognesi Recchi Francheschini 1995.
52 Oikonomidès 1972, 178–179.

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In conclusion, three aspects of the ceremonial presence of the people in the Palace deserve to be highlighted: its composition, its topography, and its chronology.

On most of the occasions outlined above, the people's presence is said to consist of the *demoi*, without any specification of numbers and composition, apart from the mentions of certain functionaries: the faction leaders themselves, their "seconds" (*deutereuontes*), the cheerleaders, and the composers. The groups performing the acclamations and dances are also likely to have included the officers known from other passages in the *De ceremoniis* and the *Kletorologion*, like the notaries, the *chartoularioi*, the musicians and, of course, the charioteers. Other occasions involved larger groups of common people, who are sometimes mentioned in addition to the factions and at other times undifferentiated from them: the trade guilds who attended the first acclamation of the emperor by the Blues on the way to Hagia Sophia; the "whole people" who were ranged behind the factions at the investiture ceremonies in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches; and the "urban crowd" who assembled in front of the Magnaura for the annual *silention* at the beginning of Lent. One final point to be noted is the close association, in the emperor's house, between the circus factions and the emperor's household regiments, the Scholarioi and the Excubitores. The factions and the officers of these *tagmata* stood together at ceremonies in the Tribunal, their commanders, the Domestikoi, served, for ceremonial purposes, as *demokratai* of the peratic Blues and Greens, and the stations of the peratic demes on the ceremonial route to Hagia Sophia were all associated with the military quarters of the Scholae and the Excubita.

This brings us to topography. The first point to note is that the people never entered the interiors of the Palace, except on very rare occasions: (1) when the faction leaders were invited to dinner in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches on the eighth day of Christmas and to the Palm Sunday reception in the Chrysotriklinos; (2) when the factions accompanied imperial newly-weds into the nuptial chamber at the Magnaura; and (3) when they performed the *saximon* at imperial banquets in the Hall of Justinian. Otherwise, the ceremonial activity of the people, whether as factions or as larger assemblies, was squarely confined to the open spaces of the Palace precinct. Moreover, it mostly took place in the liminal areas of the upper, older Palace where the emperor no longer resided after the sixth century: the courtyards of the Tribunal and the Magnaura, the covered Hippodrome, the spaces connecting the Tribunal and the Chalke Gate. The notable exception was the ceremonial cycle of the *deximon*, which was entirely performed in the courtyards that were added to the lower Palace in the seventh and ninth centuries.

And so to chronology. The main sections of the tenth century *De cerimoniis* portray a time-capsule of ordered, eternal rhythms that do not change with the passing of emperors and centuries. Not unwittingly, they convey the impression that the ceremonial they describe had existed as long as the Palace itself. The impression may not be entirely inaccurate where the ritual relationship between the people and the Palace is concerned. This relationship was rooted in a traditional Roman ideology of power, and its constituent elements of assembly, acclamation, song and dance were ancient if not timeless. Although the standard and best-documented venue for the original performance of these rituals was the Hippodrome, it is far from impossible that they were extended to the protocol of the Palace from the very foundation of Constantinople. They were primarily located in the Palace of Constantine, in the military quarters and the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, whose large courtyard and elevated terrace were purpose-built for large assemblies. We are so badly informed about the activities of the Blues and the Greens outside the Hippodrome that we cannot exclude the possibility of a very *longue durée*.

However, when the "timeless" evidence of the *De cerimoniis*, is supplemented by the narrative sources, as well as by certain time-specific descriptions of ceremonies in the miscellaneous section of Book II, it points to the seventh to ninth centuries as the period when the ritual relationship between the people and the palace took definitive shape and reached its peak – a peak that was already past when Constantine VII. started work on the *De cerimoniis*. Firstly, all the evidence for specific occasions is dated or dateable to this period: the assemblies called by Heraclius and Martina, the trial of Martin I under Constans II., the *silentia* held by almost every emperor from Leo

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III. to Theophilos, the investiture ceremonies held by the Isaurian emperors, specific performances of the *deximon* and *saximon* under Theophilos. Secondly, the designation of the *domestikoi* of the Scholae and Excubita as *demokratai* of the peratic Blues and Greens cannot have been unrelated to their appointment to the chief commands of their respective *tagmata*, which occurred when Constantine V. transformed these palatine parade units into an elite and mobile fighting force.[53] This indicates that the ceremonial link between the factions and the *tagmata* was enhanced, if not actually created, in the mid eighth century. Finally, and most importantly, the main ceremonial venues, apart from the Tribunal, the military quarters and the Chalke, were constructed, or at least extensively renovated, in the seventh to ninth centuries. An epigram in the Palatine Anthology, which according to the lemma was "On the Triklinos of the Magnaura", commemorates its "diligent completion" by Heraclius and his son Constantine (AP IX 655); this might mark a *terminus post quem* for several of the ceremonies performed in the building, and it is an intriguing thought that the acclamation of the newly-wed imperial couple in the nuptial chamber of the Magnaura might date from Heraclius' controversial second marriage to his niece, Martina. This is highly conjectural; however, no conjecture is required in order to ascertain that the *deximon* ceremony in the Fountain-Courtyards of the Blues and Greens, as described in the *De cerimoniis*, dated from the reign of Justinian II. Theophanes states that Justinian II. created the *phiale* of the Blues, demolishing a church in order to do so[54]. The *phiale* of the Greens must have been laid out at the same time, since it and the terrace that overlooked it were, as we have seen, annexes of the "Justinian Hall", also recorded as a construction of Justinian II. Moreover, the Justinian Hall, as we have also seen, served as the venue for the *saximon* that followed the *deximon*. None of this necessarily means that the *deximon* cycle had not existed before; indeed, a passage in the *Parastaseis*[55] seems to indicate that it was performed at the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches until the reign of Heraclius, who either suspended it or transferred it elsewhere, perhaps to the Magnaura. But Justinian II clearly enhanced the value of the ceremony, and thus the importance of the factions in palace ceremonial, by creating specialized venues in which each faction had its own space, as well as its own performance slot in the emperor's new banqueting hall. The *deximon* cycle similarly received added value in the next major addition to the Great Palace, which was Theophilos' construction of the Triconch complex at the north-eastern entrance to the lower palace. It is clear from both the descriptions of the ceremonies in the *De cerimoniis* and the description of the buildings by *Theophanes Continuatus,* that the primary purpose of the complex was to provide an alternative, winter venue for the acclamation and dances of the Blues and Greens.

To return to Justinian II.: the fact that this emperor placed the *phiale* of the Greens adjacent to the new throne-room that bore his name suggests that he personally favoured the Green faction. This suggestion is strengthened by other facts. Firstly, the Greens seem to have played a part in the overthrow of the emperor, Philippikos Bardanes, who seized the throne from Justinian II.[56] A tendency for emperors to support the opposite faction from the one preferred by their predecessors whom they had displaced by violent means can be observed a century earlier in the sequence of alternations that followed the death of Maurice: Maurice had supported the Greens, Phokas had preferred the Blues, while Heraclius in turn again gave his backing to the Greens.[57] Secondly, the only promotion ceremony that took place in the Justinian Hall was followed by a procession in which the Greens took the lead in acclaiming the newly appointed dignitary.[58] Thirdly, the Greens took precedence over the Blues in the order of *deximon* ceremonies at their respective *phialai*, a

53 Haldon 1984, 191–235, esp. 266–270.
54 de Boor 1883, 367–368.
55 Preyer 1901–1907, 39.
56 Herrin 2001.
57 Booth 2011.
58 *Cer*. 240, 252–254.

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precedence which it is logical to explain by the preference of the particular emperor who created the ceremonial venues. The particularity of the Greens' precedence in the *deximon* ceremonial is all the more striking when it is set beside the clear preponderance of the Blues in the salutation of the imperial processions to and from Hagia Sophia. Its significance is underscored when we look at the likely origin of the one religious festal procession when the Blues and the Greens got equal time and the Greens received the emperor first. This was the occasion of the emperor's return from Hagia Sophia on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September),[59] a feast that cannot have predated the arrival of the main relic of the Cross from Jerusalem under Heraclius[60] – an emperor who supported the Greens. It is therefore tempting to hypothesize that Heraclius created the simple, egalitarian pattern of reception that we observe in the procession of 14 September. To say whether this was in reaction to, or the basis for, the full, Blue-dominated elaboration of the ritual that was followed on other occasions would be a hypothesis too far. However, if we recall what was pointed out earlier, that the ceremonial association between the factions and the *tagmata* must have been enhanced, if not created, by Constantine V., the mid-eighth century seems likely to have been the time when the role of the factions in imperial processions became fully elaborated.

In any case, it is surely significant that the palace constructions of Justinian II. and Theophilos frame the long eighth century, and mark, *grosso modo*, the beginning and end of the age of iconoclasm. These buildings were the main additions to the Great Palace between Late Antiquity and the Macedonian Renaissance, as well as constituting the main construction work in the city of Constantinople during the "Dark Ages". It has perhaps not been sufficiently appreciated that the primary purpose of both sets of constructions, the main thing they had in common, was to enhance the ritual relationship between the people and the palace, by involving the circus factions more conspicuously in the maintenance of secular court ceremonial. This reflects, I believe, a neglected or insufficiently highlighted phenomenon of the period: the increased political importance of the popular factions during the "Dark Ages", and the increased concern by the emperors of the Heraclian, Isaurian, and Amorian dynasties to govern with the support, or at least the applause, of the common people of Constantinople, represented by the circus factions.[61] This populism became particularly associated with the image of the iconoclast emperors, notably Constantine V. and Theophilos, and was caricatured as an excessive attachment to the culture of the circus.[62] But it was not confined to the iconoclasts; it was clearly characteristic of Justinian II., and it was used to tarnish the memory of Theophilos' son Michael III., under whom the veneration of icons was restored.[63] It is surely not a coincidence that Basil I., who established a new dynasty by murdering Michael III. and trashing his reputation, did away with the *phialai* of the Blues and Greens when making his own extensive additions to the lower palace.[64] This meant that the *deximon* cycle was confined entirely to the courtyard of the Triconch. At the same time, it is noticeable that the Blues and the Greens are absent from the specific descriptions of *deximon* and *saximon* ceremonial under Basil I.'s successors, Leo VI. and Constantine VII. It is therefore fair to conclude that the accession of the Macedonian dynasty marked a change in the ritual relationship of the people to the palace, in which the inclusion of Hippodrome rituals in palace building and ceremonial planning ceased to be a political and ideological priority.

59 *Cer.* 127.

60 Nikephoros ed. and tr. Mango 1990, 66–67; Klein 2004, 32–47.

61 Cf. Magdalino 2013a, 215–216.

62 Magdalino 2007, IV, 16–17; Symeon Logothete ed. Wahlgren 2006, 223; Constantine Porphyrogenitus ed. Haldon 1990, 150–151, cf. Auzépy 1995.

63 Karlin-Hayter 1987 and 1991.

64 *Life of Basil I.*, ed. and transl. Ševčenko 2011, 296–299; cf. Guilland 1969, 211–216.

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Abbreviations

Cer. = Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris de Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, 2 vols (Bonn 1829), vol. I; English translation by Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, *Constantine Porphyrogennetos, The Book of Ceremonies*, 2 vols (Canberra 2012), reproducing the text of the Reiske edition with the same pagination

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Mabi Angar

Furniture and Imperial Ceremony in the Great Palace: Revisiting the *pentapyrgion**

In his study of the Byzantine household, Nicholas Oikonomides deliberately omitted the palace arguing that all desirable objects would have been found in the homes of wealthy aristocrats, not to mention the emperor's residences. It was Oikonomides's admirable aim to reconstruct the content of an average "middle-class" house based upon the evidence of Late Byzantine wills and charters, primarily from mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands. We thus learned that Byzantine households were equipped rather modestly and furniture was mainly perceived functionally. Chests of all sizes and sorts played an indispensable role for order and safekeeping. The striking lack of movable beds in the sources suggested the existence of built-in-structures incorporated into the stonework of house walls serving as beds, benches and tables, alternatively.[1] Whether such built-in-structures and similar recesses and niches were common features inside the once numerous Constantinopolitan palaces, of which none have survived except for fragmented facades and marginal references in written sources, must remain open.[2] But in contrast to any provincial modesty, the aristocratic lifestyle of the Byzantine capital was exuberant, providing a high level of comfort and aesthetic pleasures. As for the interior design, elaborately decorated walls, inlaid floors and fancy ceilings were essential elements of the aristocratic house[3] just as high-quality lighting devices, textiles, and other precious utensils.[4] Likewise luxury furniture was conceived as an integral part of privileged living conditions. The use of immovable furniture, made of various kinds of stone, comparable to permanent church and monastic furniture[5], can be hypothesised in addition to movable, mostly wooden furniture: beds, various seating-accommodations and tables for representative, recreational and occupational purposes, armoires, shelves, chests for keeping money, jewellery, sumptuous fabrics, books and other items of value.[6] A miniature in a 12th century manuscript of John Klimax's *Ladder of Paradise* (Sinai gr. 418, fol. 162v) illustrates this notion associated with luxury furniture. Avarice is represented here by the juxtaposition of empty-handed beggars and an enthroned aristocrat flanked by a golden chest and a golden armoire, symbols of the fortunes amassed by the rich.[7]

* I thank Jitka Ehlers, Federico Montinaro and Günter Prinzing for their interest in this paper and valuable suggestions as well as philological corrections. Mistakes are mine.

1 Oikonomides 1990, 205–214.

2 Difficulties in distinguishing "furniture" from "architecture" become evident when dealing with built-in-structures, which differ from mobile furniture in terms of materiality and structure, but serve the same purpose with regard to function, cf. Roaf 1996, 21–28. Built-in benches are recorded in Byzantine houses in Pergamon: Parani 2003, 168. Recesses have been found in Late Antique houses in Karanis and in Late Byzantine strata at Mistras: see *ibid.*, 187, fn. 162. Niches for storage and as sleeping accomodation are assumed to have existed in prehistoric dwellings in Middle and Northern Europe: Grodde 1989, 10. For palatial architecture see Magdalino 1984, 92–111; Dark 2004, and most recently Schreiner 2013, 37–39. For the Late Byzantine period see Ćurčić/Hadjitryphonos 1997, 241–279. For the topography and buildings of the Great Palace see the recent contributions by Bardill 2006, 5–45, Featherstone 2005, 845–852, Featherstone 2006, 47–61, and Featherstone 2013, 19–38, all with extensive bibliography.

3 Hunt 1998, 29–59, and Grünbart (forthcoming).

4 See Oikonomides 1990, 205 with fn. 3, referring for further evidence to Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός (6 vols.), Athens 1948–1955, II/2, 61–116; IV, 249–317 (the house); V, 136–205 (lunch, dinner, feast), see also Parani 2003; Bouras/Parani 2008.

5 Parani 2003, 167. I am also thinking of objects with blended materials, such as the book stand with a marble base and a wooden fixture represented in the 14th century Hippocrates manuscript of Alexios Apokaukos in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Paris. gr.* 2144, fol. 11r).

6 See Parani 2003, 160–176, 185–188; and Rogers 1996, 245–251 on furniture in Islamic cultures.

7 Kazhdan/Nelson 1991, "John Klimax", in: *ODB*, II, 1060–1061 with illustration.

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Furniture for emperors and empresses must have been extraordinarily refined, not only in terms of materials and handicraft, but also with regard to design and iconographies. For this category of furniture one is dependent on textual and pictorial evidence. The lack of Byzantine furniture artefacts, however, is neither limited to the Great Palace of Constantinople nor to luxury furniture. Byzantine furniture is generally rare as is the case for other ancient and medieval societies.[8] Apart from the 6th century ivory Throne of Bishop Maximianus in Ravenna[9], only a few other pieces of furniture have survived, for example the Late and Post-Byzantine wooden thrones and some other pieces recently discussed by Maria Parani.[10] Wood – the conventional material for cabinet making – is not only prone to decaying, but is liable to be used as heating material in times of shortage.[11] For imperial furniture we must suppose the existence of additional sumptuous layers set on wooden cores: silver and golden revetments, ivories, enamels, precious and semi-precious stones, pearls, ebony and other exquisite woods. Such luxurious pieces of furniture, some made entirely of silver or gold, were even less likely to survive than ordinary wooden furniture.[12] Only Egypt, with its dry climate so beneficial to the conservation of organic material, offers a different picture. Luxury furniture made in the Pharaonic era has come down to us as well preserved as the pieces dating from the 4th to 9th centuries AD in Karanis.[13]

My observations will be limited to pieces of furniture assembled in throne and reception halls in the context of imperial ceremonies, thus representative furniture on display in relatively public spaces of the Great Palace of Constantinople. I shall focus on one particular piece, known as the *pentapyrgion*, a piece of display furniture which still remains rather enigmatic, even after the important recent clarifications by Gilbert Dagron.[14] However, a future systematic investigation of Byzantine furniture should no doubt include the imperial furniture kept in the buildings, apartments or rooms of the Palace that can be considered as relatively "private" areas, reserved for the imperial family only[15] as well as collapsible campaign furniture designated for the imperial tent.[16]

8 Models based on casts of such elaborated pieces of furniture created by the volcanic eruption of 79 AD are preserved from Pompeii and Herculaneum: see Grodde 1989, 14, fn. 9. See also the contributions in Herrmann 1996 with parallels from the ancient cultures of Western Asia.

9 On the materiality and the construction of the Maximianus' throne, see Jürgensen 1972, 6–8, see also Cutler, 1991, "Maximian", in: *ODB*, II, 1321–1322 stating that the relatively small and fragile object could rather not have served as a seating furniture for a bishop.

10 Parani 2003, 159–197 (Chap. IV, Furniture and Furnishings).

11 On the value of timber see Rogers 1996, 245–246.

12 The ripping off of a royal box consisting of a canopy and a throne in 10th century Kirmān is recorded in the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, trans. al-Qaddūmī, § 242, 189–190. Numerous gem-studded thrones, beds and canopies are depicted in Middle Byzantine manuscripts: see e.g. the late 9th century Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Paris. gr.* 510; images available at http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html, retrieved 10 April 2014).

13 Killen 1996, at 14: "More is known about furniture, its tools and techniques in Egypt than anywhere else in the Ancient World." Wooden fragments of double beds, chests and other furniture bearing ornamental and carved figurative decorations or traces of paint found in Egypt have been meticulously discussed by Elisabet Enß: see Enß 2005. The importance of Egypt is acknowledged by Parani, who refers in particular to the Geniza documents: Parani 2003, 162, fn. 11; 186, fn. 156.

14 Dagron 2005, 109–117.

15 The private chambers or bed chambers of the emperors are referred to as κουβούκλιον or κοιτών, alternatively. The nuances of these terms in Middle Byzantium are not always clear. The aspect of relative seclusion from the more public areas of the Great Palace can be inferred from Michael Psellos' reference to the bedchamber of the empresses Zoe and Theodora as ἀποτετμημένος οἶκος: Mich. Psell., *Chron.*, I, 64, ed. Renauld, 148, lines 9–13.

16 A 10th century military treatise mentions sets of collapsible triple benches and tables: σκαμνία συστελτά, ἵνα καθέζονται εἰς ἕν ἕκαστον σκαμνίον ἄνδρες γ′. ὁμοίως τοῦ μήκους αὐτῶν καὶ τραπέζια συστελτά) along with further items from the imperial tent: *Military Treatises*, Text C, ed. Haldon, 104, 168–170. When John II Komnenos conquered Sezer, a precious table allegedly looted from the imperial tent of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071) was returned to the Byzantine conquerors: see Nic. Chon., *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, 30–31. On campaign tents see now Mullett 2013, 487–513.

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A comprehensive treatment of Byzantine furniture should provide references in textual and visual sources and offer a re-examination of surviving objects that hitherto have not been addressed sufficiently as potential pieces of furniture.[17] Looking beyond the borders, at Byzantium's various neighbours, is necessary on account of the paucity of Byzantine evidence, but also because comparative, cross-cultural approaches might reveal interesting parallels as well as differences in cabinet making and in the materials employed. Being items of considerable value and prestige, pieces of luxury furniture have always been much-appreciated gifts, commodities, and war spolia.[18]

In attempting to trace luxury furniture on the basis of mainly textual evidence to highlight distinct aesthetic preferences and the availability of rare materials, one should bear in mind Oleg Grabar's remarks on the shared appreciation for precious objects amongst medieval elites.[19] As Anthony Cutler pointed out in his concluding remarks at the end of our conference, one indispensable source for the reconstruction of material court culture in the medieval Mediterranean is the so-called *Book of Gifts and Rarities*. This Arabic text was written in the second half of the 11th century in Fatimid Cairo and provides abundant evidence of transfers of luxury items across territorial and cultural boundaries.[20] Amongst other things, it contains numerous references to exclusive pieces of high-end furniture at various courts of the Islamic world relevant as comparanda for imperial furniture of the Middle Byzantine period.[21]

Finally, until more archaeological evidence comes to light[22], the study of Byzantine furniture must also combine, compare and complement the few extant artefacts with written and pictorial testimonies and by looking also beyond the field of Byzantine Studies.[23] Parani stressed the importance of taking any information on realia seriously and not dismissing representations of arte-

17 See for example the small carved ivory fragment with a representation of St. Mark enthroned in front of a cityscape: Bühl 2012, 44–45, and the 5th century wooden fragment (approx. 45 × 22 cm) with a representation of a city under siege in the Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst in Berlin, which could have been a furniture fragment as well. On possible functions and contexts see, albeit brief, Törne 2010, 125–126, who provides otherwise an extensive treatment of the enigmatic iconography.

18 On the identity-shaping impact of personalized heirlooms such as King Solomon's ring or Alexander the Great's saddle, see most recently Walker 2012. One may also think of the Table of Solomon found in Umayyad Andalusia, on which see Shalem 2005, 101–117, espec. 113–114, with bibliography. Relevant in the present context of architectural representations and city imagery as integral decorative element of furniture are some tables at the Carolingian court of Charlemagne: Einhard's *Vita Karoli* attests one golden and three silver tables (*mensae*). Tow of the latter bore city representations: a square silver table with a representation (*descriptio*) of Constantinople was given to St. Peter in Rome, whilst a round one with an image (*effigies*) of Rome was set aside for the episcopal church of Ravenna. Neither of them has survived, but, as was highlighted by Brodersen 1996, 35–41, Constantinople and Rome were most likely rendered as schematic ideograms or, alternatively, as female city personifications. See also Bauer 2005, 65–99, at 85, with fns. 78–80.

19 Grabar 1997, 115–129. On modes of exchanging gifts and commodities between the Byzantine and the Sassanian or Islamic worlds see also Cutler 1999, 635–648 and Cutler 2008, 79–101.

20 On the author by the name of Ibn-Zubayr and the historical framework of the *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf) see the introduction by Ghāda al Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, trans. al-Qaddūmī, 3–56.

21 See the glossary of the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, trans. al-Qaddūmī, 416–442, e.g. 427 with 19 references to elaborate tables made of various materials.

22 As e.g. the Early or Middle Byzantine folding chair of iron found in England, see *Credo* 2013, II, 209–210. Only recently a Late Roman folding chair with silver and golden revetments has come to light in Rülzheim, a forest near Speyer (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/kunst/mainzer-raubfund-ist-es-der-ganze-barbarenschatz-12810127.html, retrieved 10 April 2014).

23 For possible fruitful input from other disciplines, see e.g. the philological studies of Ancient Greek furniture by Budde 1940 or the analysis of Arabic sources for Islamic furniture by Sadan 1976. An archaeological approach is provided by Grodde 1989, focussing on wooden finds from Central and Northern Europe.

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facts in Byzantine art as generic.[24] A broader cultural approach will have to broach established art historical categories such as perspective, scale, style, and function. Important as they might be for the arrangement of historical material to be investigated, such categorisations may hinder the recognition of broader coherences. For the following discussion of city imagery, it is irrelevant whether Constantinople or the conquered cities represented in triumphant scenes were rendered in bird's-eye perspective or not. Other aspects, such as the specific setting of the city ideogram, authorship, audience and the identification of specific urban spaces by characteristic elements, famous buildings or accompanying inscriptions, seem more significant.

The *pentapyrgion*

Two studies by Gilbert Dagron dedicated to the *pentapyrgion*[25] and to various seating accommodations reserved for the emperor in different settings[26] have shed much light on the specific contexts, uses, and meanings of the pieces of furniture discussed below. These latter, together with the 18th century Latin commentary by the editor of the *Book of Ceremonies*, Johann Jacob Reiske[27], recent studies on the material splendour of receptions for foreign embassies in specific buildings[28] and resulting symbolic notions of the Great Palace[29], as well as preliminary considerations on city imagery, will serve as points of departure for my enquiry.

If the most enigmatic piece of ceremonial furniture in the Great Palace was the so-called Throne of Solomon in the Magnaura, on which the seated emperor could (or could not) rocket upwards[30], the *pentapyrgion*, with the golden trees and organs is second in rank. For all these objects, which were intended to display abundance in exquisite taste, costly materials and technological knowledge, we must rely on references in the 10th century *Book of Ceremonies*, a collection of official protocols for court ceremonial assembled under Constantine VII, and on some almost contemporary historiographical accounts – no pictorial representations, if they ever existed, have survived. In his recent discussion Gilbert Dagron touched upon several aspects of the *pentapyrgion*, which played an important role during ceremonies held in the two major reception and throne halls: the Magnaura and the Chrysotriklinos.[31] This object was made of wood and precious metals and consisted of five elements referred to as towers (πυργία). It was the creation of a goldsmith in the imperial workshop sometime during the second quarter of the 9th century.[32]

The *pentapyrgion* was commissioned by the emperor Theophilos (829–843), otherwise famous for being a severe iconoclast.[33] He is also said to have commissioned the accompanying eccentric devices: the organs and golden trees with chirping birds, which required a good understanding of mechanics by the craftsmen involved. Whilst the trees were melted down under Theophilos' successors, the organs and the *pentapyrgion* remained intact and were still in use in the middle of

24 Parani 2003, 1–10, 197. The relation between Late Antique furniture finds with turned legs from the so-called *Knabengrab* located beneath the Cathedral of Cologne and representations of beds with similarly turned legs in Western Romanesque manuscripts has recently been illustrated by Schock-Werner 2010, 713–722. Similarly, Grodde 1989, 15–22, emphasizes the high level of congruencies between Early medieval artefacts and simultaneous representations of furniture in Western Europe.

25 Dagron 2005, 109–117.

26 Dagron 2003, 179–203.

27 *De Cer*., ed., Lat. trans. and comm. Reiske, II, 683–685.

28 Bauer 2006, 135–169; Featherstone 2007, 75–112; Angelidi 2013, 465–485

29 Carile 2012.

30 On the Throne of Solomon see Dagron 2003, 179–203, here 185–189; Brett 1954, 477–487; Berger 2006, 63–77.

31 Dagron 2005, 109–110.

32 Dagron 2005, 111.

33 On Theophilos see Signes-Codoñer (forthcoming).

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the 10th century when the *Book of Ceremonies* was compiled.[34] As recently highlighted by Featherstone, the protocols for Easter were considered most suitable for lavish receptions of foreign embassies (δοχαί).[35] Thus the first furniture ensemble involving the *pentapyrgion* leads us into the Chrysotriklinos as decorated for Easter. One could speak of a proper exhibition of selected pieces of furniture associated with glorious emperors of the past. According to chapter II.15 of the Book of Ceremonies, the

> Chrysotriklinos was fitted out as is customary for Easter, that is, with the pentapyrgion and the imperial thrones, the couches, the gold table, and the other items with which it is decorated at Easter.[36]

The late 10th century *Taktikon* of the Escorial Library provides additional details on the arrangement. Strikingly, however, the *pentapyrgion* is here called *pentakoubouklon* (πεντακούβουκλον), which has lead scholars to confusion.[37]

> It must be known that on Easter Sunday a banquet is held in the Chrysotriklinos and the golden table is taken out as well as the side tables and the four thrones: the three golden ones, of which two, those of Theophilos and of Constantine respectively, are set up above (ἄνωθεν), in the Pentakoubouklon; they also bring the throne from the Hippodrome and set it up next to the other two in the Pentakoubouklon. Between them is a small golden table ornamented with precious stones and pearls, where the emperor is seated. Down below, in the triklinios, the golden table is set up and beyond it, toward the inner part of the Chrysotriklinos, stands the Bed of Sorrow; and beyond it the throne of Maurikios and the basin where the cups are washed with the glass-stand. Towards the outer part of the Chrysotriklinos stands the Bed of Joy and beyond it the new, small throne, which stands normally in the bema of the Chrysotriklinos. And beyond the throne is the triminsion.[38]

The thrones in question were apparently associated with the Emperors Theophilos, Constantine the Great, and Maurikios. Furthermore, imperial beds, a golden table, and four side-tables (παρατράπεζα) are listed. Oikonomides thought that the latter were identical with the four "display-tables" (of Constantine, Solomon, David and Qorah) that played a role in a banquet ceremony in the dining-hall known as Nineteen Couches in the Arabic account of Harun ibnYahya preserved by ibn Rosteh.[39] Obviously, the throne of Maurikios (τὸ σένζον τοῦ Μαυρικίου) was either set above (ἄνωθεν), in the sense of "beyond" the so-called "Bed of Sorrow" (κραββάτιον τῆς λύπης). It is rather impossible that the κραββάτιον, which probably bore some sort of silken furnishings, served itself as a pedestal for the throne, the basin (ποτηροπλύτης), and the dish stand (κανοθήκη). One might assume that the group stood behind or next to the κραββάτιον, as was probably also the case of the newly made throne of a small size (σένζον, τὸ καινούργιον, τὸ μικρόν) taken from the gallery of the Chrysotriklinos. The new little throne was likewise set beyond the Bed of Joy (κραββάτιον τῆς χαρᾶς). It was rather put behind it, probably in an elevated position, for better view. As was

34 Angelidi 2013, 482 with older bibliography.

35 Featherstone 2007, 75–112. On chapter II, 15 of *De ceremoniis*, see also Kresten 2000, and with regard to the material furnishings of receptions held in the Great Palace see most recently Angelidi 2013, 465–485.

36 Trans. Featherstone 2007, 93; *De Cer.*, II, 15, ed. Reiske, 580, lines 6–9.

37 See the remarks in Dagron 2005, 111–112.

38 *Le Taktikon de l'Escurial*, ed. Oikonomidès, 275 (with facing French trans.): Ἰστέον ὅτι τῇ μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ γίνεται εἰς τὸν Χρυσοτρίκλινον κλητόριον καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ χρυσῆ τράπεζα καὶ τὰ παρατράπεζα καὶ τὰ δ′ σένζη, τὰ τρία τὰ χρυσᾶ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν β′ ἵστανται, τό τε τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, ἐπάνω, εἰς τὸ πεντακούβουκλον, φέρουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου σένζον καὶ ἵσταται καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ τῶν β′ εἰς τὸ πεντακούβουκλον · μέσον δὲ αὐτῶν ἵσταται βασιλικὸν τραπέζιον χρυσοῦν διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργαριταρίων, ὅπερ ἔχει ὁ βασιλεύς. Κάτω δὲ εἰς τὸν τρίκλινον τίθεται ἡ χρυσῆ τράπεζα καὶ ἔνθεν, πρός τὸ ἐσώτερον μέρος τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, τὸ κραββάτιον τῆς λύπης καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ το σένζον τοῦ Μαυρικίου καὶ ὁ ποτηροπλύτης μετὰ τῆς κανοθήκης πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐξώτερον μέρος τοῦ τρικλίνου ἵσταται τὸ κραββάτιον τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τὸ διηνεκῶς ἱστάμενον εἰς τὸ βῆμα τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου σένζον, τὸ καινούργιον, τὸ μικρόν, καὶ ἐπάνω σελλίου τὸ τρίμινσιον. I thank Federico Montinaro for discussing the passage with me.

39 *Ibid.*, 275 fn. 43, see also Schreiner 2006, 119–121, espec. 121.

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also suggested by Oikonomides, the Bed of Joy could be identified with the ceremonial bed in the nuptial chamber.[40]

This connection is stressed by Dagron, who understands that the *pentapyrgion* was erected in the nuptial chamber of the Magnaura and used together with other elements such as the Bed of Joy and nuptial crowns (στεφάνια) in the context of imperial marriage (στεφάνωμα) ceremonies.[41] According to Dagron, the reference to the Bed of Joy *in* the *pentapyrgion* (ἐν τῷ πενταπυργίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἵσταται ὁ βασιλικὸς κράβαττος) in the context of nuptial rites[42] should be understood as a means of highlighting the spatial vicinity of the two pieces of furniture, both supposedly arranged in the north-eastern apse of the Magnaura.[43] More generally, Dagron interpreted the arrangement recorded in the Escorial Taktikon in the context of Easter symbolism commemorating the death and resurrection of Christ, with the throne of the murdered emperor Maurikios serving as an imperial example of martyrdom.[44] As Oikonomides pointed out, however, this is the only reference to a throne in connection with Maurikios, whilst the throne of Arkadios, mentioned elsewhere in the Book of Ceremonies together with the throne of Constantine the Great[45], is missing here.[46]

It is difficult to say whether there was any confusion regarding the attribution of the thrones, but the so-called "Bed of Sorrow" could indeed be associated with Maurikios. According to Theophylaktos Simocattes, the Chagan of the Avars had boldly demanded a golden bed as a gift in 583, which was hereupon executed most elaborately on behalf of Maurikios. In the end, the bed was rejected and sent back to Constantinople. Instead the Avars asked for an additional sum of 20.000 gold coins.[47] Could the "Bed of Sorrow" have been the returned golden bed from the time of Maurikios? Be that as it may, the entire passage, a collection of ambiguous statements concerning the position of individual items and their spatial relation to each other, remains dissatisfying. It cannot be excluded that the *pentapyrgion* was not the main pivot of the group, but that the other five-partite structure within the Chrysotriklinos was the *pentakoubouklon*.

Dagron believes that only the inner tower (*pyrgion, mesopyrgion*), was reproduced in the 10th century for permanent installation in the Chrysotriklinos. The copy was necessary because the *pentapyrgion* was frequently used in both buildings – the Magnaura and the Chrysotriklinos. Once the main element was re-made and placed in the Chrysotriklinos, only the four remaining, probably smaller elements, had to be carried from one reception hall to the other.[48] Apparently, it was also possible to leave the four smaller elements aside and operate only with the main tower, which was the case during the second reception for the Arab guests from Tarsus in early summer 946,

40 The triminsion was set either on the little throne or on another seat: see again Oikonomides' commentary, *Le Taktikon de l'Escurial*, ed. Oikonomides, 274; Dagron 2005, 115.

41 Dagron 2005, 112–113.

42 *De Cer.*, I, 39, ed. Reiske, 196–202, 200.

43 Dagron 2005, 113 "*[...] dans le pentapyrgion, là où se trouve le lit imperial.*"

44 Dagron 2005, 114–115.

45 *De Cer.*, II, 15, ed. Reiske, 587, line 15–588, line 11, with the English trans. by Featherstone 2007, 98.

46 *Le Taktikon de l'Escurial*, ed. Oikonomidès, 274, fn. 32.

47 Theoph. Sim., *Historiae*, I, 3. 39–40, ed. de Boor/Wirth, 46, lines 3–11: ἐπώχλει δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ κλίνην χρυσῆν τεχνουργήσαντα ὡς αὐτὸν παραπέμψαι· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ τοῦτον μετεώριζεν ἡ τῆς παρούσης τύχης ἀκρώρεια. βασιλεὺς δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἐξεργασάμενος βασιλικῶς μετεπέμπετο. ὁ δὲ σοβαρευόμενος πολλῷ μᾶλλον κατεβρενθύετο οἷα προπηλακιζόμενος τῷ ἀναξίῳ τοῦ δωρήματος, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ παρὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὡς εὐτελές τι καὶ ἄκομψον τὴν χρυσῆν ἀλαζονικώτερον κλίνην. ναὶ μὴν ἠξίου καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ χρησοῦ χιλιάσι καὶ ἑτέρας εἴκοσιν ἀν' ἔτος ἕκαστον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀποίσεσθαι· For a German translation see Theoph. Sim, *Geschichte*, trans. Schreiner, 47. I thank Peter Schreiner for this reference. Doubts on the credibility of the passage are expressed by Cutler 2008, 79–101, here fn. 41.

48 Dagron 2005, 113.

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when the major Easter decorations had been dismantled.[49] There are two main passages in chapter II.15 of the *Book of Ceremonies*, which provide information on the *pentapyrgion*:

> Note in the four inner compartments of the middle turret of the Pentapyrgion, as well as in the forward inner compartment of the forward turret and in the forward inner compartments of the turrets on the right and on the left, were hung various artefacts (ergomoukia) from the church of the Holy Great-Martyr Demetrios and from amongst those kept in the Treasury. On the wooden ἐκδέται extending from the Pentapyrgion to the walls were attached the bridal girdles, which are adorned with gems and pearls and which are kept in the Treasury.[50]

And in the context of the already mentioned second reception of the Tarsiotes in June 946, when the decorations had been cleared away already, we learn furthermore that:

> [...] three crowns were suspended in the inner compartments in the turret which always stands in the Chrysotriklinos: in the compartment towards the east, the green crown from the Church of the Holy Apostles, to the right the blue crown from the Church of the Most-Holy Mother of God of the Pharos, and to the left, the crown from the Church of the Great Martyr Demetrios. Each of the crowns had its cross, and the three doves of the three crowns were suspended in the compartment of the same turret toward the west. On either side of the same turret were set up two thrones, on the right toward the east that of Arcadius, in which sat Romanus, the God-crowned emperor born in the purple; and on the left, the throne of the holy Constantine.[51]

Many questions remain open. For example, how were the five turrets joined together? How were the display devices inside the structure, the so-called *mesokardia* for hanging crowns, doves and other *ergomoukia,* rendered? And how should one picture the walls (τοίχοις) to which wooden ἐκδέται were attached for displaying bridal belts? The texts, however, reveal neglected important information. Obviously the main or central turret had four compartments on *one* level, large enough to display three crowns distributed on the eastern, northern and southern compartments, and three doves stuffed into the western compartment. In Dagron's words one has to imagine *un meuble carré*.[52] One could thus imagine a structure with a domical external closure, containing inside four compartments (e.g. cross-shaped vaults). But the quadripartite section of this upper part of the *pentapyrgion* was probably organised as an open structure, which granted the audience an all-encompassing gaze over the items.

A further important point which requires clarification is the common assumption that the *pentapyrgion* was connected to the masonry walls of the Chrysotriklinos by "wooden supports", as the words ξυλίνοις ἐκδέταις in one of the above passages are commonly translated, in order

49 See further below. On the dates offered for visits in the Great Palace by particular embassies see most recently Angelidi 2013, 470– 471 with bibliography.

50 *De Cer.*, II, 15, ed. Reiske, 582, lines 2–11: ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι μεσοκαρδίοις τοῦ μεσοπυργίου τοῦ πενταπυργίου, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μεσοκάρδιον τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν πυργίου, καὶ εἰς τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἀριστεροῦ πυργίου τὰ ἔμπροσθεν μεσοκάρδια ἐκρεμάσθησαν διάφορα ἐργομούκια ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναποκειμένων εἰς τὸν φύλακα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξυλίνοις ἐκδέταις τοῖς ἀπὸ τὸ πενταπύργιον ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἐκδεδεμένοις συνεδέθησαν τὰ νυμφικὰ ζωνάρια τὰ ἐκ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ἠμφιεσμένα καὶ τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἐν τῳ φύλακι. Trans. Featherstone 2007, 94–95, where I am leaving ἐκδέταις untranslated. See below.

51 *De Cer.*, II, 15, ed. Reiske, 586, line 18–587, line 7: ἐν τῷ ἀδιαλείπτῳ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἱσταμένῳ ἐν τῷ χρυσοτρικλίνῳ πυργίῳ ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ πυργίου μεσοκαρδίοις, τὰ τρία στέμματα· πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μὲν τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων πράσινον στέμμα, δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Φάρου βένετον στέμμα, ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου βένετον στέμμα μετὰ καὶ τῶν σταυρῶν αὐτῶν. αἱ δὲ τῶν τριῶν στεμμάτων τρεῖς περιστεραὶ ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἐν τῷ πρὸς δύσιν μεσοκαρδίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πυργίου. ἔνθεν δὲ κἀκεῖσε τοῦ αὐτοῦ πυργίου ἔστησαν θρόνοι δύο· δεξιὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ὁ τοῦ Ἀρκαδίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐκαθέσθη Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ θεόστεπτος βασιλεύς· εὐώνυμα δὲ ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου θρόνος. Trans. Featherstone 2007, 98.

52 Dagron 2005, 116.

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to make sure that it would stand firmly.[53] Since the stage is believed to be in the apse area, it seemed natural to Dagron to assume that the lateral towers were thus fixed to the curved wall. Dagron himself, however, believes that the *pentypyrgion* was set on a dais[54] and, although it is impossible to address scale and size issues of non-existing objects, the fact that the four compartments of the main tower were apparently not placed on top of one other but on one level and that the *pentapyrgion* was combined with imperial thrones of considerable size, we should imagine it as a medium-sized object in expanse when assembled in all its five parts, but not exceedingly tall.

More recently, Bauer has interpreted the "walls" as integral part of the *pentapyrgion* itself.[55] In his reconstruction, the wooden ἐκδτέται could hardly play a stabilising role. It should be noticed, in support of this interpretation, that the ἐκδτέται were also involved when only the middle turret was on display. Thus, the wooden ἐκδέται were not beams or struts connecting the *pentapyrgion* to the curved conch of the Chrysotriklinos, but rather pegs fixed into sections of the *pentapyrgion* itself, considered as walls either because of their disposition and/or because of their characteristic decoration imitating brickwork. Reiske seems to have understood the passage in this way, as is evident from his translation of the word ξυλίνοις ἐκδέταις (*ligneis paxillis*) and his commentary.[56] Now, if specific parts of the *pentapyrgion* were regarded as walls, we may speculate that the entire device had an overall architectural appearance implicit in its name. Nothing is said about the way the belts were hung, but they were probably placed horizontally to afford a better view. Indeed, belts and city walls, both forming a circuit, had several analogies that could be exploited rhetorically as well as visually.

To sum up, one could imagine the *pentapyrgion* as a medium-sized, highly symbolic representation of the City of the Byzantine Emperor – Constantinople. A brief discussion of the representation of cities in different media of Middle Byzantine art, as well as considerations of constructed and reconstructed defensive structures ranging from single, polygonal towers to fortresses, will provide additional parallels.

City Representations in Middle Byzantine Art

Only Late Antique city representations such as the numerous vignettes on floor mosaics in Palestine, Jordan and North Africa have attracted considerable scholarly attraction, mainly with an iconographic focus[57]. One may think further of Helen Saradi's observations on concepts and perceptions of cities, mainly in Early Byzantine literature,[58] and Maria Cristina Carile's more recent interpretation of the Great Palace of Constantinople as an imagined embodiment of the Heavenly

53 Dagron 2005, 115: "Aux panneaux de bois reliant le pentapyrgion aux murs (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξυλίνοις ἐκδέταις τοῖς ἀπὸ τὸ Πενταπύργιν ἐν τοῖς τύχοις), on attacha les ceintures nuptiales, celles qui sont ornées de pierres et de perles et celles qui sont conservées dans le Phylax." Featherstone 2007, 98–99: "On the wooden supports extending from the Pentapyrgion to the walls were attached the bridal girdles, which are adorned with gems and pearls and which are kept in the Treasury." Moffatt/Tall 2012, 582: "On the wooden struts fastened from the pentapyrgion to the walls were tied together the bridal belts decorated with precious stones and pearls, also stored in the Phylax."

54 Dagron 2005, 117.

55 Bauer 2006, 159: "An den Hölzern, die von den Wänden des Pentapyrgion abstanden, hingen mit Edelsteinen und Perlen verzierte Brautbinden aus der Schatzkammer." See also *De Cer*. ed. Reiske, 582, offering the following Latin translation: E ligneis paxillis et parietibus pentaypyrgii eminentibus dependebant alligata sponsalia zonaria, gemmis et margaritis distincta, e phylace depromta.

56 As in fn. 55. See also Reiske´s commentary to *De Cer.*, ed. Reiske, 683–685, here 684: Reiske first imagined the pentapyrgion: instar castelli cum turribus, moenibus, portis structam.

57 On mainly late antique city representations see Deckers 1988, 303–382, and the more updated bibliographies in *Architecture as Icon* 2010.

58 Saradi 2006; Saradi 2010, 73–111.

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Fig. 1 Nativity Plaque. Ivory, Palestine or Egypt, 8th Century (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Museum).

Jerusalem.[59] But all in all, the notion of city representations in the course of the Middle and Late Byzantine period has not been addressed sufficiently and still await further in-depth studies and comprehensive syntheses.

The first visual example is the 8th century Nativity ivory plaque at Dumbarton Oaks, attributed to Egypt or Palestine by Kurt Weitzmann (Fig. 1).[60] The Nativity scene with ox and ass surrounding baby Jesus in the manger – traditionally rendered in a cave (σπήλαιον)[61] – has been transferred here from the conventional rocky outdoor setting into a rather urban environment as indicated by the cityscape in the background and the well-equipped interior displaying several pieces of furniture. The tall objects within the interior space – on the left a domical ciborium with a hanging lamp and grills, and on the right a closet decorated with crenellations on top and outfitted with panelled doors – resemble the tower-like structures in the background, representing the monuments of a city. As summarised most recently by Gudrun Bühl, the Nativity plaque is believed to be one of several ivory plaques of the so-called Grado Chair. Scholarship on these fourteen ivories displaying stylistic and iconographic diversity has been focussed on questions of style, origin, date and function of the plaques believed to have been once part of the decoration of a larger object.[62] However, one of the most striking common features of the plaques is the consistent use of high-roofed buildings in the background of the plaques, forming crucial markers of cityscapes.[63]

The next example is the so-called Casket of Troyes, a Middle Byzantine ivory casket bearing hunting scenes and exotic birds on the lateral sides. Most significantly, on the lid, a city representation is shown flanked by two emperors on horseback (Fig. 2). Various hypotheses have been brought forward regarding the date of the casket. Most recently, Alicia Walker favoured a 10th century date and interpreted the city as Constantinople, partly following Maguire.[64] For our

59 Carile 2012.

60 On the Dumbarton Oaks Nativity scene see Weitzmann 1974, 31–55, espec. 39.

61 Ristow 1971, 637–662.

62 *Byzantium and Islam* 2012, 45–50, espec. 48.

63 For images see *Byzantium and Islam* 2012, 46–47.

64 On the Troyes casket see now Walker 2012, 45–79, espec. 52–53, providing an overview of the debate on the date, origin and function of the ivory casket as well as an intriguing interpretation of the object as juxtaposing purposefully exotic themes appropriated from different cultural contexts and rather conventional Middle Byzantine imperial imagery. See also *Glory of Byzantium* 1997, 204–206.

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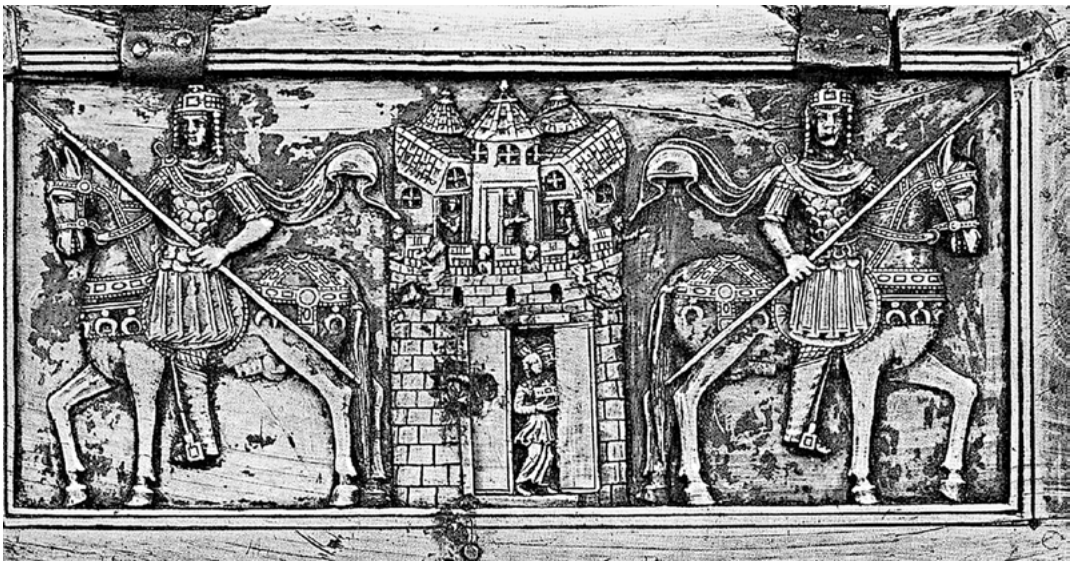

Fig. 2 City flanked by two emperors on horseback. Ivory, detail, Byzantine, 10th Century (Troyes, Cathedral Treasury).

purpose, however, the most important panel is the lid. The figure on the right has been interpreted as the senior emperor, and the other, slightly less accentuated other rider, as the younger co-emperor. The city is presented as a crenellated multi-domed structure with a prominent two-winged gate. The inhabitants peer out of the windows. A female city personification wearing a mural crown stands in the half opened gate and offers a crown to the senior emperor, thus actively communicating with the counterpart. The city architecture bears no inscription, and it is hard to judge whether the scene is a *reditus* ceremony in Constantinople,[65] or the depiction of the capitulation of a successfully re-conquered city, of which several instances are recorded between the 9th and 12th centuries.

But female city personifications occur in other works of art dated to the 10th century as well. In the 10th century Joshua Rotulus (*Vat. Pal. gr.* 431) recently discussed by Stephen Wander, Jericho, Ai and Gibeon are represented as city abbreviations with *tychai*.[66] Each city is accompanied by a rather static, seated female personification wearing the characteristic mural crown on the head.[67] Gibeon for instance is rendered as a tetragon with a square entrance and crenellated towers at the corners. From a bird's-eye perspective, the observer sees the top of tall buildings with gabled roofs and barrel-vaults within. The city personification is identifiable by the mural crown on her head, but also by the accompanying inscription πόλις Γαβαών, which serves as a visual link between the crowned *tyche* in the foreground and the abbreviated city structure in the upper background.[68]

City Models

The illustrations discussed so far are of the small size imposed by the respective media, but city representations were not limited to small-sized objects during the Middle Byzantine period. They were also employed in monumental scale and context.

65 On *reditus* ceremonies see Hunger 1990, 17–35, 179–184.
66 See Wander 2012, pls. 4, 6, 12.
67 On city personifications see Bühl 1995.
68 Wander 2012, 66–67 with pl. 12.

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Basil I (867–886), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, employed representations of cities in his visual propaganda in the Great Palace. In Book V (*Vita Basilii*) of the continuation of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959) himself, an apse mosaic in the newly built palace called Kainourgion is mentioned. Basil was represented enthroned in the centre of the apse flanked by his commanders offering him models of re-conquered cities.[69] Cyril Mango believes that this is a reminiscence of Justinian's mosaics at the Chalke.[70] Indeed, the 6th century decoration of the monumental entrance to the Great Palace might well have included city representations. According to Procopius the subject of the mosaics was the conquest of cities in North Africa and Italy. Justinian and Theodora were represented in the dome with general Belisarius, who approached the emperor with booty and captives. The description leaves much to the imagination, but the scenes certainly involved kings and kingdoms (βασιλεῖς τε καὶ βασιλείας).[71] How the latter were represented remains an open question, but it is conceivable that there were female personifications, or alternatively, architectural city models.

As illustrated by a 10th century military treatise, the emperors of the Amorian and Macedonian dynasties reinstated the celebration of military successes by triumphant *adventus* ceremonies in the Byzantine capital. Theophilos celebrated his conquests by lavish ceremonies ending at the Chalke with royal and civic representatives involved. He received there a golden crown "made of precious stones and valuable pearls, which the emperor took and wore on his right arm."[72] Some decades later Basil I celebrated his victories against Tephrike and Germanikeia with similar pomp and including the parade of booty and prisoners.[73]

Again, crowns of all sorts are mentioned at various moments of the procession. The city population welcomed the returning emperor offering crowns made of flowers and roses to him. The headgear of Basil is described as "a low turban with a circlet, of white embroidered with gold, having on the forehead a likeness of a gold-embroidered crown" (ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐφόρεσεν φακιόλιν δίκην προπολώματος, λευκὸν χρυσοΰφαντον, ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ὁμοίωμα στεφάνου χρυσοϋφάντου). Finally, Basil received a golden crown at the Golden Gate "according to old custom as well as crowns of laurel symbolising his victory" (στέφανον χρυσοῦν κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπὸ δαφνῶν ὡς τῆς νίκης σύμβολα), whilst the emperor in return gave gold coins "to the value and above of the golden crown".[74] Apparently, precious crowns of a certain monetary value – to be handed over to the emperor by the city prefect or other representatives – played a large role in these ceremonies. These crowns seem to have been made specifically for such triumphant processions, which usually started near the city walls – thus with the city gates, towers and defensive walls within sight. From Psellos we learn that Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) was never able to wear the triumphant crown he had commissioned for himself before setting out for his campaign in Syria which ended with a Byzantine defeat.[75] Psellos's remark can be understood as evidence for the involvement of the emperor in co-designing such parades beforehand. Unfortunately we do not learn anything about the fate of crowns exchanged in the course of triumphant processions, but it cannot be excluded that they were given away as votive

69 Theoph. Cont. *Vita Basilii*, 89, ed. Ševčenko, 288–290. The cities may have been Germanikeia, Tephrike, Bari, and others of which we know that they were indeed conquered by Basil I; Mango 2000[4], 197.

70 Mango 1959, 30–34; Mango 1975, 197, Mango 2000[4], 197, 109.

71 Proc., *De aed.*, I, 10, ed. Haury, 40–41.

72 English trans. after *Military Treatises*, Text C, ed. Haldon, 149. Dawson suggested that crowns such as the 11th century so-called Monomachos crown were precisely such arm-bracelets, cf. Dawson 2009, 183–193.

73 *Military Treatises*, Text C, ed. Haldon, 140–147.

74 *Military Treatises*, Text C, ed. Haldon, 142–143.

75 Mich. Psell., *Chron.*, I, 7, ed. Renauld, 36, 18–22.

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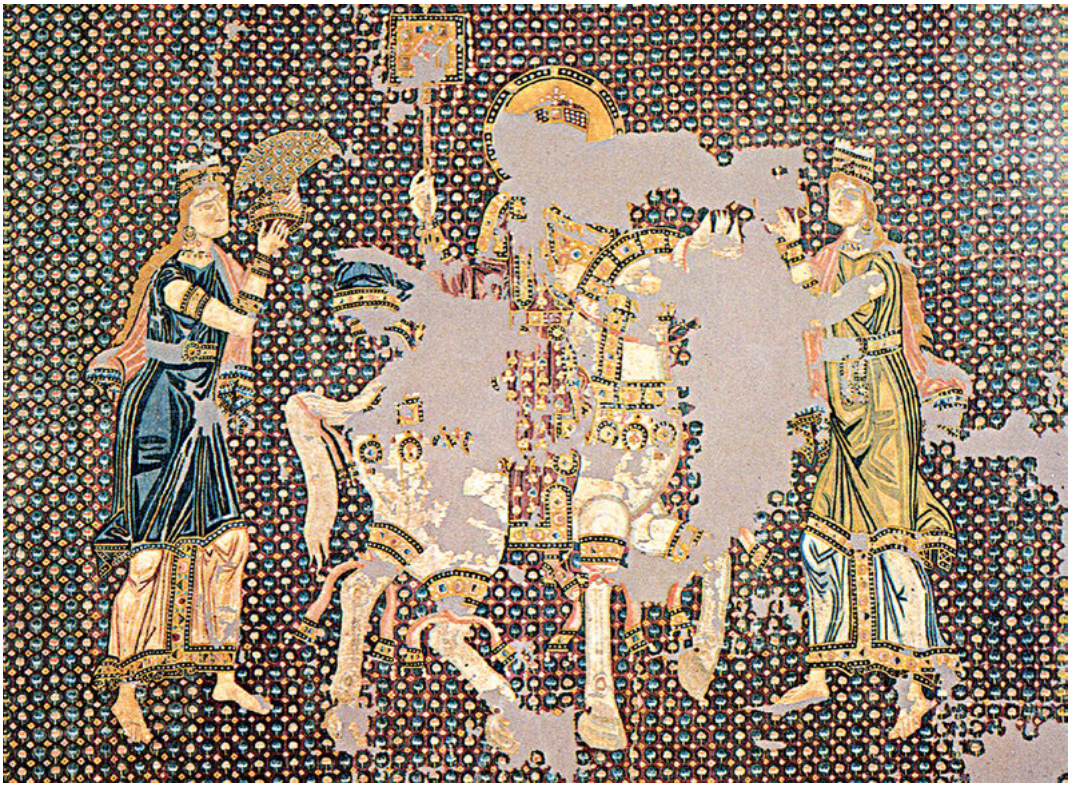

Fig. 3 So-called Gunthertuch, silken hanging depicting an emperor on horseback flanked by two female city personifications who are offering crowns to the sovereign. Byzantine, 10th Century (Bamberg, Cathedral Treasury).

offerings to selected churches or entered the Imperial Treasury.[76] This may have implications for my interpretation of the pentapyrgion as a city model. Amongst the display items were crowns of specific colours. The original purpose of the crowns assembled within the pentapyrgion is also not known, but their colours – green and blue – coincide with the two major circus factions of Constantinople.[77]

The most persuasive visual evidence for this connection might be seen in the so-called Gunthertuch in the Church Treasury of Bamberg, a silken hanging dating from the 10th century (Fig. 3).[78] The heavily restored piece shows a triumphant emperor riding on a white, richly decorated horse flanked by two approaching women holding crowns in their hands. One is dressed in a green garment holding a *toupha*, the other, clad in a blue garment, is offering a diadem. As Günter Prinzing has convincingly suggested, the two figures with mural crowns on their heads can be understood as female city personifications (*tychai*) embodying by virtue of the colours of their dresses the two major circus factions of Constantinople, the Greens and the Blues. According to Prinzing the emperor is John Tzimiskes celebrating his triumph over the Bulgarians in Constantinople in 971, in which, as we are informed, explicitly foreign insignia figured, including the presentation of a Bulgarian diadem as well as a *toupha*.[79] The two *tychai* can be thus seen as allegories of Constantinople (and its population) welcoming the triumphant emperor.[80]

76 A Mysian diadem, part of the Bulgarian booty of John I Tzimiskes' triumph in 971, was in fact donated to Hagia Sophia in the course of the triumph of the very emperor, see Prinzing 1993, 218–231, here 225–226, whilst a second Mysian crown, designated as *toupha*, entered the Imperial Palace, see Prinzing 2007, 123–132, espec. 125.

77 As observed by Thümmel 1992, 119–126, here 122; and Featherstone 2007, 94, fn. 141. On imperial crowns, their various colours and symbolism in the context of ceremonies see Dagron 2007, 157–174.

78 On the Gunthertuch see Prinzing 1993, 218–231; Prinzing 2007, 123–132, see also Restle 2007, 547–568.

79 Even the colours of the tychai's underdresses – red and white, respectively – might be associated with the two minor circus factions, the Whites and the Reds, as suggested by Prinzing 2007, 123–132, espec. 129.

80 *Ibid.*, 131.

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Miniature Forts as Potential Architectural Prototypes

The *pentapyrgion*'s architectural appearance is above all implied by its name, which reminds one of the small-scale forts with corner towers, known as *tetrapyrgia*. These structures, "miniature forts" in Slobodan Ćurčić's words, were especially built at the borders of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire, on the Danubian Limes as well as the Euphrates frontier. [81] *Castra Martis* in modern Bulgaria was such a structure, a foundation from the 4th century restored by Justinian according to Procopius. Procopius mentions also *Taurisium*, a village identified as Justinian's birthplace and enhanced by the emperor through square defensive walls with corner towers.[82] The even better known Syrian city of Resafa (Sergioupolis), with its square plan and massive corner towers, is referred to as *Tetrapyrgium* in the account of the so-called Piacenza Pilgrim in the second half of the 6th century.[83]

A most striking parallel for the *pentapyrgion* in this context comes from the remains of *Donje Butorke*, of the Diocletianic period. Here the centre of a *tetrapyrgion* is occupied by a massive square tower, which has been interpreted as a watchtower protruding above the defensive walls and corner towers in its original state.[84] However, the arrangement of the *pentapyrgion* as described in *De Ceremoniis* only allows the view of three of the four smaller towers – the frontal one as well as the two lateral *pyrgia* – enclosing the main, larger tower (*mesopyrgion*).

The *pentapyrgion* and Theophilos

Summing up, I suggest picturing the *pentapyrgion* as a representation of Constantinople *in nuce*.[85] One might imagine the structure as a segmented idealised city-model conveying the image of imperial authority based in Constantinople: firstly by its design (a defensive city structure), secondly by its position (next to imperial thrones), and thirdly by its content (crowns and other insignia of imperial power). The defensive aspect fits especially well with Theophilos's attention to the security of the imperial city. Whilst this ruler may have had some bad press after the second Iconoclasm, which he had sponsored, and was indeed accused of entertaining close ties to the court culture of the Abbasids in Bagdad[86], nevertheless he appears to have been renowned in his own time as an emperor who took much care for the restoration of monuments of Constantinople.[87] The Continuator of Theophanes mentions explicitly Theophilos' care in maintaining the city walls.[88] These claims are supported by numerous inscriptions, which are still in place.[89] The completion of three pentagonal towers in the northern section of the land wall section known as Pteron[90] is particularly important in

81 Ćurčić 2010, 180; 48–49, with figs. 39–40.
82 Ćurčić 2010, 180. I thank Slobodan Ćurčić for this reference.
83 Ćurčić 2010, 48–49. Ps.-Anton. Plac., *Itinerarium,* ed. Geyer, 191: *In ipsa passi sunt sanctus Sergius et sanctus Bacchus, et ad duodecim milia intus in heremo inter Saracenos requiescit sanctus Sergius in ciuitate Tetrapyrgio*.
84 Ćurčić 2010, 48.
85 Cf. Carile, 179–180, espec. 180 with fn. 4 pointing to the conflation of the heavenly kingdom, the Great Palace, and the city of Constantinople.
86 Brubaker/Haldon 2011, 392–426.
87 Brubaker/Haldon 2011, 392–411; Walker 2012, 37–44.
88 Theoph. Cont., *Chron*. III, 8, ed. Bekker, 94, line 20–95, line 2.
89 Millingen 1899, 182–185. On the inscriptions attributed to Theophilos see also Mango 1951, 52–66, espec. 56–57; Foss/Winfield 1986, 70–71; For an image see Ćurčić 2010, 268, fig. 278.
90 On possible meanings of the term πτέρον as this section of the landwall was called see Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, II, 103.

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Fig. 4 Three pentagonal towers accomplished under Theophilos (829–843) at the northern section of the land wall.

this context[91]: Theophilos completed the construction of the three massive towers begun under his predecessors (Fig. 4).[92]

I would not go so far as to suggest that the *pentapyrgion* was an architectural model in any narrow sense.[93] But sketches and three-dimensional renditions made of stone, wood, clay, and other materials are conceivable in the context of restoration work, though the scarcity of surviving specimens in Byzantium is striking.[94] Whether the Byzantines employed three-dimensional models during the construction phase of buildings is under debate[95], but numerous surviving micro-architectural goldsmith works from the Byzantine realm seem to imply that these objects were, at least in some instances, related to real architecture, so to speak, to concrete mother-buildings. If these objects were not intended for any building project in the modern sense of technical, true-to-scale models[96], one could still assume that they were executed in the context of a building project (e. g. dedication).[97] The attention paid to the restoration of towers as part of the overall defensive

91 Thanks are due to Slobodan Ćurčić for this reference. See Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, II, 102–104; Müller-Wiener 1977, 303; Ćurčić 2010, 268, Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 14, 172, 175.

92 Brubaker/Haldon 2011, 413 stress that surviving "inscriptions praise Theophilos for renewing Constantinople: imperial civic largesse is more evident than any *pietas* towards the past."

93 On medieval architectural models in the Eastern Mediterranean, also in the context of donor portraits, see the various contributions in Varalis 2009.

94 The few surviving stone models are of Armenian, Georgian or Russian origin, see *Architecture as Icon* 2010, nos. 3–7, 162–171.

95 The involvement of architectural sketches and models during the process of building making is discussed most recently by Hadjitryphonos 2010, 113–154.

96 On architectural models from the mid 14th century onwards see Lepik 1994, see also *Architekturmodelle der Renaissance* 1996.

97 Cf. Angar 2008, 433–453. On the three-dimensional model of Hagia Sophia by the architect Trdat, who, according to an Armenian source, was in charge with the restoration of the collapsed dome of H. S. after the earthquake of 989 see Maranci 2003, 294–305.

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structures in Constantinople is not only illustrated by numerous inscriptions along the land- and sea walls, but also by a 10th century epigram of John Geometres. As has been suggested by Henry Maguire this text points to the beauty and security provided by the recently rebuilt hexagonal tower on the land walls near the shore of Marmara in the aftermath of the severe earthquake of 989.[98]

Conclusions

The frequent involvement of the *pentapyrgion* in ceremonies held in the Magnaura as well as in the Chrysotriklinos implies that this particular piece of furniture played a significant role in various contexts. If we believe in the shape of a stylised fortified structure – a model of Constantinople that could be outfitted with crowns and other imperial insignia – this object was conceived to convey multiple meanings.

Dagron's interpretation of the *pentapyrgion* as a symbol of renewal and fertility might have been evoked most effectively in the context of nuptial ceremonies held in the Magnaura.

But when the *pentapyrgion* was arranged in the Chrysotriklinos, on display in the context of receptions for embassies from the Muslim world or guests from the Balkans, Russia, and the West, other meanings could be generated. With the emperor's throne placed next to the *pentapyrgion*, the triad "emperor – city – crown" referred to the secular sphere of imperial rule, which was infused with its own sacred meaning. The notion of impregnability, wealth, and imperial protection conveyed by the *pentapyrgion* in the described settings was both ideologically crucial to the self-perception of the Byzantines and their foreign guests' perception of them. Various Muslim embassies (from Tarsos, Cordoba, and Amida) as well as representatives from courts in eastern, south-eastern and western Europe were welcomed in the Great Palace – chapter II. 15 of the Book of Ceremonies demonstrates the attention paid to the design of ceremonies held on the occasion of such diplomatic visits.[99]

Whilst the crowns, crosses and doves – coherent sets, which could be displayed as a whole or disassembled – all come from churches[100], the bridal belts belong to the secular sphere. However, in the specific setting of the *pentapyrgion* as the domain of the Byzantine ruler, with his throne next to it, these items become in their totality insignia of ultimate power and abundance. One might speculate as to whether the Arab embassies appreciated the pearl and gem-studded belts displayed in the *pentapyrgion* as much as enamelled belts. Examples of the latter, worth ten thousand dinars, were sent by the Byzantines to the Abbasid Caliph al Mutadid-bi-Allah in the late 9th century and were indeed very much appreciated.[101] Whether visitors from afar, unfamiliar with the subtleties of Byzantine imperial costume, were able to decipher the belts as bridal girdles of Byzantine empresses without additional explanations is doubtful, but certainly the elaborate workmanship as well as the monetary value was obvious. Bearing in mind the cosmopolitan attire of the Middle

98 Maguire 1993/94, 21–24.

99 This would tally with Alicia Walker's interpretation of the Middle Byzantine emperor promoted as cosmopolitan ruler, see Walker 2012.

100 The green crown came from the Church of the Holy Apostles, whilst the blue crowns were brought from the Pharos Chapel, and the Church of the Great-Martyr Demetrios, respectively. The *ergomoukia* were usually kept in two different spots: the Church of the Great-Martyr Demetrios and the Treasury. The bridal girdles were also kept in the Treasury, cf. Featherstone 2007, 94–95.

101 *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, § 62, trans. al-Qaddūmī, 89. The great appreciation of Byzantine craftwork as well as the cross-cultural exchange of luxury items between Constantinople and especially the Muslim courts in Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo and Konya, have been the subject matter of many inspiring studies such as Grabar 1997, 115–129; Cutler 1999, 635–648; Cutler 2008, 79–101; Shalem 2005, 101–117; Walker 2012. See also the contributions in Koenen/Müller-Wiener 2008. See also *Byzantium and Islam* 2012.

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Byzantine emperor recently discussed by Walker, one would expect a concomitant visual language when representatives of foreign countries were received in the Great Palace, the centre of imperial authority.[102]

City representations with their long tradition in various cultures and contexts of the broader Mediterranean have exactly this potential. With such triumphant arrangements in the main reception halls of the Great Palace, the Byzantine claim to supremacy could be visualised unmistakably through the synthesis of the elements involved: emperor – city – crown. Even in the peaceful atmosphere of diplomatic visits, marked by formulaic conversations, the exchange of gifts and refined entertainment, when potential enemies were welcomed as *friends*, the imperial hosts were wise enough to make clear statements of military and financial supremacy – without words yet easily intelligible.

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102 Walker 2012.

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Holger A. Klein

The Crown of His Kingdom: Imperial Ideology, Palace Ritual, and the Relics of Christ's Passion*

In his well-known eyewitness account of the palace revolt of John "the Fat" Komnenos, likely written shortly after the events in the summer of 1201, Nikolaos Mesarites, then *skevophylax* of the churches inside the imperial palace, vividly described the sacred contents of the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos, a small but precious building located, as Patriarch Photios records, "in the very midst of the palace" (ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἀνακτόροις) and in close proximity to both the imperial apartments and the throne room, the *Chrysotriklinos*.[1] Like the *Chrysotriklinos*, the church of the Virgin had been rebuilt and lavishly refurbished under emperor Michael III (842–867) after the end of Iconoclasm, and it gradually assumed the role of the empire's most important repository of sacred relics, a *locus sanctus* at the very epicenter of imperial power and a new Jerusalem at the heart of the Byzantine Empire.[2]

Unlike earlier authors, who described the imperial relic collection, Mesarites framed his account in a rather unusual way, comparing the palace church metaphorically to the Garden of Eden and the Ark of the Covenant, and its sacred contents to the Ten Commandments:

> Hear from my lips the divine account, and learn how these ten treasures are called. [...] First, there is the Crown of Thorns displayed for veneration, still fresh and green and unwithered, since it had a share in immortality through its contact with the head of Christ the Lord, refuting the still-unbelieving Jews, who do not bow down to worship the cross of Christ. In appearance, it is neither rough nor stingy or harmful in any way, but instead looks like it was made from beautiful flowers. If one were allowed to touch it, it would feel smooth and lovely. The branches from which it was wrought are unlike those that grow in the hedges of the vineyards, which catch the dips and hems of garments like street robbers catch their pray, or which sometimes scratch a foot with their thorny tips and draw blood when one passes by, no, nothing like this at all. Rather, they resemble the blossoms of the Frankincense tree, which grow as tiny shoots on the knots of their branches much like small leaves.[3]

Mesarites continues his Decalogue with a description of one of the nails of Christ's Crucifixion that remained free of rust on account of the purity of the Lord's flesh and blood, his iron collar, or neck-cuff, the linen shrouds in which his body was wrapped, the cloth he used to wash his disciples' feet, the lance that opened his side during the crucifixion, the purple cloak the soldiers draped around him in mockery, the reed that served as his scepter, his leather sandals, and, finally, a fragment of his tombstone that is likened to the stone on which Jacob rested his head (Genesis 28,18) and the corner stone that the builders rejected and that was compared to Christ himself in the letters of St. Paul (Ephesians 2, 20). "Now, people," thus concludes Mesarites his account, "you have these Ten Commandments, but I will also show you the lawgiver himself, faithfully copied on a towel and engraved on fragile clay with such art that one sees it is not done

* I would like to express my gratitude to Albrecht Berger who kindly read a draft of this essay and provided much appreciated comments and corrections.

1 For Mesarites's account, see the edition by Heisenberg 1907. For a German translation, see Grabler 1958. For a description of the splendors of the church of the Virgin of the Pharos, see the famous tenth homily of Patriarch Photios, likely delivered on the occasion of the church's rededication in 864: Mango 1958, 177–190. See also Jenkins/Mango 1955–56, esp. 130 with note 38. For the specific passage cited here, see Mango 1958, 185.

2 On the rebuilding of the *Chrysotriklinos* and the church of the Virgin of the Pharos under Michael III, see Jenkins/Mango 1955–56, 139–140. On the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos and its function as a hoard of the empire's relics, see Klein 2006; Magdalino 2004. See also Bacci 2003.

3 Heisenberg 1907, 29–30. Grabler 1958, here 287. Belting 1993, 526–527.

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by human hand."[4] Here, Mesarites refers, of course, to the *Mandylion* of Edessa and the miraculous imprint it had left on a clay tile, the *Keramion* (or *Keramidion*), when it was hidden or walled up for safekeeping, depending on which version of the legend one reads.[5] These two image-relics had been brought to Constantinople and deposited in the imperial palace under Emperor Romanos Lekapenos in 944 and Nikephoros Phokas in 968 respectively, and were celebrated in an annual feast on August 16.[6]

Following the recitation of the Decalogue, the *Mandylion* and *Keramion* serve Mesarites to introduce the lawgiver (νομοδότης) himself and to present the God of the Old and New Testament in the anthropomorphic, or, to use the Byzantine characterization, *theandric* likeness of his son. The recited Decalogue thus becomes a touchstone of the Passion of Christ and a tablet on which the incarnate Logos is spelled out in the material things that came into contact with his life-giving body. What is interesting about Mesarites's list is that his Decalogue omits perhaps the most well-known of all relics of Christ's Passion housed at the Pharos Church, namely the True Cross, in favor of a catalogue of objects that quite literally trace the body of Christ from head to toe, beginning with the Crown of Thorns rather than the True Cross, and ending with his sandals before a last, rather unusual object, namely a stone cut from Christ's tomb which is said to stand as a memento for the God-Man (Θεάνθρωπον) Jesus and a powerful weapon that can crush a mental Goliath and kill death.

It is neither my intention here to provide a detailed analysis of Mesarites's account nor an exhaustive explanation for the choices he made in listing the various relics as part of his Decalogue—although such an analysis is well overdue and would be a worthwhile exercise. What I would like to do instead is to take a closer look at the Crown of Thorns, the "First Commandment" as it were, and trace its history as both a relic of Christ and an object often associated with the idea of divine kingship in Byzantium and beyond.[7] While it may be seen as a mere coincidence, there is, in fact, a close connection between those *theandric* images cited by Mesarites—precious embodiments of the lawgiver himself—and the Crown of Thorns that was pressed onto the head of Christ in mockery. If we believe the account of Robert of Clari, the knight from Picardy, who described the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos in his account of the Conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the *Mandylion* and *Keramion* were displayed in "two rich golden vessels that hung by two great silver chains in the middle of the [Pharos] Church."[8] This presentation of the two image-relics, suspended from silver chains in the midst of the chapel is a feature reminiscent of practices recorded for Jerusalem from at least the seventh century onward. An Armenian Guide to the holy places thus cites that "the holy Church of Sion [...] is a hundred ells in length and seventy in breadth, and has eighty columns joined by arches. It has no upper room, but a wooden screen, and on the screen hangs the Crown of Thorns, which they placed on the head of the Life-giver."[9] While other Holy Land pilgrims before and after the Persian and Arab conquests of Jerusalem are less specific and merely cite the presence of the Crown of Thorns in the basilica of Holy Sion, Bernard the Monk still confirms a similar set-up around 870, when he reports that "on Mount Sion, [there is a church] called St. Simeon's, where the Lord washed the feet of his disciples, and where the Lord's crown of

4 Heisenberg 1907, 31; Grabler 1958, 289; Belting 1993, 529.

5 On the history of the *Mandylion*, see Wolf/Dufour Bozzo/Calderoni Masetti 2004; Cameron 1984; Runciman 1931. For different textual versions of the legend, see Dobschütz 1899; for the Syriac tradition, see also Drijvers 1998.

6 For the translation of the *Mandylion* in 944, see the account in *Ioannis Scylizae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin–New York, 1973), 231.66–23.272. For an English translation, see Wortley 2010, 259. For the *translatio* of the *Keramion* to Constantinople in 968 see *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae*, ed. C. B. Hase, CSHB (1828), 71. For an English translation of the latter, see Talbot/Sullivan 2005, 121–122.

7 On the Crown of Thorns, see most recently Hahn 2015. See also the foundational studies by Gosselin 1828; Mély 1904; Mély 1927. Mercuri 2004.

8 Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Lauer (1924), 69–70. English translation. McNeal 1936, 104.

9 Emin 1860.

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thorns hangs."[10] While the practice of suspending relics in the midst of churches is further attested for the Templum Domini in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, where "a skillfully worked vessel of golden brightness," possibly containing the blood of Christ or holy manna, was recorded by Albert of Aachen as hanging down from the dome, the source cannot be used to substantiate a more widespread earlier practice.[11]

But let us go back to the Church of Holy Sion and the objects shown to pilgrims inside it. Jerome, writing in 404 about the visit of the blessed Paula, does not know about the crown and merely records that "she was shown the pillar of the church which supports the colonnade and is stained with the Lord's blood. He is said to have been tied to it when he was scourged."[12] But a few years later, Paulinus of Nola is the first to attest the crown's presence in Jerusalem in his letter to Macarius, where he cites "the manger of his birth, the river of his baptism, the garden of his betrayal, the palace of his condemnation, the column of his scourging, the thorns of his crowning, the wood of his crucifixion, the stone of his burial, [and] the places of his resurrection and ascension" as key witnesses of God's presence on earth and Christ salvific deed.[13] Around the same time, the *Breviarius* mentions it alongside the column of Christ's flagellation and the stone with which Stephen was martyred, "in the center of the basilica [on Mount Sion]."[14] By the second half of the sixth century, when the pilgrim from Piacenza visited Jerusalem, further objects were presented inside it:

"[Then] we went to the basilica of Holy Sion," he reports, "which contains many remarkable things, including the corner stone which the Bible tells us was 'rejected by the builders.' [...] In this church is the column at which the Lord was scourged [...]. On this column is the horn from which kings were anointed (including David), and the church also contains the crown of thorns with which they crowned the Lord, and the lance with which they struck him in the side. There are also many of the stones with which they stoned Stephen [...]."[15]

It is worth noting that most of the objects encountered by the Piacenza pilgrim in the basilica on Mount Sion are objects later housed in the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos in Constantinople, including the column of Christ's flagellation, the Crown of Thorns, and the Holy Lance.[16] A fourth object, namely the corner stone that had been rejected by the builders, is directly alluded to by

10 *Bernardi Itinerarium factum in loca sancta*, *PL* 121, 569–574. Bernard the Monk, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 309. Translation after Wilkinson 2002, 266.

11 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Meyer, RHC Occ. 4 (Paris, 1879), 265–713, here 480D–E: "In media siquidem testudine eiusdem templi moderni [...] catenam infixam esse asseuerant, in qua uas aurei fulgoris et operis, ponderis uero circiter ducentarum marcarum, pendere semper solet. Quod urnam auream alii affirmant, alii sanguinem Domini, alii manna in eo absconditum, et sich diuersa opinione in uarias sententias eriguntur." For an English translation, see Edgington 2007, 435.

12 Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 55, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1996), Ep. 108.9, 315.4–10. Translation after Wilkinson 2002, 84.

13 Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae*, ed. W. von Hartel, CSEL 29 (Vienna, 1894), Letter 49, 402. 24–27. Translation after Walsh 1966–67, 2:273.

14 *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, ed. R. Weber, CCL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 105–112, here 111.96–98/99: "in media basilica est corona de spinis, quam accepit Dominus/Et est ibi in media basilica corona spinea unde coronatus fuit Dominus apud Iudeos." Translation after Wilkinson 2002, 93.

15 *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, CCL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 127–174, here 140/165.22: "Deinde uenimus in basilica sancta Sion, ubi sunt multa mirabilia, inter quibus quod legitur de lapide angulare, qui reprobatus est ab aedificantibus. [...] In ipsa ecclesia est columna, ubi flagellatus est Dominus [...]. In ipsa columna est illud cornu, de quo reges unguebantur et Dauid. Ibi est in ipsa ecclesia et corona de spinis, qua coronatus est Dominus, et lancea, de qua in latere percussus est Dominus. Ibi sunt et lapides multae, cum quibus lapidatus est Stephanus." / "Deinde uenimus in basilica santa Syon, ubi sunt mirabilia multa. Inter quibus, quod legitur de lapide angulare, qui reprobatus est ab aedificantibus. [...] In ipsa ecclesia est colomna, ubi Dominus flagellatus est [...]. In ipsa columna est et cornu illud, de quo reges unguebantur. Vnde et Dauid unctus est in regno, et ibi est et corona de spinis, de qua Dominus fuit coronatus. Ibi et lancea, de qua in latere percussus. Ibi et lapides multi, cum quibus fuit lapidatus Stephanus." Translation after Wilkinson 2002, 140.

16 Compare the description of Robert of Clari 1924, 69–70.

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Mesarites in association with the tenth and final object of his Decalogue. And the horn from which Samuel anointed king David, while not in the Pharos, became the proud possession of an equally important church nearby, namely the *Nea Ekklesia*, built by Emperor Basil I between 876 and 880.[17]

Exactly when and how these objects arrived in the imperial capital cannot always be determined with certainty, but the Persian invasion of much of Syria and Palestine in 614 and the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 637/38 resulted in a number of important relic translations already during the reign of Herakleios (610–641).[18] As I have argued elsewhere, a notice in the *Chronicon Paschale* seems to suggest that the relic of the Holy Lance arrived in Constantinople during the fall of 629, more precisely on October 28 of that year, preceded by the return of the relics of the True Cross and Sponge.[19] There is no mention, however, of a relic of the Crown of Thorns in the context of Herakleios's recovery of these important relics of Christ's Passion following the peace agreements with the Persians in 628 and 629. Nor, for that matter, do later Middle Byzantine sources record the translation or presence of this relic in Constantinople. It is, most notably, absent from the list of relics cited by Constantine VII in his famous harangue delivered to his armies in 958, possibly on the eve of the Byzantine victory over Saif ad-Dawla at Raban, which enumerates the most sacred relics of the Passion of Christ in imperial possession, namely "the precious wooden fragments [of the True Cross] and the undefiled lance, the precious titulus, the wonder-working reed, the life-giving blood which flowed from his precious rib, the most sacred tunic, the holy swaddling clothes, the God-bearing winding sheet, and the other relics of his undefiled Passion."[20]

Unless we assume that the Crown of Thorns hides in the undefined category mentioned at the end, it seems that the first reference to the Crown of Thorns as part of the relic collection of the Pharos Church at Constantinople is found not in Byzantine but in Western sources such as the anonymous pilgrim's account in the manuscript known as *Tarragonensis 55*, written probably in the last quarter of the eleventh century, or the famous *Letter of Alexis Comnenus to Count Robert of Flanders*, allegedly written in 1090 or 1091, or the *Anonymus Mercati*, a twelfth century Latin translation of a Byzantine guide-book to the sanctuaries and relics of Constantinople.[21] All three list the Crown of Thorns alongside other prominent relics of Christ's Passion in the Pharos Church of the imperial palace, albeit in different order. A fourth Latin source, namely a late eleventh century text known as the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquis Grani detulerit*, later reworked in the Grandes Chroniques de France, led Fernand de Mély to assume that the Crown of Thorns must have been in Constantinople by the last quarter of the eleventh century.[22] However, the date of 1063 he provided for the relic's presumed *translatio* to Constantinople – and which still seems accepted by some scholars – does not hold.[23] Despite the silence of both Constantine VII in his harangue and John Tzimiskes in his letter to the Armenian king Ashot III, there is evidence that the relic, or at least a portion thereof, had already been in Constantinople by 985.[24] Interestingly, the evidence pointing to this fact is not preserved in any literary

17 On the Nea Ekklesia and its relics, see Janin 1969, 361–364; Magdalino 1987.

18 See Klein 2004, 41–43.

19 See Klein 2001. See also Klein 2004, 34–36.

20 McGreer 2003, 133.

21 On the so-called Tarragonensis 55, a twelfth century manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Pública of Tarragona, see Ciggaar 1995. For the famous letter, allegedly written by Emperor Alexis I. Komnenos to Count Robert of Flanders, see *Epistula Alexii I. Komneni ad Robertum comitem Flandrum*, see *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), 129–138. See also Joranson 1949/50; Schreiner 1998; Gastgeber 1998. For the *Anonymus Mercati*, see Ciggaar 1976.

22 See Mély 1904, 165–440, here especially 172, 180, and 183. For the Descriptio qualiter, see Latowsky 2013. For the Grandes Chronique tradition more generally, see Hedeman 1991.

23 See Bacci 2003, 239. Closer on the mark are Hahn 2015, 198–199, and Guerry 2012, 22, who argue for a late tenth or early eleventh century arrival.

24 For the letter of John Tzimiskes to King Ashot, see Adontz 1965.

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Fig. 1 Limburg Staurotheke, open.

or historical account noting the recovery or triumphal return of a lost relic from the East, but in a rather short and humble inscription on a much less humble object, namely the imperial reliquary *staurotheke* now in Limburg an der Lahn (Fig. 1).[25] Among the secondary relics grouped around the

25 On the Limburg Staurotheke, see Klein 2009; Pentcheva 2007; Klein 2004, 105–112; Ševčenko 1994; Rauch 1955; Aus'm Weerth 1866, 6–8.

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Fig. 2 Limburg Staurotheke (detail), Relic Compartment for the Crown of Thorns.

central relic of the True Cross, one is listed on its hinged door simply as "the Crown of Thorns of the humanity-loving Christ our Lord," (Fig. 2) thus attesting to the presence of that relic not only in Constantinople, but under the immediate control of the imperial household. The lengthy dedicatory inscription on the exterior frame of the staurotheke, executed in dodekasyllabic verses, leaves no doubt that the reliquary was made between 963, when Emperor Nikephoros Phokas bestowed the title of Proedros on Basil Lekapenos, the reliquary's patron, and 985, when Basil lost imperial favor and was exiled to the shores of the Bosphorus.[26]

The date for the likely "arrival" of the Crown of Thorns in the Byzantine capital must be set between 958, the date of Constantine VII's harangue, and 985, the final year in which Basil could have possibly been in a position to commission the staurotheke, finds further confirmation in yet another Western source, namely Aimon of Fleury's *Historia Francorum*, which, shortly before the end of the first millennium, claims that the crown was preserved in Constantinople.[27] It does not, however, explain the relative silence of contemporary sources, which otherwise take great pride in reporting the recovery and translation of relics of Christ from Edessa, Gabbala, Jerusalem, or elsewhere during this time. We can hardly assume that the Crown of Thorns, with all its obvious connotations of divine kingship, would have been deemed too unimportant or controversial a relic to warrant an official record of its capture and triumphal advent in the city. The Limburg Staurotheke itself seems to emphasize this connection as the inscription on the reverse of the reliquary cross explicitly refers to the "crowned" emperors responsible for the decoration of the fragments of the True Cross (Fig. 3):

> God stretched his hands on the Wood, / Gushing forth through it the forces of life. The Emperors Constantine and Romanos / Adorned it with radiant stones and pearls, / Thus making the same full of wonder. / Christ once smashed with it Hades' Gates / Leading the dead from death to life. / Now the crowned ones who adorned it / Crush with it the barbarians' pride.

Whether this inscription, which was likely executed years if not decades before its precious container, provided an inspiration for the inclusion of the relic of the Crown of Thorns among the secondary relics of Christ's Passion, the Theotokos, and John the Baptist, is difficult to assess, but it is likewise difficult to imagine how those who read or heard the verses on relic and reliquary recited, could not compare the imperial στεφηφόροι mentioned on the reverse of precious relic with the

26 For a discussion of the inscription and date, see Rhoby 2010, 163–169.
27 Aimon de Fleury, *Historia Francorum*, *PL* 139, 627–798, here 660D.

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Fig. 3 Limburg Staurotheke, Reliquary Cross.

στεφηφόρος who, out of utmost philanthropy, wore the ἀκάνθινος στέφανος for the redemption of sins and the salvation of humankind on the very wood they adorned. This reading may be taken even further if we consider the tone of Basil's own inscription that remains largely visible when the covering lid is removed:

> No beauty had He, who was hanged on the Wood / And yet, in death even, Christ surpassed all in beauty. / While He had no comely form, He embellished my / Unsightly face disfigured by sin and transgression. / For, though He was God, He suffered in mortals' nature / Since Basil the Proedros highly revered Him / He greatly embellished the box of the wood / On which He was stretched and embraced all creation.

The emphasis of the inscription is squarely on Christ's dual nature as a condition and source for the salvation of humankind and the forgiveness of sins. Sins and transgressions are considered the reason for Basil's disfigurement, made visible in the unsightliness of his face, which Christ embellished just like Basil embellished the box for the wood, on which Christ had hung and embraced all creation. It is interesting to note in this context that there is, as Cynthia Hahn recently emphasized, a long exegetical tradition that considers Christ's thorny crown as an image of the sins of humankind.[28] In his commentary on Matthew, Origen (d. 253) already speculated that Christ, "in taking up the scarlet robe, took upon himself the blood of the world, and in that thorny crown plaited on his

28 See Hahn 2015, 195–196.

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head, he took upon himself the thorns of our sins."[29] Two centuries later, Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 407) similarly pointed out in his treatise on Matthew that the

> crown of thorns which the Lord received on his head stands for our community [...]. At one time we were thorns that is to say sinners. Believing now in Christ, we have become a crown of righteousness [...], and we surround his head with our profession of faith [...]. A reed was placed in the Lord's right hand so that with heavenly notation he might pardon our misdeeds or inscribe his law in our hearts with divine letters.[30]

In the context of this exegetical tradition, of which I only cite the earliest representatives, Basil's inscription on his staurotheke and the assembled relics of four instruments of Christ's Passion, namely the cross, the crown of thorns, the purple cloak and the sponge, take on an altogether stronger meaning, one that is focused equally on the disfiguring tortures and mockery endured by Christ and the redeeming effects of his suffering on Basil's sins and transgressions.[31]

Yet another aspect of the inscriptions is worth noting. Despite their necessarily fragmentary nature, the relics assembled behind small doors in Basil's precious reliquary container are referred to in their inscriptions not as parts of a whole, but as complete objects. The inscription does not read "*of* the Crown of Thorns of the humanity-loving Christ our Lord," but "*the* Crown of Thorns of the humanity-loving Christ our Lord. Not "*of* the purple cloak of the life-giving Jesus Christ," but "*the* purple cloak of the life-giving Jesus Christ," and so on.

It is difficult to assess whether the metonymic relationship between the whole and the part as spelled out in inscriptions like the one on the Limburg Staurotheke contributed to the notion that the imperial palace was indeed in the possession of the Crown of Thorns in its entirety and thus created Western expectations of a physical object, venerated and used in the liturgical and ceremonial life of the capital, but it is one scenario that may explain the subsequent fabrication of the Crown of Thorns both as an idea and a thing.[32]

While the crown, or at least a portion of it, is now attested for the imperial palace for the late tenth century, the written sources continue to be reticent about its use and function. One of the few scraps of evidence that allow us a glimpse of the crown's use in the context of palace rituals is a scant note in Raymond d'Aguilers's account of the First Crusade, which attests that when the armies of the First Crusade passed through Constantinople in 1097, Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118), made their leaders swear "on the cross of the Lord and the Crown of Thorns, and many other holy objects" and promise not to keep for themselves any formerly Byzantine cities or castles they would be able to re-conquer.[33]

As reports about the secular and religious treasures of Constantinople filtered back to Western Europe through the accounts of pilgrims and historians of the Crusades, expectations to see and venerate the Crown of Thorns and other relics preserved inside the imperial palace started to mount, resulting in a steady flow of distinguished visitors, who, like Louis VII of France in 1147 or Henry the Lion in 1172, begged for permission to see and behold those things which, in the words of John Kinnamos, "having been close to the body of Christ, are considered signs of divine protection by Christians." It may not be considered too far-fetched to assume that it was this intense pressure from Western visitors to come, see, and venerate a real Crown of Thorns that ultimately

29 Origen, *Werke*, ed. E. Klostermann, E. Benz, et al., vol. 11: Matthäuserklärung, Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum Series, 2nd ed., GCS 38 (Berlin, 1976), 261–62. Translation after Simonetti 2002, 285.

30 *Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera*, ed. R. Étaix and J. Lemari, CCL 9a (Turnhout, 1974), 90–91. Translation after Simonetti 2002, 286.

31 On the issue of Basil's disfigurement, see Pentcheva 2007.

32 On the issue of fragment versus whole, see Hahn 2015, 203–214.

33 Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*: *Le »liber« de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. Hugh and L. L. Hill, DRHC 9 (Paris, 1969), 93: "Imperatori iuravimus super dominicam crucem et spineam coronam, et super multa alia sancta, quia nec civitatem nec castellum de omnibus pertinentibus ad imperium eius retineremus sine eius voluntate". See also Frolow 1961, Nr. 256, 286; Klein 2004, 66.

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resulted in an effort to produce the visible and tangible proof for its existence in the full and double meaning of the word. Nikolaos Mesarites's account, cited earlier, may be seen as the endpoint in this process, which re-connects in interesting ways with a much earlier tradition that had reached the West directly from Jerusalem and is expressed in a passage from Gregory of Tours's *Glory of the Martyrs*:

> With regard to the lance, the reed, the sponge, the crown of thorns, and the column on which the Lord and Redeemer was whipped at Jerusalem [...] they say that the thorns of the crown appear as if alive. But if its leaves seem to have withered, every day they become green again because of divine power [...].[34]

It was this evergreen crown that captured the imagination of Western visitors for centuries, led to the invention of fanciful accounts of Charlemagne's translation of the relic from Constantinople to Aachen in the eleventh century, and was eventually acquired by the French King Louis IX in 1239 from his cousin, Emperor Baldwin II.[35] When the Crown of Thorns left Constantinople for Venice and Paris, its history as a real rather than an imagined object of veneration and symbol of divine kingship only just began. But this is a different story that deserves its own proper investigation.

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34 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH ScriptRerMerov 1:2 (Hannover, 1885), 42.15–19. Translation after Van Dam 1988), 27.

35 On the Crown of Thorns and the Western Imagination, see Hahn 2015.

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Fig. 1–3: Limburg an der Lahn, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, D 1/1 and 1/2, ca. 945–959 (cross) and 963–985 (*theke*).

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Staffan Wahlgren

Remembering the Palace in Byzantine Chronicles

In the Bergen Museum (formerly in Nedstryn Church, Nordfjord, in Western Norway), there is a wonderful altarpiece from around the year 1300 with several striking images. One of these (the second from the right, in the lower register) is that of a crowned man, sitting on a rooftop, or, at least, above a castle wall, surrounded by the sun and the moon.[1] However puzzling this may have been for the local community in Medieval times, there is little doubt to us who the man is: none other than King Chosroes, or Khusrau II Parvez, "the Victorious", one of the last of the Sasanian kings, ruler of Persia until ca 627 AD, who was overthrown after his defeat by the Byzantines at the battle of Nineveh (in consequence of which the Byzantines regained the True Cross, the overall theme of the Nedstryn *ensemble*). Chosroes's pretensions and luxurious lifestyle, including his love of extravagant palaces, were widely publicised and a source of admiration – and disgust – throughout the Medieval world. They appear to be hinted at in the Nedstryn image; in Byzantine literature they are often mentioned. The following is what the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, an historical text from the 10th c., has to say about the matter:[2]

> Herakleios destroyed the cities of Persia, and he destroyed the tower-like buildings on which the abominable figure of Chosroes was found, sitting on the rooftop as if in heaven. Chosroes had the stars and the sun and the moon painted there, and himself surrounded by angels, and he had arranged for artificial thunder and that it should rain when he desired. The emperor razed all of this to the ground and made it into dust.

This fits very well with the Nedstryn picture, and together they nicely illustrate the robustness of a certain form of memory and its hold, through time and space, on people's imagination.

The palace in imagination, or the remembered palace, is therefore an important topic of investigation, and it should feature as a complement to the focus on facts, on what palaces and ceremonies were actually like at a specific time and how they functioned in the real world. There has been more of a focus on reconstruction than on reception. The aim of this paper is therefore to fill a void, although this can only be done in a very modest way; it will mostly be a question of giving some hints at a research deficit. Not moving deeply into the realm of imagination, nor into true literary art and pure fiction, we shall remain on the fringes of reality, contenting ourselves with a small investigation into the memory of palaces and, more specifically, into how these are represented in simple historical texts. Historical texts seem useful for the purpose of investigating memory since they span long periods of time and systematically turn their gaze towards the past. At the same time, they have the advantage of not being specialised as are writings on buildings (e.g. the *Peri ktismaton* by Prokopios), or on the City (e.g. the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*), or on ceremonies (e.g. the *De Cerimoniis*); writers of historical texts can choose also not to talk about palaces, and silence may be as eloquent as any description. Further, since historical texts are no works of pure fiction they do have some ambition to respect truth.

The texts to be examined are the 6th c. chronicle of John Malalas, originally (some of it has been lost) covering the time from the Creation of the World until approximately the end of the reign of Justinian I, who died 565 AD;[3] the early 9th c. chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor, covering the

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1 I thank my Trondheim colleague, associate prof. Margrethe Stang, for drawing my attention to the Nedstryn altarpiece. For an illustration see http://wasleys.org.uk/norway07_mw/norwaygalleries/BergenMus/image-html/IMGP0532.html. Although the altarpiece belonged to the church in Nedstryn, it is believed to have been painted in Bergen. For discussion and full bibliography see Baert 2012 and Plahter et al. 2013.

2 Chapter 109, § 9, cited according to Symeon Magister (transl. Wahlgren); Greek text, Symeon Magister.

3 English translation: Malalas (trans. Jeffreys *et alii*); Greek text, Malalas.

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time from 284–813 AD;[4] and the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, datable to the second half of the 10th c. and covering the time from the Creation of the World until 948 AD.[5] We shall also cite some examples from one of the continuations of the Chronicle of the Logothete, written later but, in many respects, in the same style as the original chronicle.[6] There will be a particular focus on the Chronicle of the Logothete, a text that to my opinion has a lot to tell us if we care to submit it to narrative analysis. The earlier chronicles will chiefly be used to provide a contrast, enabling us to perceive what may be a development of Byzantine historical writing from a literary point of view during a certain period of time.

The aim of my paper is to try to define how these texts talk about palaces, especially how they remember earlier times, what the differences between the texts are and how these differences may be explained. This will be attempted although there is no denying that there are certain problems with using these texts. They are compilations and do not necessarily speak with one voice, or even one period's view of matters. There is therefore no guarantee at all that there is a distant perspective to, let us say, the depiction of the housing arrangements of a particular nobleman or emperor; it may be that the description is taken from a text contemporary with the persons depicted, or not. The uncertainty as to who is speaking is considerable, and the problem of the compositeness of the chronicles is probably most acute in the case of the Chronicle of the Logothete.[7]

First, we shall have a look at terminology: noble dwellings are referred to by a set of well-known and simple words, such as *basíleia* and, mostly, *palátion*. *Basíleia* is sometimes difficult to interpret with absolute certainty, in so far as it may or may not contain a metaphorical element: it can most certainly refer to a building, yet often (this applies to all texts under consideration) it is reasonable to understand it as "seat of government" or "imperial power". An example from the Chronicle of the Logothete may illustrate this. Chapter 95, § 6:

> "And Honorios had his *basíleia* in Ravenna, whereas Placidia, the daughter of Gratian, had hers in Rome."

This could mean "palace" but also, I think, equally well "seat of government". A similar case, as far as its metaphorical potential is concerned, is the word *aulé*. It may mean a physical place but also "court". Moreover, it appears to be value-laden. In the Chronicle of the Logothete, it is only used with a less than respectful connotation, with regard to foreign rulers. In the case of the dwelling of the Bulgarian khan Krum, it is referred to (Chapter 125, § 10) as *ten legomenen aulen* ("the so-called aulé"). We can almost hear the sneer.

Thus, there is an element of ambivalence in both cases, either with respect to the possible metaphorical significance, or to the neutral or negatively intended value of the word. These ambivalent words are outnumbered by the much more common term *palátion*, which is employed frequently in all texts. This would seem to be the normal, neutral word for the dwelling of a king or an emperor.

However, upon closer examination, the uneven distribution in the Chronicle of the Logothete is obvious. In this text the word is first used in connexion with the emperor Pertinax, in the 3rd c. AD, and it becomes common only in the Byzantine period. A clear contrast to this is provided by Malalas, where the word is used much more broadly and also in the context of Antiquity; Menelaos,

4 English translation, Theophanes (transl. Mango *et alii*); Greek text, Theophanes, *Chronographia*.

5 Greek text, see Symeon Magister. An English translation (by me) is forthcoming (see Symeon Magister [transl.]).

6 See also below, n. 11, and Symeon Magister, 117.

7 For the Chronicle of the Logothete as a compilation see Symeon Magister, 5ff., and Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium s.v. *Symeon Logothete*. See now also Treadgold 2013, especially 78ff., though his extremely self-confident judgement on complicated matters must be taken with great caution. My personal opinion is that the Chronicle of the Logothete is a rather loose composite, and that Symeon was at times extremely lax and careless in his working methods. However, a certain order appears to have been imposed on the text, revealing editorial activity at some stage (cf. my conclusions below). With regard to Theophanes, Treadgold discusses what he wrote (that is, what he did not take over from someone else, chiefly George Synkellos) and what relationship the text transmitted to us bears to the chronicle which left his desk (admitting the possibility that we have what is essentially a 10th c. work and not one of the early 9th c.).

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the Spartan King, to name one example, lives in a *palátion*. Of course, Theophanes does not reach very far back in history and, therefore, he cannot be compared directly to the other texts in this matter. The reason for this difference is not straightforward, and I should like to suspend my verdict until after further questions have been dealt with.

Here, we turn from the generic to the specific: to references to specific buildings in the Chronicle of the Logothete. These buildings are almost always in Constantinople. Apart from the building complex of the Great Palace, there are references also to other palaces, such as the Bryas palace, the Blachernai, the Boukoleon, the Manganai and the Sophianai, among others. Moreover, specific buildings belonging to a wider palace complex are often referred to, such as the Panagia Blachernitissa Church at the Blachernai, and several parts of the Great Palace, ranging from the Nea Church to the Tzynkanisterion, that is, the palace polo ground. Outside Constantinople, the Chronicle of the Logothete does not mention any palace at all, nor other buildings of any kind.

The references to palaces that are to be found belong to what we might call the necessary story, that is, a story told, as it were, by default, when the narrative has reached a certain point. The depiction of an emperor may be used to illustrate this. When a particular emperor is mentioned, certain stories must be told about him, and certain associations and comments upon his traits of character must be made, including references to localities where he has been – this no doubt because the readers already knew something about the story's protagonists, and their expectations had to be fulfilled. Thus, when the narrative treats the emperor Theophilos, his *philokosmia*, or love of luxury must be mentioned; and, fittingly in this context, the Chronicle of the Logothete[8] makes reference to the Bryas palace outside Constantinople, a building which, albeit probably remarkable for its luxuriousness, was only of moderate importance and is not mentioned in connexion with any other emperor.

Similarly, in the chapter devoted to Basil I, reference is made to his building of the Nea Church in the Great Palace complex (see the Chronicle of the Logothete, Chapter 132, § 12). The building of this church is presumably a story that has to be told about Basil, since the church was one of the most significant material testimonies to his reign.[9] However, in this particular case the story of the building project is embedded in a greater narrative, that of the political ineptitude of the emperor: the fact that the military forces were employed in the building operations is claimed as the reason for the loss of Syracuse to the Arabs in 878.

Thus, palaces as building projects are often instrumental to the description of emperors, and are vested with symbolic meaning, positive or negative. But palaces become symbols also in other ways. The palace is a stage. It is the normal place for an emperor to be, and it is important how he acts on this stage, and how and when he leaves it. Also, within the palace there is often a clear distinction between its public and private spaces, and transgressions of the boundary between the two are significant. Indeed, the intrusion of an uninvited guest into the palace, and especially into the emperor's private quarters, is as shocking as breaking into the sanctuary of a church. The very fact of being inside the palace conveys meaning to a story.

The chronicles give many examples of this. Several emperors meet a violent death in the palace, for example, Anastasios Dikoros, Michael III, and Alexander. In the case of Michael, the Chronicle of the Logothete tells how he was murdered in his own bedroom by Basil and his men (Chapter 131, §§ 50–51). The bystanders' shock at Basil's forced entry into Michael's bedroom is vividly felt and probably not only because the prospect of the emperor's murder. Chapter 131, § 51:

> Now the emperor was sleeping a sleep similar to death. When Basil suddenly arrived, together with some other men, and opened the door, Ignatios came out and in full terror he entreated Basil not to enter. But Peter the

8 Wahlgren 2006, Chapter 130, §§ 9 and 23.

9 More is said about Basil as a builder in the *Vita Basilii* and the pro-Macedonian historiography, where it is part of a positive narrative.

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> Bulgarian passed under Basil's armpit and went straight to the emperor's bed. There he was apprehended by Ignatios who tried to plead with him, at which the emperor woke up.

Also interesting is the way in which the death of Leo V, the Armenian, is depicted. Here the Chronicle of the Logothete seems to claim that no emperor before had died in the palace. Chapter 128, § 11:

> When the emperor entered the church, they burst in and grabbed him and cut him into pieces, and he gave up his impious soul in the palace, [in a place] where no emperor previous to him ever had been killed.

This, however, is not true. Supplying the words "[in a place]", as I do in my translation in order to make sense of it, allows us to suppose that it is the killing of an emperor in church that is unheard-of. But this is not what the text says. Yet, whatever the intention of the author, it is safe to say that the emperor's death is referred to in an emotionally laden way, and that the palace is given symbolic meaning.

Besides these examples of breaking into the sanctuary of the palace, there are also many cases where the symbolic meaning of the palace boundaries is stressed in another way. This is especially so when the emperor is called by duty and must leave his palace (or even the imperial City: the distinction between the two is not always clear), in order to avoid criticism. Passivity, indeed cowardice, may be implied by stressing that an emperor remains in his palace whereas, conversely, courage and imperial virtues are conveyed through the narrative of his movements outside the palace (and the Capital), especially when the emperor fulfils his duties as a warrior. An interesting passage in this regard is the following, also taken from the Chronicle of the Logothete, pertaining to the empress Irene (who reigned in the late 8th and early 9th c., in part conjointly with her son, Constantine VI). Chapter 124, § 6:

> Irene sent Staurakios the logothete with a great force against the Slavonic peoples and subdued all of them, making them pay tribute to the empire. Accompanied by musical instruments, the emperor [Constantine VI] also went out into Thrace together with his mother and a great many people. He went as far as Beroia, and his mother re-inaugurated it and had it renamed Irenopolis. She also had Anchialos rebuilt, and so they returned in good cheer.

Staurakios the logothete is the actual commander-in-chief in this case, and the emperor Constantine is also mentioned prominently. All the same, the real person in charge is Irene, who, as a woman, could not lead an army into battle. To me, the whole of this smacks of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to the Land of Punt, that is, an expedition given undue importance since there can be no military successes of the heroine to report, nor any reason for her to go out from the palace at all.

Leaving subtle examples aside, which no doubt could be collected in considerable numbers, very explicit criticism of passive, or praise of active, emperors is also in evidence.[10] Remarkable in their explicitness are several passages in one of the continuations to the Chronicle of the Logothete, which report in a temperamental way what others convey by roundabout means.[11] Of Constantine

10 To a somewhat different category of the palace as stage belong the stories involving the Blachernai palace in Constantinople. A state function there is an event in itself, insofar as the emperor must travel to go there (in the part of the text when the emperors still lived in the Great Palace). An example of this is how Romanos Lekapenos spends the night at this palace – or possibly even in the church of the Blacherniotissa – in order to go out in the morning to receive the Holy Cloth of Edessa (Symeon Magister, Chapter 136, § 81). Other examples concern the emperor's movements to and from the Blachernai and what may happen then (see, e.g., Symeon Magister Chapter 130, § 13 and § 31, about the emperor Theophilos going out of his comfort zone to meet people).

11 The text referred to here is preserved in the MSS *Vat. Ottob. Gr.* 118 and *Par. gr.* 1708. It carries on down to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and may be typical of the psychologising tendencies in Byzantine historical writing since Michael Psellos. The text has not yet been edited; it will be included in my forthcoming edition of the continuations of the Chronicle of the Logothete in the Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (44.2).

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IX Monomachos, who is altogether negatively described, it is said: "he was sitting all the time in the palace, on his thick, soft cushions" (*ekathezeto pantote eis to palaten eis ypsela kai malaka krebatia*). On the other hand, concerning another emperor (Basil II) it is approvingly remarked that: "he was not content to be shut up in the palace" (*oude egapa na apokleietai eso eis to palation*); and concerning yet another (Romanos IV Diogenes): "he was not afraid of battle so as to hide in the palace" (*oude efobethe tas machas kai tous polemous na kryptetai eis to palatin*). Here, the palace as such is a symbol of effeminacy and luxury.

What can we learn from all this? If we are looking for factual information about palaces, the chronographic genre is rather disappointing. Descriptions are extremely rare and vague. They are by no means the historian's delight, nor do they yield much aesthetic pleasure. Yet, even chronicles do build palaces into literary devices in order to convey symbolic meaning; they hint at values, and mark boundaries. These devices are seemingly very simple, but also subtle, so much so that they often escape our attention. More research is needed in order to understand them better.

In their technique, the texts studied here seem very similar to one other, and I think we can say that the same means are used in all of them to convey symbolic meaning. So, where does the difference between these texts lie? In principle, the difference would seem to be one of narrative strategy.[12] In the transition from the annalistic, open-ended and all-inclusive narrative of Theophanes (or Malalas) to the Chronicle of the Logothete there is a narrowing-down of perspective in many ways. Thus, the Logothete is rounded, restricted in scope, centred upon Constantinople and the emperor's person, and it includes only people and places of importance in order to promote this narrative.[13]

This general change in narrative technique also helps to explain differences in how palaces are referred to. In Malalas or Theophanes, a nobleman and a foreign king as well as the emperor may live in a palace, and palaces exist also in foreign countries – in the case of Malalas in Antiquity as well – precisely because Malalas and Theophanes are broad, open-ended and full of less carefully digested information, so that just about anything may turn up in them.[14]

Not so the Chronicle of the Logothete, which is much more focused, more careful in the selection of facts. There, Jerusalem is only the seat of the Temple, and Rome of the Senate (for all we are told, Augustus and the Roman emperors of Antiquity might sleep in the open). Almost no palatial buildings anywhere but in Constantinople are referred to, and none at all are mentioned by name. Thus, in the Chronicle of the Logothete, we are only allowed to see the emperor and the palaces of what at the time was considered to be the eternal Capital.

12 I have discussed this in two articles, Wahlgren 2007 and 2008, published in Norwegian and Swedish respectively, the first dealing with geographical perspective, and the second with the cast, or *dramatis personae*, chiefly in the Logothete and Theophanes. Briefly, in the period under consideration the perspective of the narrator is narrowed down to such an extent as to focus almost exclusively on the City of Constantinople and the emperor.

13 Whether Symeon the Logothete himself had anything to do with the change in narrative technique remains an open question. Many of the traits distinguishing Symeon from Malalas/Theophanes are also present in other works, e.g. George the Monk's chronicle, written sometime in the 9th c.

14 As mentioned above, Menelaos is said to live in a palace; the Vandals in Carthage, too.

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Bisserka Penkova

Die Paläste der bulgarischen Zaren in Preslav und Tarnovo

Mit dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird nicht der Anspruch erhoben, einen umfassenden Einblick in die Architektur mittelalterlicher Herrscherpaläste in Bulgarien zu gewähren. Vielmehr soll versucht werden, den breit angelegten Fokus des Kolloquiums durch Material aus Bulgarien zu ergänzen. Dieses ist vielleicht nicht besonders attraktiv, doch durchaus wichtig und interessant für die wissenschaftliche Beleuchtung des Themas, da es keinen mittelalterlichen Staat in Europa gegeben hat, der so viele realisierte und projektierte Hauptstädte hatte.

Das mittelalterliche Bulgarien hatte aufgrund seiner historischen Entwicklung in drei Etappen offiziell drei Hauptstädte: In der noch heidnischen Entwicklungsperiode Bulgariens (vom 7. bis zum 9. Jh.) war die erste Hauptstadt Bulgariens Pliska. Hier wurde wahrscheinlich auch Fürst Boris zum Christentum bekehrt. Preslav, auch Veliki Preslav genannt, war bulgarische Hauptstadt in der Zeit zwischen 893 und 971. Sie wird mit der Blütezeit der bulgarischen Kultur unter Zar Simeon und dessen Sohn Peter verbunden. Die dritte bulgarische Hauptstadt war Tarnovo (auch Veliko Tarnovo). Sie war die Hauptstadt des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches nach dessen Wiedereinrichtung im Jahre 1186 bis zur Eroberung durch die Osmanen im Jahre 1393. So ist eine reiche, mehrere Jahrhunderte lang andauernde Palastbautradition auf bulgarischem Boden entstanden, die noch reichlich Forschungspotential bietet.

In der bulgarischen Historiographie ist das Thema der Charakterzüge bulgarischer Herrscherpaläste im Mittelalter vor allem für die Archäologie nicht neu. Forschungsfragen waren dabei beispielsweise die dekorative Ausstattung oder die wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen den Palastbauten und der städtischen Infrastruktur [1]. So gilt zum Beispiel der Zarevec-Hügel, auf dem sich der Herrscherpalast des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches erhob, als hinreichend erforscht. Gegenwärtig ist er hauptsächlich als touristischer Ort von Interesse. Im Palast in Preslav dagegen dauern die Ausgrabungen bis heute noch an. Deswegen sind die Vorstellungen zu diesen Bauten sehr dynamisch, verändern sich ständig und werden fortwährend weiter entwickelt[2]. Dabei sind Rekonstruktions- und Interpretationsversuche der ursprünglichen Struktur und Funktionen beider Palastanlagen schwierig, vor allem weil die Hauptstädte kriegerisch erobert, das heißt geplündert und in Brand gesetzt und in den nachfolgenden Jahrhunderten ihre baulichen Überreste von der dortigen Bevölkerung weiter kontinuierlich zerstört wurden. Aus diesem Grund konnten vorwiegend die Grundrisse und wenig aufgehendes Mauerwerk freigelegt werden und auch die ausgegrabenen Dekorationsfragmente sind spärlich. Aufgrund des Baugeländes gilt dies besonders stark für Tarnovo. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit stellt das praktisch vollständige Fehlen historischer Quellen zu den Herrscherpalästen dar. In den Schriften sind nur vereinzelt Andeutungen zu finden; sogar die Originalität der berühmtesten „Beschreibung" des Preslaver Palastes von Ioann Exarch wird in letzter Zeit von manchen Autoren angefochten[3].

Im Folgenden sollen die zwei Palastensembles von Preslav und Tarnovo vorgestellt werden, da sie Vertreter zweier grundsätzlich verschiedener Palastmodelle sind, die aber jeweils spezifische Charakterzüge zweier wichtiger Perioden der mittelalterlichen christlichen Kultur in Bulgarien repräsentieren.

1 Георгиева/Николова 1974, 71–86; Ваклинов 1981, 133V137; Ваклинова 1982, 255–262; Ангелов 1985, 43–63; Николова 1986, 235–282; Ваклинова 1993, 40–51; Анчева 1994, 605–617; Ваклинова 1994, 45–58; Овчаров (б. д); Панова 1995; Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова 2005, 11–23; Долмова-Лукановска 2010, 599–608.

2 Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Димитров/Манолова-Войкова 2009, 587–581; Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Димитров 2010, 458–461; Ваклинова/Щерева/Димитров/Манолова-Войкова 2011, 407–409.

3 Йоан Екзарх 1981.

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Es wird angenommen, dass Preslav im Jahre 893 zur Hauptstadt Bulgariens wurde, jedoch diese Stellung nur für eine Zeitspanne von etwa 70 Jahren inne hatte. 970 wird es vom Kiewer Fürsten Svetoslav eingenommen und im nächsten Jahr erneut durch den byzantinischen Kaiser Joannes Tzimiskes zurückerobert, geplündert und zerstört[4].

Die archäologischen Untersuchungen von Veliki Preslav begannen schon Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, trotzdem ist ein großer Teil der bebauten Stadtfläche und der Umgebung bis heute noch nicht freigelegt[5] (Abb. 1). Bekannt sind neben den Umrissen der Mauern der Außenstadt die der sogenannten Innenstadt, in der sich der Herrscherpalast befand. Immer mehr Forscher vertreten die These, dass die gesamte Innenstadt mit dem Herrscherpalast gleichzusetzen ist. Mit jeder archäologischen Ausgrabungssaison wird in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Auffassung von einer sogenannten Hof-Platz-Organisation des Innenraumes von Preslav bekräftigt, der durch die inneren Festungsmauern Preslavs abgegrenzt wird[6].

Wie erlebte ein Reisender den Palast, wenn er durch die südliche Pforte der Außenstadt an der Kreiskirche vorbei kam und dann vor den Toren der Innenstadt stand? Eine Antwort auf diese Frage gibt Exarches Johannes im sechsten Kapitel seines „Hexaemeron“: „Wenn ein einfacher, armer Mann, zudem ein Fremder aus weiter Ferne hierher, zum Fürstenhof kommt, so kann er, bereits beim ersten Blick seine Verwunderung und seine Begeisterung nicht verbergen, schreitet vor zu den Pforten und bittet hereingelassen zu werden. Und wenn er hineintritt, so sieht er Häuser beiderseits mit Stein und Holz ausgeschmückt und gänzlich bemalt. Und wenn er den Palast selbst betritt und die hohen, eindrucksvollen Bauten und Kirchen erblickt, außen unglaublich schön ausgeschmückt mit Stein, Holz und farbigen Zeichnungen, innen mit Marmor und Bronze, mit Silber und Gold, so kann er sie mit nichts bislang Gesehenem vergleichen, da dieser Arme außer den Strohhütten in seiner Heimat nichts anderes gesehen hat. So würde er sich weiterhin wundern und aussehen, als hätte er seine Sinne verloren.“[7] Diese emotionale Beschreibung lässt sich durch die Ergebnisse der langjährigen archäologischen Forschungen mit realen Strukturen in Verbindung bringen: Danach gelangte ein Besucher der Palastanlage zunächst in einen breit angelegten Hof, beiderseits umringt von Gebäuden, die sich eng an die Festungsmauer anschmiegten. Diese dürften höchstwahrscheinlich Garnisonsbauten gewesen sein. Sein Blick wird dann durch eine anmutige Fiale in der Hofmitte und eine kleine Kirche dahinter gebannt[8]. Hier wurden auch die Reste des sogenannten Kleinen Bades ausgegraben. In diesem Eingangsraum wurden die Besucher sowohl aus dem Reich als auch aus fremden Ländern offensichtlich vom Verwalter der Innenstadt empfangen und konnten nach der Reise das Bad benutzen und in der Kirche Gott für die erfolgreiche Reise danken.[9]

Nördlich an diesen Eingangsraum schließt sich das Gelände des sogenannten Erzbistums oder der Patriarchie an (Abb. 2). Der Baukomplex besteht aus einem eindrucksvollen Repräsentativbau und einer nicht weniger beeindruckenden Basilika mit einem inneren und einem äußeren Narthex. Aufgrund der Besonderheiten der Architektur der Basilika, wie den mächtigen Strebepfeilern und Steinmauern, wird diese in die Anfänge des Christentums in Bulgarien, das heißt in das dritte Viertel des 9. Jahrhunderts datiert. Es wird sogar die These vertreten, dass sie eine der Bischofskirchen war, die Fürst Boris gleich nach der Bekehrung zum Christentum errichten ließ.[10] Die Architektur mit den Strebepfeilern lässt die Vermutung zu, dass sie zur Zeit des offiziellen Besuchs des päpstlichen Legaten Bischof Formosa im Jahre 866 gebaut wurde[11]. Nach der Ernennung von Preslav zur

4 Leonis Diaconi Historiae, libri X, zitiert nach: ГИБИ 1964, 264–265.

5 Шкорпил 1930, 183–275; Миятев 1933, 189–221; Ваклинов 1968, 49–68; Тотев 1993; Тотев 2000; Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Манолова-Войкова/Димитров 2003, 30–40; Витлянов 2004.

6 Ваклинова 1982, 255–262.

7 Йоан Екзарх 2000.

8 Бонев 1998.

9 Бонев 1998.

10 Овчаров/Аладжов/Овчаров 1991, 116.

11 Овчаров/Аладжов/Овчаров 1991, 119–120.

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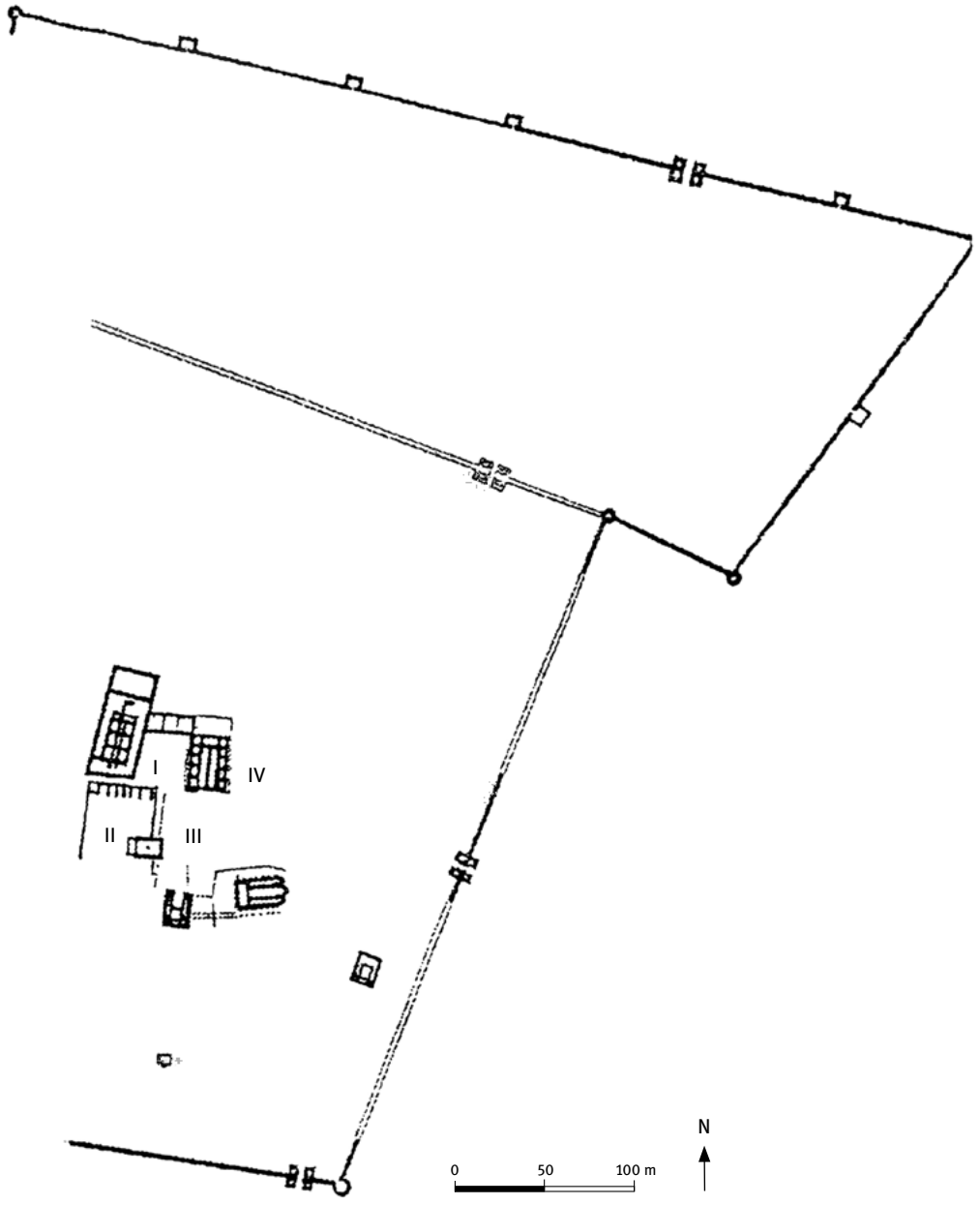

Abb. 1 Veliki Preslav. Situationsskizze der Bauten in der Innenstadt. I: Innenhof, II: Südwesthof, III: Südplatz, IV: Ostplatz.

Hauptstadt wurde die Basilika in westlicher Richtung erweitert, mit Marmor ausgeschmückt und mit einem einheitlichen Fußboden ausgestattet und der Bezirk der Basilika mit mächtigen Mauern eingefasst.[12] Nicht zufällig galt sie bis vor kurzem als die „Palastkirche".

Mit der Herrschaft von Zar Peter wird der Bau der kleinen Kreuzkuppelkirche dicht neben der Basilika verbunden, in der sich zahlreiche Bestattungen fanden. Östlich von der Basilika befindet sich das sog. Administrativgebäude, in dem mehr als 500 byzantinische Siegel sowie Blei und Herstellungsmatrizen gefunden wurden. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, dass in diesem Gebäude während der Hauptstadtperiode von Preslav administrative Funktionen untergebracht waren. Westlich davon ist ein Bad von beträchtlichen Ausmaßen freigelegt worden. Weiter nördlich schließt sich der eigentliche Palastkomplex an. Der sogenannte Thronsaal und der Palast selbst sind dabei die am

12 Овчаров/Аладжов/Овчаров 1991, 119.

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Abb. 2 Veliki Preslav. Bauplastik aus dem „Alten Palast".

frühesten ausgegrabenen Bauten in Veliki Preslav (Abb. 2)[13]. Vor etwa zehn Jahren wurde mit der Freilegung der Basilika begonnen, die – im Unterschied zu der bereits erwähnten Patriarch- oder Bischofsbasilika, die in den alten Veröffentlichungen als die Palastkirche Erwähnung fand – heute in der Literatur als die „Herrscherkirche" angesprochen wird[14]. Diese neue Basilika hat mit einer Ausdehnung von 47,50 × 21,10 m beeindruckende Dimensionen. Sie wird in die Hauptstadtperiode von Preslav datiert und damit in Verbindung mit der Bautätigkeit des Zaren Simeon gebracht. Die Basilika, die gänzlich aus Stein gebaut ist, verfügt über einen Narthex und einen Säulengang, der auf der zweiten Ebene mit dem Palastgebäude, der Residenz des Herrschers, verbunden waren[15]. Geometrische, buntfarbene Mosaikkompositionen bedecken die Fußböden des zentralen und der seitlichen Schiffe[16]. In der Mitte des zentralen Schiffes erhebt sich die Kanzel, von der aus Wege in die vier Himmelsrichtungen mit weißem Mosaik ausgelegt und so hervorgehoben waren[17].

In der sogenannten Innenstadt sind die Räume westlich und nördlich der beschriebenen Komplexe noch nicht freigelegt. Trotzdem ließen sich einige Schlüsse zur Ausgestaltung des Herrscherpalastes im Gefüge der Hauptstadt ziehen (Abb. 3): Das Ensemble bestand aus einigen massiven, repräsentativen Bauten, von denen zwei als Wohnhäuser gedeutet werden. Der repräsentative Teil im Süden wird durch ein zusätzliches, stattliches Gebäude verlängert. Zusammen mit der Basilika umringen sie Innenhöfe sowie größere Platzräume. In den letzten Jahren konnte durch Ausgrabungen auch das Vorhandensein eines Gartens mit einer Art Wasservorrichtung bestätigt werden. Die Basilika war nicht von umzäunenden Mauern umgeben. Der Palastkomplex befand sich zwar in unmittelbarer Nähe doch sichtlich abgetrennt von dem der geistlichen Macht – der sog. Patriarchie –, der das geometrische Zentrum der Innenstadt einnimmt. Hier kreuzten sich die zwei Hauptachsen, die durch die Stadttore markiert wurden. Das südliche Tor der Nord-Süd-Achse wird als Haupttor bezeichnet, das nördliche Tor ist als Eisernes Tor bekannt. Auf der zweiten Ost-West-Achse ist nur das östliche Tor freigelegt. Während durch das Haupttor die Fremden den Palastbereich betreten konnten, dürfte das östliche Tor aufgrund seiner Lage zwischen der Patriarchie und dem Palastkomplex sowohl für hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten als auch für das Dienstpersonal gedient haben.

13 Тотев 1998; Овчаров (б. д); Овчаров/Аладжов/Овчаров 1991, 9–52; Ваклинова/Щерева 1995, 81–91; Ваклинова 1994, 45–58.

14 Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Манолова-Войкова/Димитров (2003) 32; Ваклинова/Щерева 2008, 185–194.

15 Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Манолова-Войкова/Димитров 2003, 32.

16 Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Манолова-Войкова/Димитров 2003, 35–36.

17 Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Манолова-Войкова/Димитров 2003, 36–37.

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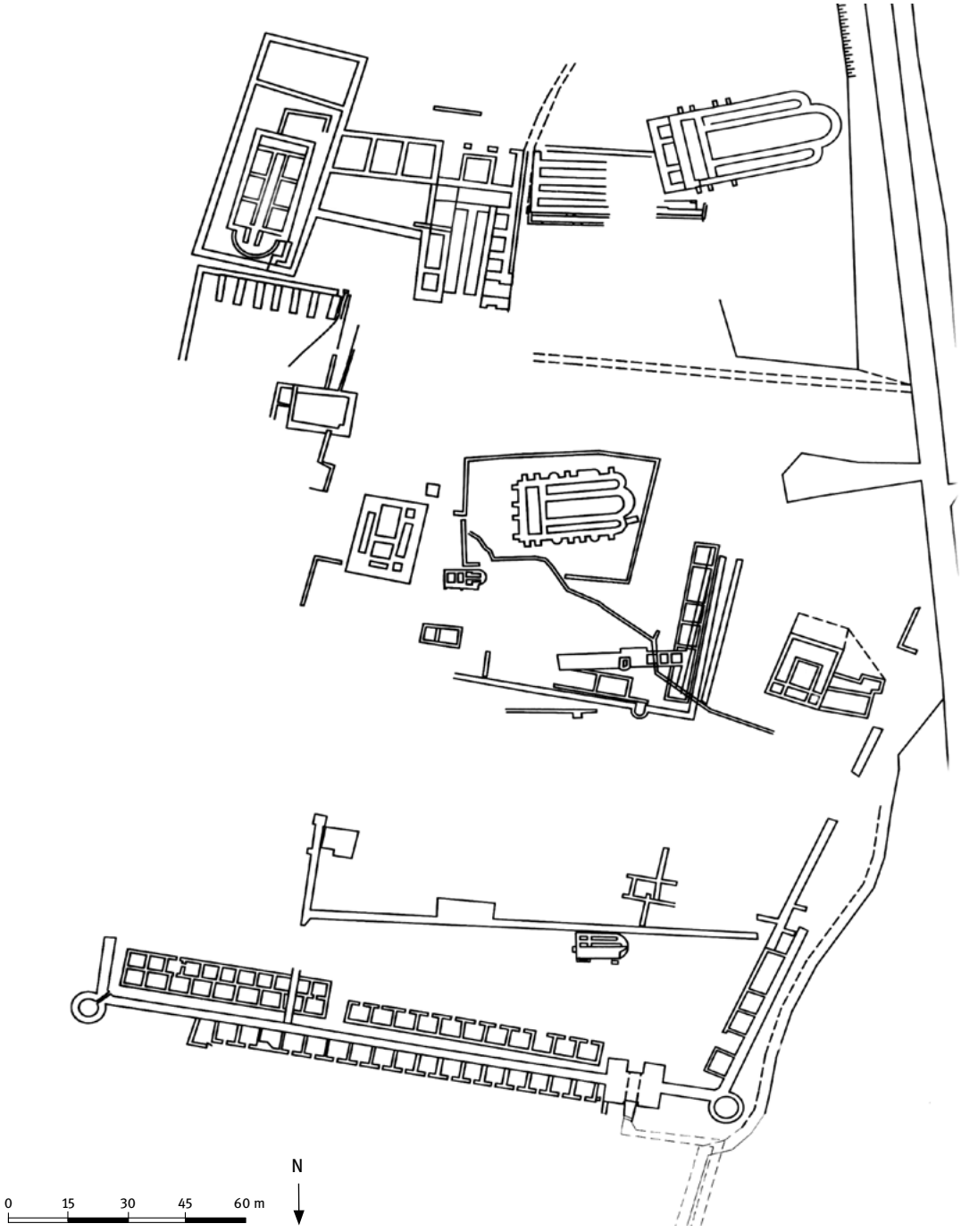

Abb. 3 Veliki Preslav. Plan des Palastviertels in der Innenstadt.

Durch das sogenannte Platz-Hof-Organisationssystem besteht die Innenstadt aus einem Konglomerat von repräsentativen gesellschaftlichen, dienstlichen, privaten, kultischen und wirtschaftlichen Gebäuden, die zwischen sich Innen- und Außenhöfe sowie Stadtplätze ausbildeten, die von Mauern umringt und durch Säulengänge, Korridore und Übergänge miteinander verbunden und teilweise mit Wasserinstallationen ausgestattet waren. Parallelen zu diesen räumlichen Gestaltungs- und Organisationsprinzipien sind in der Spätantike und der frühen byzantinischen Zeit zu suchen, was nicht verwunderlich ist. Wird angenommen, dass der größte Verdienst um den Aufbau und die Einrichtung der neuen Hauptstadt dem Zaren Simeon zufällt, so verwundert nicht, dass ihm als Vorbild der Große Palast in Konstantinopel diente, in dem er etwa 10 Jahre lang gelebt hatte und in dem er erzogen worden war.

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Während der Palast der byzantinischen Kaiser vor allem aus schriftlichen Quellen bekannt ist, lässt sich der Palast der bulgarischen Herrscher in Preslav fast ausschließlich aus den archäologischen Überresten rekonstruieren. Dennoch lassen sich nach dem gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand zu Preslav einige Schlussfolgerungen zusammenfassen: Höchstwahrscheinlich bildete der Bereich, der als „Innenstadt" bezeichnet wird, den Palastbereich und damit das Herzstück des Staates, in dem der Zar lebte und von dem aus er regierte und in dem auch seine Verwandten, seine Vertrauten, die Leibwächter und das Dienstpersonal wohnten. Eine wichtige Besonderheit hier ist die unmittelbare Nähe zwischen politischer und geistlicher Macht. Obwohl die sog. königliche Basilika die größte unter den freigelegten Kirchen Preslav ist, ist es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass dies die Kathedrale des Reiches war, weil sie sich innerhalb der Mauern der Innenstadt befand und ihre Verbindung zur Außenstadt noch nicht festgestellt wurde. Obwohl die Infrastruktur der Stadt noch nicht endgültig geklärt ist, ist es offensichtlich, dass der Palast von der Stadt isoliert war. Denn es gibt bislang keine Hinweise auf einen Stadtplatz der mit dem Augustaion in Konstantinopel vergleichbar wäre, über den sowohl die Hagia Sofia als auch die Chalke – einer der Paradeeingänge des Großen Palastes der byzantinischen Kaiser – erreichbar waren[18]. Da die Ausgrabungen im Bereich der Innenstadt von Preslav noch andauern, steht zu erwarten, dass sich in Zukunft interessante Aufdeckungen ergeben werden, die zu einem vollständigeren und klareren Bild der Hauptstadt und des Königspalastes führen werden.[19]

Im Unterschied zu Preslav sind die archäologischen Arbeiten auf dem Zarevec-Hügel in Tarnovo, auf dem sich die Überreste des Herrscherpalastes des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches befinden, bereits Ende der 70er Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts abgeschlossen worden[20] (Abb. 3). Die Hauptstadt des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches ist aus historischen Schriften unter dem Namen Tarnovgrad oder Zarevgrad bekannt. Die Hinweise in den Schriften sind aber sowohl in Bezug auf die Stadt selbst, als auch was den Palast und die Herrscher betrifft recht knapp. In der Vita des Heiligen Sava von Serbien, verfasst von Dometian um 1250, ist zu lesen, dass Zar Ioann II. Assen die eigenen „warmen Paläste" seinem Schwager zur Verfügung gestellt haben soll, weil der Winter damals sehr streng gewesen sei. In der Heiligenvita des Bulgarischen Patriarchen Theodosios, verfasst vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Kalistos steht geschrieben, dass Zar Ioann Alexander ein Konzil gegen die Juden im „neuen Saal"[21] einberufen hätte. Grigorij Camblak schreibt über die Stadteroberung durch die Türken Folgendes: „Der barbarische Zar, stolz auf seine Siege und auf die Eroberung vieler Völker, und weil er Vieles über Tarnovo zu hören bekam, von dessen erhabener Größe, den „steinharten Mauern", von dessen Schönheit und auch von der günstigen Stadtlage – außerordentlich schwer zu erkämpfen und zu erobern, weil es außer Schutzmauern auch noch genügend natürliche Festungen besaß, sowie unzählige Reichtümer und eine zahlreiche Bevölkerung, die es verstand, seine Macht und Kraft sowohl in die geistliche, als auch in die königlichen Taten erfolgreich einzusetzen, eben deswegen wünschte der Gutgesinnte und Hasserregende diese Stadt zu zerstören."[22]. Aufgrund der spärlichen Quellenlage ist eigentlich alles, was wir heute über diese Hauptstadt wissen, das Ergebnis archäologischer Untersuchungen (Abb. 4)[23].

Das Interesse für die historischen Denkmäler von Tarnovo und speziell für den Hügel, der heute Zarevec genannt wird, erwachte schon vor Ende der osmanischen Herrschaft. Die systematischen Ausgrabungen begannen aber erst im Jahr 1946 und wurden weitgehend in den 60er Jahren

18 Ваклинова 1994, 45–58; Ваклинова/Щерева/Горянова/Димитров/Манолова-Войкова 2009, 587–581.

19 An dieser Stelle möchte ich meine tiefe Anerkennung für die in den vergangenen Jahren geleistete Forschungsarbeit ganzer Generationen von Archäologen zum Ausdruck bringen, die dazu beigetragen haben und noch beitragen, die Herrscherpaläste des mittelalterlichen Bulgariens besser zu verstehen.

20 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 7–9.

21 Киселков 1926, 20.

22 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 39.

23 Миятев 1936; Николова 1973, 21–38.

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Abb. 4 Veliko Tarnovo. Zarevez Hügel. Ansicht von Osten.

des 20. Jahrhunderts abgeschlossen[24], deren wesentlichsten Ergebnisse in drei Bänden veröffentlicht wurden. Anlässlich des 800sten Jubiläums der Wiedererrichtung des bulgarischen Staates durch die Brüder Assen und Peter fand Mitte der 80er Jahre eine grundlegende Restaurierung und Konservierung der Anlage statt.

Der umwehrte Palast nimmt auf mehreren Terrassen eine etwa 5000 m² große Fläche am nördlichen Abhang des Hügels ein. Die Bauten sind entlang der Nord-Süd-Achse angeordnet[25]. Im Nordteil, der am niedrigsten liegt und daher am anfälligsten gegenüber Kriegsangriffen war, befindet sich der Haupteingang, der von zwei Türmen flankiert wird[26], durch den man in den ersten Innenhof gelangt. Rechts des Eingangs sind die Räume angeordnet, die der Verteidigung gedient haben und in denen die königliche Garde stationiert war (Abb. 5, VIII)[27]. Danach folgt der repräsentative Teil des Palastes. Östlich erhebt sich ein großes, langgestrecktes Gebäude, in dem sich vermutlich die königliche Kanzlei und andere Diensträume befanden (Abb. 5, I). Davor ist auch ein eindrucksvoller Wasserspeicher zu sehen (Abb. 5, X)[28]. Gegenüber erhebt sich, dicht an die Festungsmauern angelehnt, ein weiterer Repräsentativbau, der Thronsaal der bulgarischen Herrscher in der Zeitspanne zwischen dem 13. Jahrhundert und der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 5, VII). An der Stelle dieses 26 m langen und 10 m breiten Thronsalles[29] errichtete Zar Ioann Alexander später den schon erwähnten „neuen Saal", der mit einer Länge von 32 m und einer Breite von 19 m etwas größer als ein Vorgängerbau war (Abb. 5, VI)[30]. Am südlichen Ende des Hofes erhebt sich auf einem etwas höheren Niveau die Palastkirche, eine Kreuzkuppelkirche mit Stützpfeilern und Narthex sowie einem später angefügten Exonarthex (Abb. 5, IX)[31]. Sie ist mit Marmor und Mosaik ausgeschmückt (Abb. 6)[32]. Ihre Fassaden waren wie die des Thronsaals mit keramischen Elementen in grün und gelb dekoriert. Aufgrund eines marmornen Plattenfragmentes, das den Namen Paraskeva trägt, wird die Meinung vertreten, dass die Kirche zu Ehren der heiligen Paraskeva aus Epivat erbaut worden sei, nachdem die Reliquien der Heiligen von Zar Ioann II. Assen nach Tarnovo über-

24 Царевград Търнов 1973; Царевград Търнов 1974; Царевград Търнов 1980.
25 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 41.
26 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 117.
27 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 118–120.
28 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 42–43, 125; Дерменджиев 2006, 201–210.
29 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 117.
30 Анчева 1994, 605–617.
31 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 43. 120–125.
32 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 56–58. 125.

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Abb. 5 Veliko Tarnovo. Bauphasenplan des Zarenpalastes auf Zarevez.

führt worden waren. Die Heilige Paraskeva wurde in der Folge zu einer der verehrtesten Heiligen der Bulgaren[33].

Spezielle Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die aus Stein gemauerten Grabstätten im westlichen Teil des Naos der Kirche[34], von denen ein Fragment des Marmordeckels mit dem Bruchteil einer Relieffigur übriggeblieben ist (Abb. 7). Die Figur zeigt den Saum des Kleides sowie gestiefelte Füße mit einem darauf abgebildeten zweiköpfigen Adler. Es wird angenommen, dass es sich dabei um Reste des Sarkophags von Zar Ioann Alexander handelt (Abb. 8)[35].

33 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 39–40; Ангелов 1973b, 168169; Нешева, Виолета 2000.
34 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 123–125.
35 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 53–55, 123; Дерменджиев 2003, 253–262.

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Abb. 6 Veliko Tarnovo. Kapitell aus dem Zarenpalast.

Der dritte, am südlichsten gelegene Teil des Palastensembles weist den Charakter eines Innenhofes auf. Im Norden wird das Ensemble von einer Kirche, im Osten durch ein zwei- oder dreistöckiges Gebäude eingefasst (Abb. 5, II), in denen sich die Privaträume des Zaren, seiner Familie und den ihm am nächsten stehenden Personen befanden. Wahrscheinlich lagen sich hier auch die erwähnten „warmen Räume", in denen sich der Heilige Sava von Serbien im Jahre 1235 kurz aufhielt[36].

Neben den westlichen Festungsmauern erheben sich die Wirtschaftsgebäude, unter ihnen der Weinkeller und drei geräumige Küchenherde (Abb. 5, IV). Hier befindet sich auch der südliche Eingang des Palastes und dessen anliegenden Bauten (III), die von einem viereckigen Turm beschützt werden. Der dritte, kleinere Eingang befindet sich auf der westlichen Seite in der Nähe des westlichen Eckturms[37].

Bei dieser kurzen Darstellung des Palastensembles darf nicht außer acht gelassen werden, dass es nicht in einem Zuge erbaut wurde, sondern im Laufe der Nutzungszeit zahlreiche Veränderungen erfuhr[38]. Die Bauten auf dem Zarevec – Hügel haben eine mehrere Jahrhunderte lange Baugeschichte, die bis in die Zeit vor dem Zweiten Bulgarischen Reich zurückreicht[39]. Bereits in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit war Zarevec befestigt und besaß an der Stelle des späteren Königspalastes eine reich ausgestattete, dreischiffige Basilika[40]. Nachdem die Brüder Assen und Peter Deljan im Jahre 1186 die Wiedererrichtung des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches ausgerufen hatten, begannen sie auch unmittelbar mit der Rekonstruktion des schon existierenden Residenzgebäudes des byzantinischen Stadtverwalters. Die Hauptgebäude des Palastes sind im 13. Jahrhundert erbaut worden und im 14. Jahrhundert wurden Rekonstruktionen der bereits existierenden Anlagen durchgeführt[41].

36 Дерменджиев 2007.
37 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 43.
38 Дерменджиев 2001, 192–203.
39 Ангелов 1973a, 271–346.
40 Ангелов 1973a, 271.
41 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 60–66.

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Abb. 7 Veliko Tarnovo. Fragment der Grabplatte aus dem Zarenpalast.

Abb. 8 Veliko Tarnovo. Fragment der Grabplatte wahrscheinlich des Zaren Ioann Alexander aus dem Zarenpalast.

Der Zarevec – Palast ist auf einer sehr begrenzten Fläche errichtet, die rundherum befestigt und auf diese Weise von dem übrigen, dicht bebauten Stadtraum isoliert war. Es ist daher schwer vorstellbar, wo die grandiosen Umzüge stattgefunden haben, wie beispielsweise der von Georgios Akropolites beschriebene Kirchenfestzug zum Epiphanias Fest im Jahre 1260, bei dem auch byzantinische Kriegstrophäen gezeigt wurden[42]. Auffällig ist ebenfalls das Fehlen einer direkten Verbindung zum Oberhaupt der bulgarischen Kirche. Der Komplex des Patriarchen liegt auf dem höchsten Punkt des Hügels, zwar in der Nähe des Palastes, doch ist dieser von ihm abgesondert. Auch wenn die Situierung der einzelnen Komplexe in der Stadt durch die Besonderheiten des Terrains vorbestimmt war, ist die räumliche Unabhängigkeit der Sitze der weltlichen und geistlichen Macht im mittelalterlichen Tarnovo bemerkenswert[43].

In der Literatur wurden Parallelen des Tarnovo Palastes zu den mittelalterlichen, europäischen Schlössern bereits mehrfach herausgearbeitet[44], dennoch ist die Palaststruktur von Zarevec vor allem deutlich von byzantinischen Einflüssen und durch die eigentümliche Landschaft beeinflusst. Ohne an dieser Stelle auf Details eingehen zu können, soll die Nähe zur eigentümlichen Konfiguration der befestigten Klöster auf dem Heiligen Berg Athos kurz angesprochen werden. Im 11.–12. Jahrhundert sind die ersten Klosterensemble auf dem Athos errichtet worden, deren Struktur bis heute unverändert geblieben ist. Der in sich geschlossene Palastkomplex von Tarnovo, der sich auf einem steilen Abhang erhebt, die Gestaltung voneinander unabhängiger Teile mit unterschiedlichen Funktionen und vor allem die zentrale Lage der Kirche zeigen deutlich Parallelen zu den Klöstern auf dem Athos. Darüber hinaus ist aus historischen Quellen ersichtlich, dass Zar Ioann II. Assen ein großzügiger Stifter der Klöster auf Athos gewesen war, besonders der Klöster Zograf und Vatopedi. Nach der Schlacht bei Klokotnitza im Jahre 1230 besuchte der Zar selbst die Klöster auf dem „Heiligen Berg".

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass die Königspaläste des Ersten und des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches in Preslav und Tarnovo zwei grundsätzlich verschiedene architekturräumliche Konzepte darstellen, die jeweils die Ideen und Einstellungen ihrer Zeit reflektieren.

42 Georgii Akropolitae Opera, zitiert nach ГИБИ 1982, 212

43 Ангелов (1985), 43-63; Горянова 1996, 118–123.

44 Георгиева/Николова/Ангелов 1973, 46–48. 67.

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Abb. 2: I. Vanev.
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Scott Redford

Anatolian Seljuk Palaces and Gardens

This paper takes as its subject the palatial and garden complexes of the Anatolian Seljuk sultanate. The Seljuks, cousins of another dynasty with the same name that ruled in Iran, Iraq, and Central Asia, were a Turco-Islamic dynasty that ruled in what is now central Turkey from the late 11th to the early 14th centuries. They were the first major Islamic state to rule in the former eastern half of the Byzantine Empire, hence the fact that they were often referred to as the Seljuks of Rum, Rum being the name in Islamic languages for the Byzantines (Romaia or Romans), the Byzantine Empire and that part of the Byzantine Empire adjoining Islamic lands, namely Anatolia.[1]

Despite the relatively long reign of the Anatolian Seljuk dynasty, it was plagued by war and invasion (including three Crusader armies) until the end of the 12th century, and began a long, slow decline after its defeat by the Mongols in 1243 at the battle of Yassı Çimen. Most surviving Seljuk palaces and gardens, like most of the dynasty's architectural production, date from the first half of the 13th century, its heyday. After the forces of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204, the Laskarids, a Byzantine successor state established itself in western Anatolia. In 1211, after a battle, the Laskarids made peace with the Seljuks, and the two states enjoyed relatively amicable relations for decades thereafter.

The political and military infighting that followed the establishment of the Latin Empire of Romania in Constantinople allowed the Seljuks to expand to the shores of both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. At this time, Seljuk sultans and other members of the elite built a network of caravanserais linking these two seas with the capital, Konya, and cities to its east, most notably Aksaray and Konya. (The word caravanserai is a composite one, literally meaning "caravan-palace", and surviving Seljuk caravanserais, especially those built by Seljuk sultans, could be considered the "true" palaces of the sultans, if we take a contemporary idea of the palace as a building that is monumental, expensive and somehow connected with rulers and their residence.) As the Seljuk state extended its reach into the countryside through the building of these caravanserais, bridges, and roads, it also built and fortified its cities. City building included waterworks to supply not only growing cities, but also the irrigated suburban garden belts around them, which themselves housed gardens complexes of the sultans and other members of the elite.[2]

As the case of the caravanserai and the garden illustrate, Anatolian Seljuk palaces are not suited for examination using architectural typologies based solely on function. The residences of the Seljuk sultans overlap typologically and functionally with structures like caravanserais, fortification towers, garden pavilions and tomb towers usually identified with single functions: commercial, military, domestic and memorial/funereal respectively. Not planometric but visual criteria unite Seljuk sultanic and elite residences visual in the sense of both being looked *at* and *from*. In addition to examining common decorative programmes (the looking *at*) and common siting criteria (the looking *from*), in this paper I will also examine the various cultural traditions brought to bear on them, at a time when an elite culture shared between Mediterranean polities both Islamic and Christian linked palaces from Constantinople to Ani. I will also try to isolate principles of organisation common to typologically dissimilar sultanic residences.

Those looking for grand scale in Anatolian Seljuk palatial architecture would better look to earlier or later eras, be they those of the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, the Abbasid

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1 I would like to thank Michael Featherstone for his invitation to contribute to this volume. Part of this paper draws on Chapter 2 of Redford 2000. Modern Turkish spelling of toponyms and sultanic names is used here, with the exception of the word "Seljuk".

2 Despite much new research, the standard book on Anatolian Seljuk caravanserais remains Erdmann 1961. For a more recent consideration of selected caravanserais, see Acun 2007.

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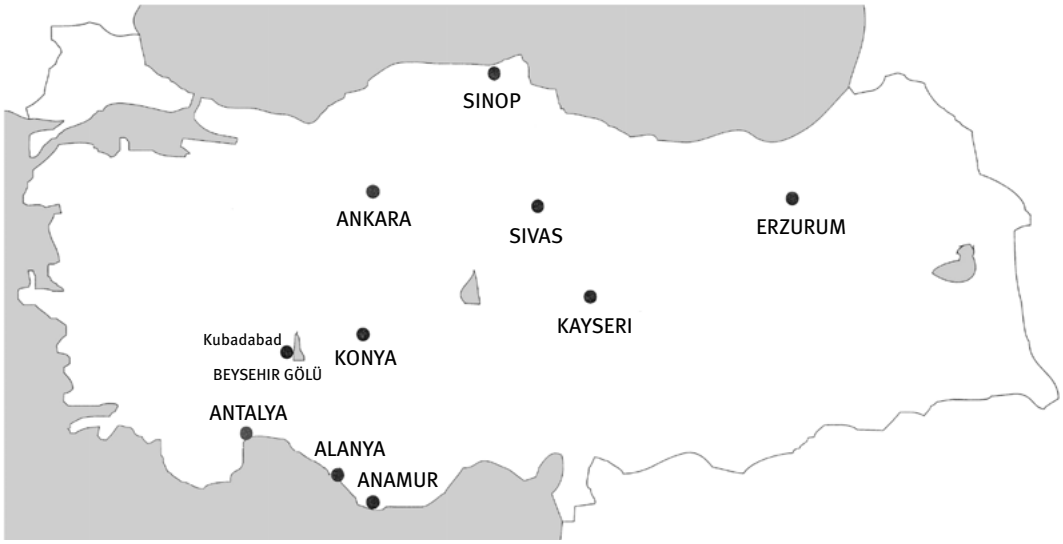

Fig. 1 Map of Anatolia showing major sites and cities discussed in the text.

palaces that lined the Tigris waterfront of Baghdad in the 9th and 10th centuries, or Ottoman sultan Mehmet II's Topkapı Palace of late 15th century Istanbul. After the fall of the Abbasids, grand scale continued until the 11th century in the palaces of the Fatimids in Cairo and the suburban palaces of Isfahan of the Great Seljuks in Iran and Central Asia: while these would run to hundreds of hectares, the largest Seljuk complex we have in Anatolia is about five.

Scale was replaced with ubiquity and duplication of a set decorative vocabulary as a palatial criterion: in the citadel of every city of the realm, the Anatolian Seljuk sultan had a palace; outside each city he had at least one suburban palace, which was used while hunting, martialling the army, playing polo and other elite activities connected with the horseborne nature of the elite. Gold, silver and other fine metal objects from the treasury, tents, and other textiles must have added to and reinforced standardised visual vocabulary of power found on the walls of these palaces and garden pavilions and which will be dealt with in this paper. In addition to objects, the sultans also travelled with menageries and hunting animals, whose presence at court is reflected by their prominence in the art of the time. And, although images of women are not as prominent in Seljuk palatial art as in other contemporaneous instances of the "princely cycle" in places like Norman Sicily, surely members of the sultanic harem travelled with sultan and court as well.

From the 1220s through the 1240s, the logic of the seasons and activities associated with them dictated a sequential progress through the ever-expanding Seljuk realm by sultan and court: the south coast, the area between Antalya-Aspendos-Alanya, in winter and hunting season, the garden *cum* palace *cum* city at Kubadabad on the way there and back, and Konya, the capital, where the citadel palace was also the home of the archive, the state bureaucracy and adjacent to the dynastic burial tomb chamber and main mosque. Summer, the time for war, led east, with the suburban palace of Keykubadiye outside of Kayseri the main mustering ground for the army (Fig. 1). There were citadel and suburban palaces, too, at the major eastern cities of Sivas and Malatya. I do *not* connect this peripatetism to the nomadic element in Seljuk Anatolia; rather the centrifugal creating of a state from within at a time no polity had fixed borders and fighting was an annual occurrence. Similar trajectories can be observed in Norman and Hohenstaufen southern Italy and Sicily, as well as in Laskarid western Anatolia, with its winter palace at Nymphaion, and estivation near the Sea of Marmara or on campaign in the Balkans or elsewhere.[3]

3 For the Laskarids, see Çağaptay 2010, 360. For a consideration of the castles, residences and hunting lodges of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, see Licinio 1995; for the Normans, Bresc 1994.

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Ringing the base of the citadel of the Seljuk capital of Konya were the palaces of the emirs. As was the case with the suburban gardens of Alanya (and probably everywhere), the palaces of the court emirs seem to differ from those of the sultan not in terms of decoration, but in size. Status was expressed in proximity to the sultanic presence, here in architectural terms, inscriptionally on city walls and in ceremonies at court. The little we know about public sultanic ceremonies recalls Roman and Byzantine *largitio* and *adventus* and comes from descriptions in the 13th century chronicler of the Seljuks, Ibn Bibi. Court ceremonies are represented on works of art such as inlaid candlesticks that depict the Anatolian Seljuks engaged in the kind of staged displays known from other Sunni Muslim courts of the period and the region. Although no figural frescos have survived, there are so many examples from this time, from palaces in a region stretching from Samarkand to Cairo, of serried ranks of pages and emirs bearing attributes of office flanking the hall where the ruler sat, that there must have been something of this kind in Konya as well.[4]

The Pavilion of Sultan Kılıç Arslan II at Konya

Around the year 1173, some ten years after he visited the Byzantine emperor Manuel I in Constantinople, the Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan II erected a belvedere atop a tower of the citadel walls at his capital of Konya (Fig. 2). Thanks to the scholarship of German orientalist and collector Friedrich Sarre and others, pre-collapse photographs of the pavilion and the presence of *mina'i* (under-and over-glazed painted) tiles from this pavilion in museum collections in Turkey and Europe, this pavilion is the best-known part of any Seljuk palace. It consisted of a square timber, brick and mudbrick tower with balconies on three sides. Inside there must have been one room with a tiled dado with commanding views over the Seljuk capital, its surrounding garden belt, and the central Anatolian plain beyond. The main window looking over the city was surrounded by a tile inscription giving the names and titles of this sultan, literally framing the view of the sultan and court appearing there. In addition to tilework on the interior and exterior, the exterior of the pavilion was plastered and painted.[5]

Among several authors who have addressed the subject of shared palatial culture in this period, most recently, Alicia Walker has linked the pavilion of Kılıç Arslan II in Konya to the well-known Byzantine description of the Seljuk-style *muqarnas* domed and tiled Mouchroutas pavilion that once stood in the Great Palace in Constantinople. It is true that the multi-coloured tiles mentioned there could be related to those of the pavilion of Kılıç Arslan II in Konya. However, the Mouchroutas was an audience hall, and not a belvedere perched atop a tower. Instead, I prefer to compare it to the Blachernai palace in Constantinople, whose outer wall was rebuilt by Byzantine Emperor Manuel I in the 1160s, and itself had tower-topped pavilions. I have also proposed an onomastic link with the Philopation hunting palace in the countryside outside the walls of the Blachernai and the Seljuk suburban hunting palace of Filubad outside of Konya, which may or may not have been the same sultanic garden where Frederick I Barbarossa set up camp in 1190 while his armies were sacking the Seljuk capital. While state visits like that of Sultan Kılıç Arslan II were few and far between, taste for Seljuk-style palaces may also have been fuelled by the elaborate tents of the

4 For *largitio* and adventus see Redford 1993, 152. See Redford 2012, 393–395 for the phenomenon of the palace audience hall lined with representations of pages and emirs.

5 Walker 2010. For the most recent consideration of the *mina'i* tiles from the pavilion of Kılıç Arslan II, see Arık/Arık 2008, 225–238. Sarre 1936 was available to me only in Uzluk 1967, a Turkish translation and amplification of Sarre's book in which the inscription around the main window of the pavilion is depicted *in situ* in an old photograph, reproduced in Plate 4.

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Fig. 2 Early 20th century photograph of the pavilion of Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslan II, Konya.

Seljuks and objects representing them: a handful of ceramic vessels and tabourets (small tables) help us understand the way in which ideas about palace architecture spread at this time.[6]

The under-and over-glazed *mina'i* tiles from the pavilion of Kılıç Arslan II at Konya, the first Anatolian Seljuk palatial figural art, are not so dissimilar in subject matter to that of the next tile programme from a Seljuk palace, Kubadabad, built over 50 years later. Like the tiles of Kubadabad

6 Redford 2013b, 48–54.

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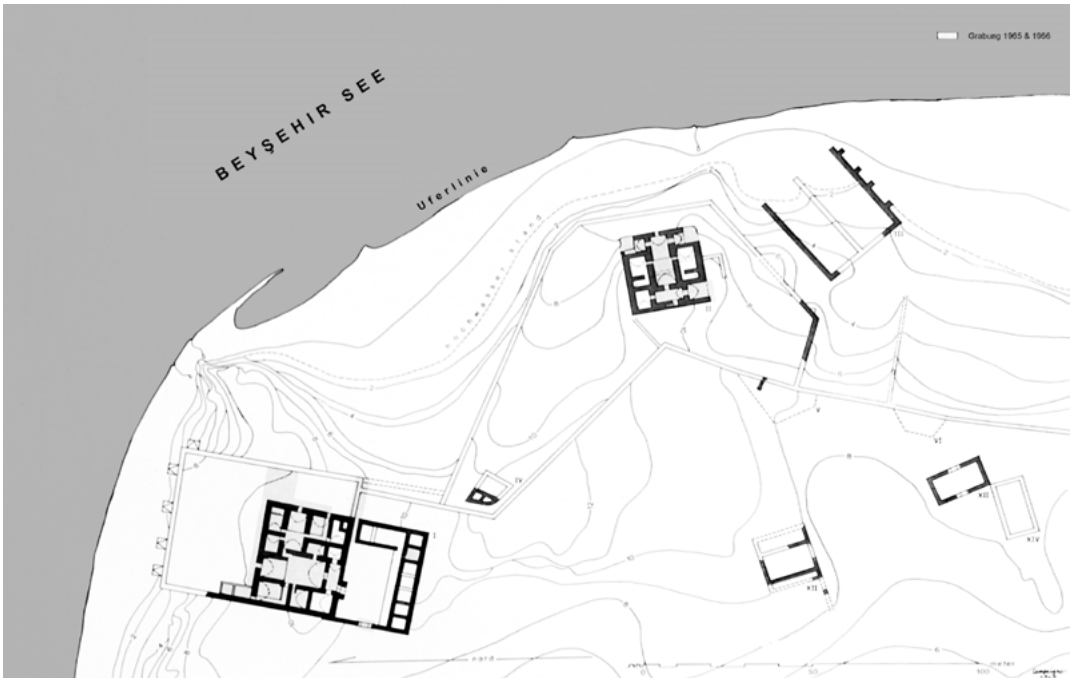

Fig. 3 Kubadabad Palace, Plan.

palace, the tiles of the pavilion of Kılıç Arslan II featured representations of mythic beasts such as griffons and harpies, but also of the activities of court: music making, dancing, hunting on horseback and other court scenes. They are unlike later programmes due to their use of the expensive *mina'i* technique and their various formats, using square and hexagonal tiles as well as the soon-to-be standard cross and star format.

The citadel at Konya, atop whose walls the Kılıç Arslan II pavilion rose, continued to serve as the center for Seljuk administration and residence; indeed this pavilion seems to have been redecorated in the 1220s or 1230s. Alas, the bulk of the Seljuk citadel palace at Konya has never been recovered archeologically. It is here that there must have been the courtyards and rooms that separated the inner palace (*bargah*) from the outer palace (*dargah*) as described by Seljuk chronicler Ibn Bibi.[7]

Kubadabad

In the middle to late 1220s, Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad founded the first palace to break the dual citadel-suburban palace paradigm by constructing Kubadabad, a hunting palace far from any city; one that, as Michael Meinecke pointed out 50 years ago, has a walled garden and pavilion at its kernel, with a larger palace (though still not large, and partially resembling a caravanserai) and adjacent bathhouse added later (Fig. 3). The ensemble was surrounded by a high wall, not defensive, but also resembling the enclosure walls of the Seljuk suburban gardens at Alanya. A bathhouse was built on an island in Lake Beyşehir, and a boathouse on its shores. Tiles have been recovered from the remains of all three of these buildings.[8]

7 Peacock/Yıldız 2013a, 13–16. The physical spaces of those Seljuk palatial settings, including that of the only complete palace, in Alanya citadel, to survive, are too small to have accommodated the shifting groups of slave retainers and other servants, court and military emirs. The palace at Konya must have covered a fair amount of the citadel hill to have served as the locus for so many groups.

8 Meinecke 1986, 285–286. The current excavator of Kubadabad has published a book on the palace, Arık 2000.

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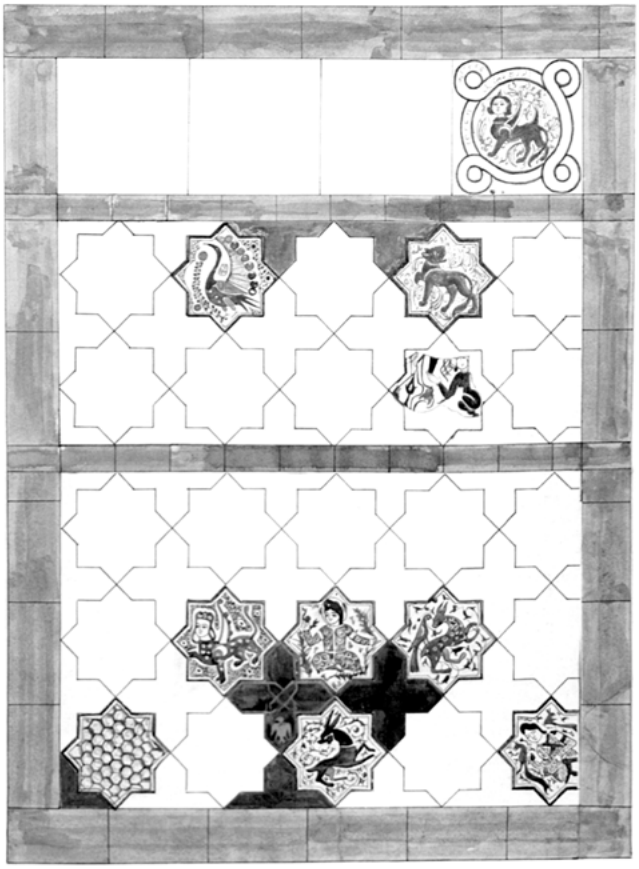

Fig. 4 Tile dado from the Great Palace, Kubadabad.

Underglaze painted and lustered tiles mainly from the larger palace at Kubadabad give us one of the best-known and least-understood of Seljuk works of art. Like those of the Konya pavilion, the tiles of Kubadabad formed dados, and enough of them were found together in order reasonably to reconstruct one panel (Fig. 4). If we follow the lead of this dado panel with other, tiles with similar subject matter but less context, we arrive at an intellectual impasse. The familiar cross-and-star pattern tile format seems to have been imported from Iran, along with Persian language poetry found in fragments. However, the style of the figures, and the fact that usually only a single figure is found in each tile, recalls not Persian, but Syrian ceramics of the time. While it is easy to hypothesise that the images of courtiers, hunting animals and waterfowl relate to the activities at court, they do not resolve into a series or a story and seem randomly to be interspersed with figures that are astrological or mythical, evoking a mythical realm in which scenes and activities of the court are linked to fabulous creatures and mythical beasts, perhaps, but without narrative or iconographic programme.

Given the fact that hundreds if not thousands of these tiles must have been produced for all of the residences of the sultan *and* his court at this time (not to mention pavilions, bathhouses and other ancillary spaces graced by the sultanic or court presence), the disposition of images related to astrology, myth and hunting may seem like cards dealt from a deck that would have reshuffled from place to place in the mad pace of building that took at this time. Meaning may be derived from the fragmentary Persian poetry that has yet to be studied systematically, one might well say, but research on the poetry on contemporaneous Persian tiles shows only a generalised relationship between the poetic themes of love and the representations there. The fragments that survive suggest that at least some of the poetry may have celebrated the buildings. Could these dadoes have been like the lower reaches of Byzantine churches, where images of lions and birds could be found, while the "real" decorative programme, perhaps, as I have suggested, such as representations of

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Fig. 5 Photograph of Pavilion H at Hasbahçe garden, Alanya showing red painted zigzags.

the members of the court "as if" in their serried ranks around the sultanic presence, lay above? Or did the single figures on these tile dadoes also "stand in" for the activities of the court, populating spaces during the long months the palaces lay empty with sphinxes and harpies to guard them? The only clues to the rest of the decorative program at Kubadabad palace are the molded stucco panels recovered together with these tiles, and they, too, contain a mix of fantastic creatures with at least one more or less realistic hunting scene.[9]

Alanya

The lower storeys of Seljuk garden pavilions in Alanya also had figural tile dadoes. Although only a few tile fragments have survived, these belong to a type known from Kubadabad. However, these pavilions do have another sort of well preserved decoration. The only decoration to be found on their exterior walls, vaults and upper walls are rows and rows of fresco-painted dark red zigzags and, less frequently, checkerboard patterns executed in the same colour (Fig. 5). These same two patterns, executed in the same colour, could be on the city gates and citadel palace walls of Alanya as well. Zigzags are also found plentifully on the tiles of Kubadabad.[10]

9 Pancaroğlu 2007, 29–30 for the discussion of the relationship of text and image on medieval Iranian ceramics and tiles. For the longest stretches of Persian verse executed in tile and recovered from the Kubadabad excavations, see Arık/Arık 2008, 360–361. This inscription was part of the planned late 13th/early 14th century recladding of the palace.
10 See Redford 2000, 87–90, for a consideration of these patterns as part of a Seljuk "Alphabet of Authority". For tiles with zigzag decoration on them found at Kubadabad, see Arık 2000, 158–159.

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Fig. 6 General view of the walled enclosure by the port, Alanya. The arsenal is in the foreground.

At a time when Seljuk craftsmen could and did make sophisticated geometric patterns for the portals of caravanserais, mosques and madrasas, the combination of red with these two simple, bold designs constitute a different use of pattern. I consider these to be what in heraldry is called a simple charge. They must have served to distinguish these buildings in the land or cityscape, markers of the residences of the elite, even during the vast majority of the time when the sultan and his emirs were not in residence. Interestingly, though, they are not markers of sultanic presence (emirs used the same decorative vocabulary); instead they might be called symbols of state like today's flags, and likely reflected the Seljuk *sancak*, or standard, that Ibn Bibi's text plants on the walls of cities conquered by the armies of the Seljuks. In addition to these two patterns, which apparently derived from textiles, the sultan must have had his own emblem: I have postulated that this was the double-headed eagle for Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (1219–1237), and the lion and son for his son Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev II (1237–1246); these two emblems are featured prominently on buildings built by father and son, and in the latter case also on his silver coinage.[11]

Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad named two of the palaces he founded after himself, Kubadabad on the shores of Lake Beyşehir, and the suburban palace of Keykubadiye outside of Kayseri. The only other construction he named after himself was not a palace, but a city, today's Alanya, the port of Kalonoros on the south coast, which he renamed Ala'iyya after it surrendered to Seljuk armies in 1221. Here, I would like to propose that Alanya was rebuilt in a manner similar to his palaces.

On the face of it, Alanya conforms to the citadel palace-suburban palace paradigm proposed at the beginning of this paper. In the citadel, there was indeed a palace. The citadel palace was excavated by Ankara University archeologists under the direction of Oluş Arık. Here, a miniature version of an Abbasid-style palace, a series of courtyards, leads to a final courtyard with an audience *iwan* at its back. Behind this and to the side, citadel towers were adapted for residence or other palace use. Other towers of the citadel were also used as belvederes, cisterns were built, and outside the citadel a large bathhouse and cistern were constructed.[12]

11 Redford 2005, 291–292.

12 Prof. Arık has yet to publish fully the results of his excavations at the Seljuk palace in Alanya citadel. For a summary

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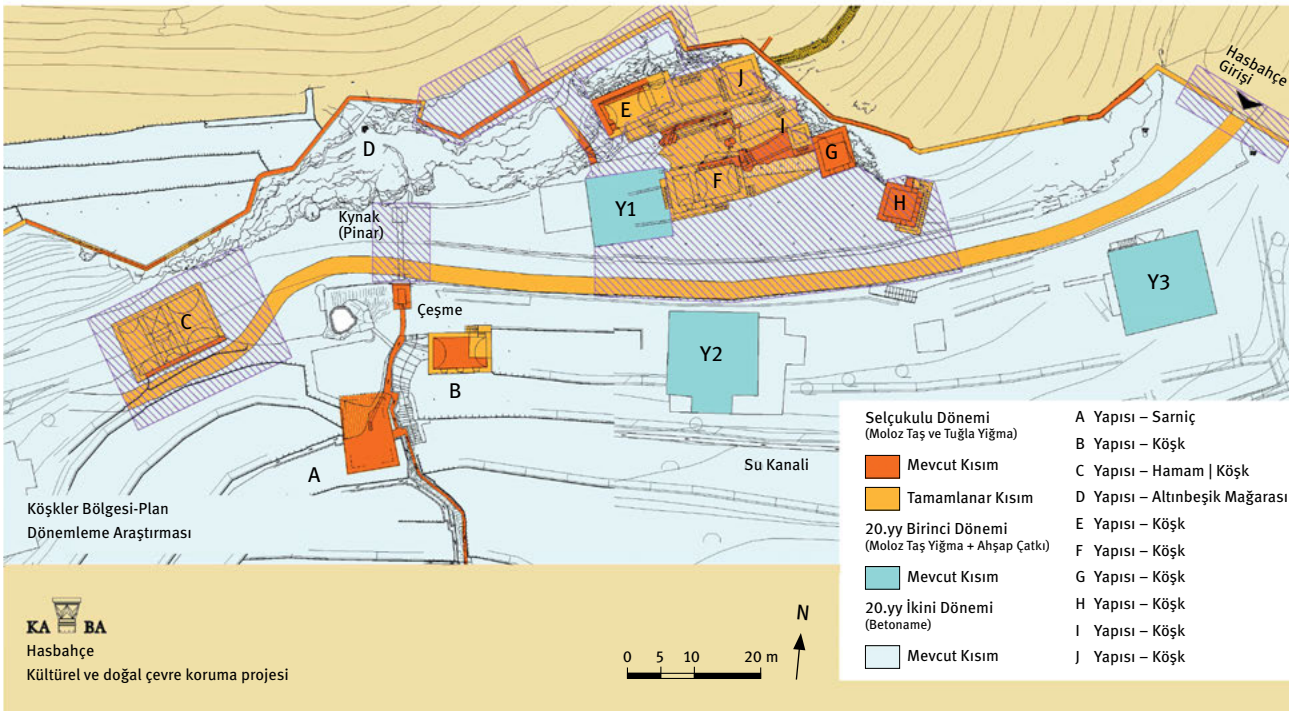

Fig. 7 Plan of the top of Hasbahçe garden showing the relationship of the pavilions, and the location of the spring.

If the citadel palace was used for audiences, it was also, despite massive cisterns, barren and remote from the usual winter pursuits of king and court. 260 meters below the citadel, portside, another enclosure was set up, guarded by towers on both ends (Fig. 6). At the base of this tower are remains of pavilions, as yet unexcavated, and a small bathhouse. These are close to a tower, larger than the others, that is marked on the exterior by an inscription and may have had a residential function. At the other end of the portside enclosure lies the famous shipyard, or arsenal, of Alanya. All of the inscriptions in this enclosure, with the exception of one architect's inscription on the Red Tower, give only the name and titles of the sultan, marking it as a royal one. Thus, here we have another citadel used, among other things, for boating excursions like those at Kubadabad, which was founded one year before construction on this part of the city began.

The hinterland of Alanya, site of the modern tourist town, preserves remains of seven walled Seljuk gardens. The larger of them, in addition to multiple pavilions, also have bathhouses and auxiliary structures. I believe that these were the suburban winter residences of the sultan and his court more than the citadel palace. Recent excavations undertaken by the Alanya Museum at the largest of them all, the sultanic garden of Hasbahçe, has revealed an order of vertical exclusion to match the horizontal exclusion of the citadel palace here. Terrace walls support three levels of pavilions in roughly parallel sequence, with stairs leading to each side (Fig. 7). Once again, traces of paint and fragments of tile assure us that the standard decorative programme applied here, too. At the very top lies the largest pavilion, with the most spectacular view over the plain, the sea and the rocky peninsula of the city. Even though the plan of these two sultanic complexes is completely different, both are governed by the principle of restricted access and siting criteria which privilege views over land and water.

When Seljuk gardens were not used for residence and rest between hunting expeditions, they served an economic purpose, their gardens most probably producing tree crops such as apricots or almonds. The sultanic garden of Hasbahçe possesses a complex irrigation system of pools and

of the first years of the excavation, along with a plan of the palace, see Arık 1993. For a summary of tile finds from the same excavations, see Arık/Arık 2008, 271–281.

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storage tanks, leaving no doubt that the garden was cultivated year round, with water coming from a perennial spring at the top of the site (Fig. 7). In a similar way, I believe that Alanya was reformulated by Alaeddin Keykubad as a palace city, with the citadel housing a garrison year round and the harbourside enclosure for commercial and military purposes during the sailing season, all serving as various palatial residences: one secure and formal, one suburban and suitable for hunting expeditions, and one seaside, suitable for fishing and boating. These activities can also be identified at Kubadabad, as we have seen. We know less about Keykubadiye largely due to the obstruction of the sugar beet factory that currently occupies the site, but we know that it had an artificial lake and island.[13]

The Palace and the Church

The Seljuk palace at Alanya citadel was placed at the northwest corner of the preexistent Byzantine citadel, adjacent to its main entrance. Just inside this entrance lies a late 11th century domed triconch church, complete with frescoes. There is no evidence that this church was turned into a mosque. In the citadel at Konya, too, the citadel mound was topped by the church of St Amphilochios, which, it seems, was *not* turned into a mosque in the Seljuk period. The presence of churches in close proximity to Seljuk palaces has spawned a literature that can be grouped in two: those who view this as a sign of religious tolerance, and those who believe that these churches were used by the numerous Christian women who formed part of the sultanic harem. In turn, I choose to consider these churches as symbols of Byzantine sovereignty, preserved by the Seljuks in a new architectural setting as a reframing and cooption of authority and even legitimacy, and not solely as religious. It is interesting to see variations of this practice continued in the 14th century by the Ottomans in Bursa, and later even Istanbul itself.[14]

Reconfiguring and Reusing the Past

The landscapes and townscapes of Medieval Anatolia must have been littered by the remains of past civilisations, especially those like the Romans that favoured construction in stone. This is demonstrated in the many ways, running the gamut from practical to symbolic, whereby the Seljuks reused, recycled, and repurposed the buildings, ruined and otherwise, of Anatolia. For a paper limited to the subject of palaces, the most striking instances of the reuse of remains occur on the south coast. Here, the Seljuks, probably in the 1220s, turned the stage building of the second century AD Roman theater of Aspendos into a palace. The staircase towers on either side of the stage building were painted with the red zigzags found in other palatial and garden settings, and the upper parts of each staircase tower were most likely turned into belvederes, as their interiors were covered with Seljuk tiles. And some of the architectural sculpture of the stage building, including figural busts of people and animals, was flecked with the same red paint used for the zigzags.[15]

To the east of Alanya, on the Mediterranean, lie the remains of the Roman city of Selinus. There, in the middle of one of the two forums of the city, rose the cenotaph of Roman Emperor Hadrian, who died in Selinus in 117 AD. The Seljuks converted the podium of this temple into a hunting pavilion, building a bathhouse nearby.[16]

13 For a summary of Keykubadiye, see Redford 2000, 67–69.

14 Shukurov 2013, 123–124; Tekinalp 2009, 148–167; Redford 2013a, 328–329.

15 For Aspendos, see Redford 2000, 49–50.

16 Redford 2000, 156–160. Claudia Winterstein of the DAI is undertaking a detailed study of the cenotaph at Selinus.

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Conclusion

In this paper I have sketched the outline of a distinctive Seljuk decorative style, with a standard decorative schema that did not change from place to place. Contrary to this standardisation, in each location, pavilions, palaces and other structures were placed with maximum sensitivity to site, in order to take best advantage of views, preferably of greenery and water. I have tied these structures to the sultan and his peripatetic court, and to the age-old idea of architecture representing imperium. The appeal of this architectural style spread beyond the boundaries of Anatolian Seljuk realms, but the buildings I have discussed can all be tied very securely to the Seljuk sultan and his court.

If this is the case, how did this system adapt to change? With the weakening of the sultanate following the coming of the Mongols, the Maghribi Ibn Sa'id, who travelled in Anatolia in the 1250s, noted that the palaces of the powerful emirs in Konya were larger than those of the sultan. Nevertheless, it is likely that the standardised programme continued to be employed, as it must have taken some time for changes in leadership and the development of a new dynastic style to be reflected in style of architecture and decoration. In terms of Mongol rule, we see this most dramatically in the early fourteenth century mausoleum of Uljaytu in Sultaniye, in Iranian Azerbaijan, where a tile-mosaic decorative programme derived from Seljuk Anatolia was changed to one in painted plaster that reflects more the Chinese influenced style and palate of the Ilkhanids, with other priorities, as Sheila Blair has argued.[17] If Seljuk-style tile patterns and developments were being transported to Ilkhanid realms to the east, can we find the opposite? In 2001, Rüçhan Arık, excavator of Kubadabad, uncovered remains of a tile warehouse, with Ilkhanid-style black and blue tiles stacked for use in a planned renovation of the palaces, probably by the local dynasty of the Eşrefoğulları who, like the Seljuks at the time, were vassals of the Mongols. There is not a zigzag or a checkerboard in sight. The Chinese influenced Mongol palatial style, elaborated by the Timurids, was to revisit Anatolia in early Ottoman times, with that most palatial of mosques, the Yeşil Cami in Bursa, the best known representative of this style. Unfortunately, the early Ottoman palaces of Bursa have not survived.[18]

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17 Blair also argues for an "iconographic" programme of the redecoration, linking it to the previous influence of the Byzantines at the Ilkhanid court, and arguing that the inscriptions of this redecoration constituted the first planned and complete marriage of text and architecture along the lines of what Byzantines had been doing with ecclesiastical imagery for centuries. Another way to look at this epigraphic programme is as an Anatolian import, as the madrasa of Jalal al-Din Karatay in Konya, which dates to ca. 1251.

18 Blair 1987, 61–70; Arık 2000, 74–77; Arık/Arık 2008, 345–390.

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Fig. 1: Map by Fatih Taşpınar.
Fig. 2: Julius Harry Löytved, *Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten,* Berlin 1907, 56.
Fig. 3. 4: Katharina Otto-Dorn (1969), "Bericht über Grabung in Kobadabad 1966," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 84, Fig. 3. 14.
Fig. 5: Author.
Fig. 6: Feyzi Açıkalın.
Fig. 7: Courtesy Ka-Ba Mimarlık, Ankara.

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Hansgerd Hellenkemper

Politische Orte? Kaiserliche Sommerpaläste in Konstantinopel

„Den größten Teil des Jahres hielt sich (die Kaiserin) in den Palästen (*proasteia*) am Meer auf, vor allem im Herion", so die knappe Mitteilung des Historikers Prokop in seinen *Anekdota* („Geheimgeschichte").[1] Dies ist als dezidierte Kritik an Theodora, Ehefrau des Kaisers Justinian (527–565), formuliert. Prokop verbindet diese Bemerkung mit dem Mitgefühl, Theodoras Hofstaat litte unter den häufigen Ortswechseln an vielerlei Entbehrungen und wegen der häufigen Seefahrten unter den Gefahren des Meeres. „Doch die Herrschaften" – das kaiserliche Paar – „ließ das allgemeine Unglück kalt, wenn sie nur selber im Vollen leben konnten".[2] Die lapidare Bemerkung des Historikers bezeugt einen Lebensrhythmus des Kaiserpaares, der sich vermutlich nur in geringem Umfang von den Lebensgewohnheiten der älteren Kaiserfamilien in Rom und Konstantinopel unterschied.

Außer dem Großen Palast Konstantins d. Gr. am Südhang des konstantinopler Stadtrückens gab es im nahen Umkreis der Stadt zahlreiche Paläste, die der kaiserlichen Familie als Sommersitze und Lustschlösser, als zeitweiliger Lebensmittelpunkt dienten.[3] Damit waren diese Paläste in das politische Leben des Kaisers und des Hofstaates einbezogen. Prokop präzisiert, dass diese *proasteia*, also Besitzungen in den Vororten von Byzantion, am Meer lagen.[4] Es sind herrschaftliche *villae maritimae,* Seevillen in römischer Tradition. Prokop lässt die Jahreszeit offen, aber der kaiserliche Zeremonialkalender mit einer Vielzahl wiederkehrender Verpflichtungen in der Stadt, für Staat und Kirche, begrenzt den Zeitraum weitgehend auf die Sommermonate.

Theodora scheint von diesen kaiserlichen Präsenzpflichten nicht allzusehr eingeengt worden zu sein; sie genoss das privilegierte, unbeschwertere Leben in den Palästen vor den Toren der Stadt; so deute ich den Sinn von Prokops kritischen Worten. Zugleich verstand Theodora sich als Meisterin der Selbstinszenierung.[5]

Diese kaiserliche Gewohnheit in frühbyzantinischer Zeit, einen guten Teil des Jahres in den Palästen am Meer, beispielsweise im Hebdomon, in Hagios Mamas oder in Hiereia, zu verbringen, setzt sich in früher mittelbyzantinischer Zeit in Orten wie Sophianai (Kandilli) oder Bryas (Küçükyalı/Gegend von Maltepe) fort und ist auch bis in das späte 12. Jahrhundert mehrmals Anlass zu kritischer Betrachtung der byzantinischen Historiker (Abb. 1).

Eingewoben in die Geschichte des Kaisers Theophilos (829–842) notiert der anonyme Theophanes Continuatus Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts, dass die Kaiser sich oft von Orten außerhalb der Hauptstadt angezogen fühlten, als wären diese ein Fest für die Augen – also höchst verführerisch.[6] Als konkrete Illustration zu dieser Bemerkung berichtet Kaiser Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos (913–959) [als Autor der Lehrschrift für seinen Sohn Romanos] über Kaiser Basileios I. (867–886), er habe „recht häufig Ausfahrten" zu seinem neu erbauten Palast in Pegai (Kasımpaşa – Dolapdere) unternommen, aber ebenso auch nach Hebdomon, Hiereia und Bryas oder auch in die Thermalbäder von Prusa (Bursa).[7] Die Nennung der verschiedenen Palastorte erklärt Aufgabe und Funktion der kaiserlichen Schnellschiffe, der Agraria und Dromonen, die dem Kaiser und seiner Familie

1 Prokop, Anekdota 15,36–38; Übersetzung von O. Veh, Prokop, Anekdota (1961) 135.

2 Prokop, a.O. 15,38.

3 Eine Übersicht zu den Palästen in der Peripherie Konstantinopels bieten Janin 1964, 138–153; Runciman 1980, 219–228; Köroğlu 2008, 249–283; für Bithynien: Hellenkemper 2013, 61–81.

4 Prokop (Anm. 1), 15,36.

5 Beck 1986.

6 Theophanes Continuatus 88.

7 Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos, De administrando imperio, Kap. 51.

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Abb. 1 Früh- und mittelbyzantinische Kaiserpaläste (Auswahl) im Umkreis von Konstantinopel.

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als persönliche Flotte, sowohl für die Fahrten entlang der Stadt als auch im weiteren städtischen Umfeld, zur Verfügung standen.[8] Die beiläufige Notiz macht deutlich, dass häufige Aufenthalte in den Palästen der Umgebung der Stadt im 10. Jahrhundert zum normalen kaiserlichen Leben gehörte, auch in den Augen Konstantins VII.

Niketas Choniates bemerkt spitz über Kaiser Isaak Angelos (1185–1195): Er „suchte gerne liebliche und unter mildem Himmel gelegene Orte auf und kehrte nur von Zeit zu Zeit in die Stadt zurück (...). Eifriger als jeder andere betrieb er den Bau von ungeheuren Gebäuden (...). An der Propontisküste erbaute er kostspielige Häuser (*domoi*) und schuf, das Meer in Land verwandelnd, kleine Inseln."[9] Der Chronist stellt die offenkundig häufige Abwesenheit des Kaisers fern der Hauptstadt heraus und betont seine ungezügelte Baulust nicht nur in den beiden Kaiserpalästen, im Großen Palast und in den Blachernen, sondern auch den Bau neuer Paläste, vielleicht im Typ mittelalterlicher Wohnburgen, an der Propontis.

Propontis und Bosporus waren über Jahrhunderte die klassischen Küsten der kaiserlichen Villeggiatur. Mit den offenkundig häufigen Abwesenheiten ergab sich zugleich eine zeitweilige räumliche Verlagerung des tatsächlichen Herrschaftsortes.

Die byzantinischen Sommerpaläste sind alle untergegangen; erhalten sind literarische Nachrichten, die Orte und ihre landschaftliche Lage (Abb. 1). Die Untersuchungen und Reflektionen über diese Paläste dienen einer historischen Erkundung; sie erweitern und vertiefen unser Bild und Verständnis des Hoflebens und der kaiserlichen Lebenswelten.[10]

Kaiserliche Sommerpaläste oder Lustschlösser in Byzanz sind keine Neuerfindung anlässlich oder in Folge der Gründung Konstantinopels als kaiserliche Residenzstadt. Sommervillen sind eine eigene Erfindung der römischen Nobilität in republikanischer Zeit, die sich als Lebensstil der Oberschicht in der Prinzipatszeit ausbreitet.[11] Senatorische Familien und Kaiserhaus stehen über Jahrhunderte in Konkurrenz und Wettstreit zueinander. Diese Kultur aufwändiger Sommerrefugien setzt sich als Lebensstil völlig natürlich unter der neuen Gesellschaft am Bosporus fort. Der Lebenslauf zwischen Stadtpalais und Sommerresidenz vollzieht sich in gleicher Weise wie in Italien oder in den mediterranen Provinzen, so auch in Konstantinopel. Es ist ein Übergang ohne Unterbrechung oder Umformung der Gewohnheiten. Während für die Gründergenerationen Kaiserpalast und Senatorenpaläste (*palatia*) in der Stadt namentlich und örtlich gut bezeugt sind, setzen die Quellen für das Umland der Stadt erst im späten 4. und 5. Jahrhundert ein.[12]

Der älteste bezeugte Vorort als Kaiserresidenz ist das Hebdomon (Bakırköy) im Westen vor den Mauern, sieben Meilen vom Milion der Stadt entfernt.[13] Es ist der Ort an der Propontisküste, an der Via Egnatia, wo Valens i. J. 374 von den Truppen als Kaiser auf den Schild gehoben wurde.[14]

8 De administrando imperio a.O.

9 Niketas Choniates 442 van Dieten, Übersetzung Grabler 1958, 248. Die kleinen Inseln waren offenbar Kunstbauten, die in Ufernähe auf aufgeschüttetem Baugrund Pavillions trugen. Die Bautechnik mit verfestigtem Baugrund (Steinschüttungen oder Holzroste) als Grundlagen für Dammbauten in römischer Tradition waren in Byzanz geläufig (beispielhaft die Landebrücken/*skalai* und Molen in den Häfen der Hauptstadt). Eine solche byzantinische Baukonstruktion für einen Pavillion konnte bislang nicht am Bosporus oder an der Propontis beobachtet werden.

10 Die Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Villeggiatur in Thrakien und Bithynien, insbesondere zur Geschichte und Präsenz der Kaiserpaläste, sind ein Forschungsvorhaben, das ich im Studienjahr 2011/2012 am Research Center for Anatolian Civilisations der Koç University Istanbul intensiv verfolgen konnte. Manche der hier vorgetragenen Gedanken gehen auf vielfältige Gespräche mit M. J. Featherstone zurück.

11 Hier bleibt die achämenidische Tradition der Sommerresidenzen außer Acht, da sie – obwohl in Byzanz bekannt – keinen Einfluss auf die römisch-frühbyzantinische Lebensform der Villeggiatur erkennen lässt. Vgl. jedoch Niketas Choniates 206 van Dieten mit der Erwähnung von Susa und Ekbatana.

12 Die Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae ed. O. Seeck 1876, nennt in den verschiedenen Stadtteilen um 425 n. Chr. eine größere Zahl bedeutender Privatpaläste.

13 Külzer 2008, 391–395 s.v. Hebdomon, 505 s.v. Magnaura.

14 Hofmann 1969, 123.

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Das Hebdomon, leicht erhöht auf flacher Geländetafel über dem Küstensaum der Propontis gelegen, ist ein siedlungsfreundlicher Ort. Die nahe, auch verkehrsgünstige Lage zu Konstantinopel machen ihn zu einem idealen Truppensammelort. Dieser militärische Aspekt, aber auch die verlockende Seesicht mit breitem Panorama nach Süden sind augenscheinlich ausschlaggebend für den ältesten bezeugten Palast, Magnaura, im westlichen Vorfeld der Stadt. Der Garnisonsort, das Marsfeld mit dem Tribunal und die Sicht auf die thrakischen Ufer, auf die bithynische Küste und Inseln, auf die bithynischen Berge machen den Palast im Hebdomon zu einer angenehmen Dienstresidenz und zugleich zu einem eminent politischen Ort.

Der Kaiserpalast auf dem flachen Kap wird wahrscheinlich in frühbyzantinischer Zeit schrittweise für die wachsenden Anforderungen erweitert und umgebaut.[15] Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts, in der Zeit Zenons (474–491), ist der Palast Schauplatz eines Aufruhrs. Der Usurpator Basiliskos flüchtet sich mit seinem Schiff i. J. 475 vor den fanatischen Anhängern des Säulenheiligen Daniel aus dem Großen Palast in der Stadt in den Palast im Hebdomon (*palation tou Hebdomou*), offenkundig weil er diesen Ort sicherer als die Residenz in der Stadt einschätzt.[16] Die Episode, eingebettet in die Lebensgeschichte des Styliten, zeigt einen wehrhaften Palast, bewacht von gotischen Gardisten. Als übernatürliches Zeichen dieser Konfrontation zwischen dem Usurpator und dem heiligen Mann wird der plötzliche Einsturz eines Palastturmes (*pyrgos tou palatiou*) gedeutet.[17] Die Vita Danielis bezeugt, dass das Palastareal im Hebdomon so befestigt war, dass er bei einem plötzlichen, wütenden Auflauf nicht gestürmt werden konnte. Eine solche Umfriedung war vielleicht nicht die Regel bei extraurbanen Palästen, im Hebdomon aber wegen der vielfachen Truppenbewegungen und der Gefahr möglicher Meutereien angezeigt. Die Episode mit Basiliskos weist auf einen besonderen Aspekt der Sicherung eines solchen Sommerpalastes hin.

Justinian erachtete das Hebdomon für sich als einen besonderen Ort. Die Gründe lassen sich nicht mit Gewissheit benennen, vielleicht wollte er der älteren Kaisertradition folgen und zugleich (auch) auf der europäischen Seite präsent sein. Justinian entschloss sich, gegenüber dem Alten Palast auf dem Kap im Westen am östlichen Rand des großen Proasteion einen eigenen neuen Palast, den Palast Iukundianai, zu bauen.[18] Bedeutung und Aufwand lassen sich daran ermessen, dass im Hebdomon ein weiterer neuer künstlicher Hafen angelegt wurde, dessen Bau Prokop ausführlich beschreibt.[19]

Kaum zwei Jahre nach seiner Thronbesteigung und Regierungsantritt am 1. August 527 erlässt Justinian ein Gesetz im Hebdomon im neuen Konsistorium (*in novo consistorio*), d.h. im neuen Thron- und Ratssaal: ein Kaisersaal, der nur in einem Kaiserpalast vorhanden ist.[20] Die Betonung *novum consistorium* impliziert einen bereits vorhandenen Kaisersaal im älteren, westlich gelegenen Palast.

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob Justinian nach seinem Dienstantritt einen neuen Saal hat bauen lassen – oder ist der neue persönliche Palast gemeint, dessen chronologische Einordnung, beispielsweise der Baubeginn, sich nicht aus Prokops Baunachricht erschließen lässt. Dies gilt auch für die Palastkirche Johannes des Täufers, von Theodosios I. vielleicht als Basilika gestiftet, dann von Justinian niedergelegt und vollständig neu gebaut.[21] Seit dem 5. Jahrhundert ist die Kirche Johannes des Täufers im Hebdomon auch Krönungskirche. Durch ihre Nähe zu Justinians Palast ist

15 Topographische Lageskizzen bieten: Thibaut 1922, 31–44; Demangel 1945; Mamboury 1951, 566; Austellung 2011, 131–137.

16 Vita Danielis, ed. H. Delehaye §73: Delehaye 1923, 71, vgl. auch §75.

17 Vita Danielis a.O. §76 und 83; Der Palastturm war offenbar besonders markant, vielleicht der einzige Turm im Palast.

18 Prokop aed. I, 11/16.

19 Prokop aed. I, 11/17–21.

20 C. J. I 2,22, Ausfertigungsvermerk vom 30. Oktober 529.

21 Prokop aed. I, 9/15–16. Janin ²1969, 413–415, bes. 413.

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sie seither auch Palastkirche.[22] An diesem Ort werden beispielsweise die Kaiser Leon I. (457–474) in der alten, Kaiser Phokas (602–610) in der neuen Kirche gekrönt. Hebdomon bleibt mit seinem Marsfeld ein politischer Ort. Neun Kaiser, von Valens bis Nikephoros Phokas, werden hier auf den Schild gehoben.[23]

Es gibt weitere Paläste an der nordwestlichen Propontis, vielleicht sind es Dienstpaläste, vielleicht dienen sie auch zur Erholung. In Rhegion (Küçükçekmece), etwa zehn Meilen von der Hauptstadt entfernt, hebt sich der Palastbezirk als breiter Sporn heraus, mit weiter Sicht über die Nahtstelle zwischen Meer und einem Lagunensee[24]; i. J. 384 fertigt hier Theodosios I. ein Gesetz aus (Cod. Theod. III 1,5). Es ist ein ungewöhnlicher schriftlicher Beleg für den Palast an diesem Ort. Es gibt aber keine Zweifel, dass nicht in den jeweiligen Palästen Briefe, Erlasse, Gesetze oder Chrysobullen beraten, formuliert und ausgefertigt werden.

Rhegion spielt in der Topographie des kaiserlichen Protokolls eine Rolle. Noch im 10. Jahrhundert wird Rhegion im Zeremonienbuch eigens aufgeführt. Es ist der Platz, an dem der Senat den von einem Feldzug zurückkehrenden Kaiser begrüßt.[25]

Zu den ältesten Palästen außerhalb der Stadt, vielleicht noch in die 1. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts zurückreichend, gehört der Palast von Hagios Mamas auf der thrakischen Seite des Bosporus am Ufersaum in Dolmabahçe[26], vermutlich an der Stelle des heutigen Palastes, gebaut von Sultan Abdül Hamid (1876–1909).

Dieser frühbyzantinische Uferpalast tritt urplötzlich ins Rampenlicht: Kaiser Leon (457–474) flüchtet mit seiner Familie und dem Hofstaat im Herbst 465 nach Ausbruch einer gewaltigen Feuersbrunst aus dem Großen Palast nach Hagios Mamas.[27] Leon bleibt sechs Monate in diesem Kaiserpalast am Bosporus, also den gesamten Winter d. J. 465/466. Hagios Mamas wird Regierungszentrale und Residenz als Ersatz für den Großen Palast – und damit Mittelpunkt des Reiches, nach dem römischen Grundsatz „Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist". Für Kaiser Michael III. (842–867) wird der Palast von Hagios Mamas zum Favoriten; hier hielt er sich oft wochenlang auf, da er in diesem Palast seiner großen Leidenschaft, den Wagenrennen, frönen konnte. Noch am Nachmittag, vor seinem gewaltsamen Tod am Abend des 23. September 867, hatte er mit seinem Gespann in der Arena gestanden.

Der Kaiserpalast in Hiereia (Fenerbahçe), auf der asiatischen Seite gelegen, wurde nach Prokops Worten Theodoras Lieblingsresidenz.[28] Die Residenz war ein großer Neubau Justinians an prominenter Stelle mit herrlicher Sicht auf die Kaiserstadt, gekrönt von der Silhouette der Hagia Sophia.[29] Warum Hiereia Theodoras bevorzugter Aufenthaltsort wurde, lässt sich nicht sicher erschließen, vielleicht weil es die sehr persönliche Baugründung des Kaiserpaares war, vielleicht weil der Ort so sinnfällig den Abstand von der Kaiserstadt vor Augen führte, vielleicht auch weil das Klima auf der asiatischen Seite als milder und angenehmer empfunden wurde. Der Palast war groß und im Wortsinne kaiserlich angemessen. Justin II. und Sophia nutzten ihn, ebenso Herakleios (610–641), Basileios I. (867–886) und Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos (913–959).[30]

Hiereia war seit seiner Vollendung, d.h. in justinianischer Zeit in den Kalender des Hofzeremoniells, so mit dem jährlichen Erntedankfest, fest eingebunden. Der Kaiser empfing im September die Spitzen des Staates und unter Führung des Patriarchen den hohen Klerus zu einer Erntedank-

22 Janin ²1969, 414; Mathews 1980, 55–61, Abb. 42–47; Krönungskirche für Leon I. (Zeremonienbuch, Appendix ad I) und für Phokas (Simokattes p. 313).
23 Janin ²1964, 447.
24 Mansel 1951; zur Geschichte Külzer 2008, 615–618 s.v. Hebdomon; Ausstellung 2011, 139–144.
25 Haldon 1990.
26 Mango in ODB s.v. Bosporos, 312.
27 Pargoire 1904, 261–316
28 Prokop, Anekdota 15,36–38.
29 Prokop aed. I, 11/16.
30 Janin 1964, 148–150; Konstantins VII. Bauten in Hieria: Theophanes Continuatus, 451f. ; Hellenkemper 2013, 65–68.

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prozession in die Weingärten südlich von Chalkedon (Kadıköy) und zu einem anschließendem Festmahl im Palast. Gregor von Tours berichtet[31], Kaiser Tiberius I. Konstantinos (578–582) sei zu einer *villa* gezogen, um „dort gemäß kaiserlicher Sitte (*iuxta ritum imperiale*) dreißig Tage die Freuden der Weinlese zu genießen", aber angesichts einer Hofintrige der Kaiserinwitwe Sophia vorzeitig in den Palast nach Konstantinopel zurückgekehrt. Gregor hält als fernes Echo die Nachricht fest, dass es kaiserlicher Tradition entsprach, zur Weinlese aufs Land zu gehen. Der Name der Villa, des Landsitzes, wird nicht genannt; es könnte Hiereia sein, aber auch einer der beiden neuen Sommersitze, Bryas[32] oder Damatrys[33], von Tiberios gegründet und von Maurikios (582–602) vollendet, beide im bithynischen Weingürtel. Überraschend und singulär ist die Nachricht über die Länge des traditionellen Aufenthaltes, ein wesentlicher Aspekt im kaiserlichen Jahreskalender und Lebensrhythmus.

Eine eher ungewöhnliche Herrichtung und Nutzung erfuhr der Palast in Hiereia als Tagungsort des Ikonoklastenkonzils des Jahres 754, vom 10. Februar bis zum 8. August. Kaiser Konstantin V. (740–775) hatte seinen Palast als Platz der Synode bestimmt. Ob die Ortswahl bewusst an Namen und Ruhm des älteren Konzils von Chalkedon anknüpfen wollte, bleibt offen. Der Kaiser übernahm den Vorsitz.[34] Hiereia ist ein sprechendes Beispiel für eine lange und vielfältige staatliche Nutzung eines Kaiserpalastes, der zwar monumental konzipiert und gebaut, aber bei seiner Planung wohl eher als ein privater Sommerwohnort verstanden wurde.

Ein außerordentliches, nicht periodisches Ereignis in der Geschichte der Stadt hat das Zeremonienbuch als exemplarische Protokollniederschrift bewahrt: Die feierliche Rückkehr des Kaisers Theophilos (829–842) von einem schnellen, siegreichen Feldzug gegen die Araber in Kilikien im Frühjahr 831.[35] Als sich der junge, wohl neunzehnjährige Kaiser mit seinem Heer auf dem Rückzug der bithynischen Küste näherte, hatten bereits Meldereiter die Nachricht von Sieg und Rückkehr in die Kaiserstadt überbracht. Kaiserin Theodora, der Magister Officiorum (der „Reichsverweser"), der Eparchos (Stadtpräfekt) als auch die in Konstantinopel anwesenden Senatoren, d. h. die eindrucksvolle Elite des Staates, setzten auf die asiatische Seite über, wohl direkt zum Hafen Hiereia (Fenerbahçe İskelesi, heute der Yachthafen). Der Senat zog auf der Reichsstraße entlang der bithynischen Küste dem Kaiser entgegen, während die Kaiserin ihren Mann im Palast von Hiereia „innerhalb der Balustrade im Unteren Triklinos" erwartete. Theophilos bestimmte, dass Hof und Senat sieben Tage in Hiereia bleiben sollten, bis zur Ankunft der arabischen Kriegsgefangenen. Die Woche in Hiereia bot ausreichend Zeit zur Erholung[36], zu Audienzen und zu politischen Gesprächen. Darüber hinaus ließ der Kaiser auch die Ehefrauen der Senatoren nach Hiereia kommen, als Begleitung und Unterhaltung für die Kaiserin. Auffallend ist, dass der Patriarch, Antonios I. Kassymatas, und der hohe Klerus keine Erwähnung finden und augenscheinlich nicht anwesend sind, vielleicht auch Ausdruck der aktuellen Spannungen in der ikonoklastischen Auseinandersetzung. Diese Inszenierung der feierlichen Rückkehr des Kaisers i. J. 831 war keine Premiere, aber für Theophilos der erste „Triumph". Nur dieses Protokoll ist exemplarisch dokumentiert und als Appendix in die Sammlung des Zeremonienbuches des 10. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen worden. Der Bericht über den Triumph zeigt, dass der Palast Hiereia mit seiner Lage eine Schlüsselstellung im Weichbild der Kaiserstadt innehatte. Es ist vor allem die Größe und Leistungsfähigkeit des Palastes, der eine bedeutende Zahl an Gästen kurzfristig aufnehmen und versorgen konnte. Dies lässt erkennen,

31 Historiarum V, 30. Den Hinweis verdanke ich P. Schreiner; dazu Schreiner 2010, 412.

32 In der Region Bryas lagen, ähnlich wie im Hebdomon, zwei von einander getrennte Kaiserpaläste, der ältere vermutlich im oder am Hafenort, der jüngere (s.u.) als eigenständige Gründung frei über dem Küstensaum.

33 Patria III 170–171; Berger 1988, 713–716.

34 Beck 1959, 55.

35 Haldon 1990. Ausdrücklich sind die Städte Tarsos, Mopsouestia, Adana, Eirenoupolis und Anazarbos genannt, hierzu Hild/Hellenkemper 1990 s.vv. Noch im gleichen Jahr, 831, wird der Kaiser von den Truppen des Kalifen al-Ma'mun besiegt.

36 Dieser Gedanke schon bei Hunger 1990, 26.

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dass die Kaiserresidenz in Hiereia eine zentrale Rolle als Palast für Reichsangelegenheiten spielte. Hiereia war als Residenz und Zeremonialort in das Protokoll des Hofes integral eingebunden. Hiereia war nicht mehr – wie ursprünglich – einfach der Lieblingsort einer Kaiserin, Theodora, sondern ein prachtvoller Palast mit Reichsaufgaben, der entsprechend unterhalten wurde.

Diese Selbstverständlichkeit galt auch für den Palast in Hagios Mamas am europäischen Ufer des Bosporus, wo Kaiser Theophilos drei weitere Tage mit dem Senat verweilte, bevor er zu seinem Triumphzug in die Stadt aufbrach. Sein Weg führte ihn von Hagios Mamas mit den kaiserlichen Schnellruderern zum Blachernenpalast. Dort bestieg er sein Pferd und ritt mit großem Gefolge, vermutlich über Stunden, die lange Strecke auf der Feldseite entlang der Landmauer bis zum Goldenen Tor. Dieser aufwändige Weg mit der „Inspektion" der Großen Mauer war gleichermaßen ein zeremonieller Teil des Triumphzuges, wenn auch nicht ausdrücklich hervorgehoben. Die Woche des kaiserlichen Aufenthaltes in Hiereia und die weiteren drei Tage in Hagios Mamas dienten nicht nur der Ankunft des Heeres und der Gefangenen, sondern neben der Ruhe und Erholung und vor allem der ausreichenden Vorbereitung und Logistik des Triumphzuges vom Goldenen Tor im Westen zur Hagia Sophia im Osten der Stadt.

Hiereia und Hagios Mamas sind in diesen Tagen ohne Zweifel erste Orte der politischen Aufwartung, Orte für Beförderungen, Auszeichnungen und Belohnungen des Militärs, Orte für erste große Gastmähler des Kaisers nach seiner Rückkehr.

Sommerpaläste erwiesen sich als ideale Stätten diplomatischer Begegnungen, einerseits um Gesandten sehr unterschiedlicher Nationen und Völkerschaften die vielfältige Pracht kaiserlicher Residenzen vor Augen zu führen, andererseits um den Kaiser zu entlasten, eigens aus dem Erholungsort in den Großen Palast zurückzukehren. Es gehörte zu den protokollarischen Gepflogenheiten der Byzantiner, wie später auch der Osmanen, die angereisten Gesandten mit ihrem Gefolge je nach Bedeutung und Opportunität zuweilen gebührend warten zu lassen. Ein solch langes Zuwarten erfuhr Liutprand, Bischof von Cremona, der i. J. 968 als Botschafter Kaiser Ottos I. zum zweiten Mal nach Konstantinopel kam, um – letztlich vergeblich – um eine Braut für Otto II. zu werben.[37] Liutprand wird wenige Tage vor Ende seiner weitgehend gescheiterten Mission von den kaiserlichen Hofbeamten nach Bryas (*Umbria*) auf der asiatischen Seite der Propontis zitiert, 18 Meilen von der Hauptstadt entfernt. Kaiser Nikephoros II. Phokas (963–969) hatte Konstantinopel am 22. Juli 968 bereits für die letzten Vorbereitungen seines Feldzuges gegen die Araber (*Assyrer*) in Kilikien verlassen und nach Asien übergesetzt. Von der kaiserlichen Kanzlei aufgefordert verlässt Liutprand die Stadt am 25. Juli und erhält in Bryas eine Audienz. Nikephoros muss erkennen, so Liutprands Zeugnis, dass er mit seinen politischen Forderungen und einer Freundschaft nach byzantinischen Bedingungen scheitert. Trotz der äußerst gespannten Situation läd Kaiser Nikephoros Liutprand wie auch zwei weitere Gäste, Romuald und Byzantios aus Bari, zur Tafel in den Palast von Bryas ein. Die Gespräche bei Tisch kreisen offenbar nicht nur um die strittigen Themen, sondern berühren zugleich auch Leidenschaften und den Stolz des Kaisers. Nikephoros fragt, ob man in der Heimat des Botschafters auch *perivolia* (Brühle, Tiergärten) mit Onagern und anderen Tieren besitze. Liutprand wird in Gegenwart des Kaisers in einen weitläufigen hügeligen Park geführt, um Onager und Rehe zu sehen.[38] Anekdotisch, aber für das strenge, stets gegenwärtige Protokoll symptomatisch, erscheint eine kleine diplomatische Irritation im kaiserlichen Tierpark des Palastes in Bryas. Liutprand wird zu Pferd in das große Tiergehege des Palastes geführt. Liutprand trägt einen Hut. Der Hofmarschall lässt ihm eindringlich ausrichten, es sei nicht erlaubt, an einem Ort, wo sich der Kaiser aufhalte, einen Hut aufzusetzen. Man müsse sich vielmehr mit der *teristra,* einem Schleier (Schal, Überwurf) bedecken. Unwillig und unter Protest

37 Liutprand, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana. Liutprand hielt sich vier Monate in Konstantinopel, vom 4. Juni bis 2. Oktober 968, auf. Breite Darstellung der Mission des Liutprand bei Schlumberger 1890, 597–658 (zu Bryas 641–646).

38 Sevčenko 2002, 72f.

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folgte Liutprand der Aufforderung. Am übernächsten Tag, am 27. Juli 968, bricht Nikephoros nach Syrien auf. Liutprand erhält die kaiserliche Erlaubnis, Bryas wieder zu verlassen und zur Rückkehr an den Hof Ottos I.[39] Am 17. September wird ihm ein kaiserliches Chrysobull für Otto übergeben, am 2. Oktober darf er endlich aus Konstantinopel abreisen.

Als Kaiser Nikephoros den Gesandten Liutprand im Palast von Bryas empfing und zur Tafel bat, war dieser Palast bereits über einhundertdreißig Jahre alt und diente seit seinen Anfängen als Sommer- und Jagdpalast, aber zugleich auch als kaiserliche Etappe auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel. Kaiser Theophilos war der Bauherr dieses besonders eigenwilligen Palastes, entworfen nach arabischen Vorbildern in Mesopotamien. Johannes Synkellos, später Patriarch von Konstantinopel, hatte von seiner Mission an den Kalifenhof in Bagdad Berichte und Aufzeichnungen von arabischer Palastarchitektur mitgebracht.[40] Die Darstellungen des Johannes müssen Theophilos so überzeugt haben, dass er sich entschloss „seinen" Sommerpalast in Bryas nach arabischem Vorbild und Manier zu bauen. Mit Entwurf und Bauausführung beauftragte er den Architekten und Baumeister Patrikes, einen Hofbeamten im Range eines Patrikios.[41] Diese eigenständige Entscheidung eines byzantinischen Souveräns, das Architekturmuster einer fremden, zuweilen gegnerischen Nation zu übernehmen, war auch eine dezidiert politische Entscheidung, vielleicht getragen von der Faszination für die immer wieder in Byzanz zu beobachtende fremde orientalische Welt, zuerst der Perser, nunmehr der Araber. So entstand nach dem Zeugnis der Quellen in Bryas an der bithynischen Riviera ein Sommerpalast nach arabischer Mode.

Semavi Eyice hatte mit großem Spürsinn vor mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert in der Ruinenstätte in Küçükyalı die Fundamentumrisse dieses Palastes erkannt und damit einen Ort byzantinischer Geschichte wiedergewonnen.[42] In der Hügellandschaft an der bithynischen Küste, offenbar am Rande eines bereits bestehenden oder neu abgesteckten kaiserlichen Jagd- und Hegereviers, hat sich Theophilos mit beträchtlichem Bauaufwand eine regelhafte, achsensymmetrische Palastanlage auf einem hohen, künstlich aufgeschütteten Baupodium planen und bauen lassen. Damit wurde der Palast und die Palastkirche des Erzengels Michael ein markantes Sichtzeichen der Landschaft. Die Ausgrabungsergebnisse von Alessandra Ricci haben nunmehr – auch gegen das Urteil der Ausgräberin – diese Benennung bekräftigt.[43] Der Kaiserpalast von Bryas ist der letzte Etappenort im Weichbild der Hauptstadt, von wo der Kaiser zu seinen Feldzügen in den Osten aufbricht. So geschehen am 27. Juli 968, dem letzten siegreichen Feldzug nach Syrien und Mesopotamien. Nikephoros Phokas ist noch einmal triumphierend zurückgekehrt – nach Bryas, nach Hiereia, vielleicht nach Sophianai.

Einen weiteren, sehr politischen Aspekt zeigt die Nutzung des Sommerpalastes Sophianai (Çengelköy).[44] Gebaut von Justin II. (565–578) und zu Ehren seiner sehr selbstbewussten Frau Sophia Sophinanai genannt, geht der Palast ebenso wie jener in Hiereia mit dem Ende der Dynastie in Staatsbesitz über und wird in der Folgezeit als Staatspalast unterhalten. Zwei Jahrhunderte nach seiner Gründung erscheint dieser Palast als Ort mit besonderer Bedeutung: Kaiser Leon IV. (775–780) empfängt in Sophianai auf der asiatischen Seite des Bosporos seine Generalität nach einem wohl verlustreichen Kriegszug gegen die Araber in Nordsyrien. Unter den Strategen ist beispielsweise Michael Lachonodrakon, Stratege des Themas Thrakesion. Kaiser Leon sitzt gemeinsam mit

39 Liutprand, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana, Kap. 46.

40 Theophanes Continuatus 98

41 Theophanes Continuatus a.O.

42 S. Eyice gelang es, den Palast von Bryas mit den Ruinen von Küçükyalı (Bezirk Maltepe) zu identifizieren. Eyice 1959a, 79–104, Abb. 1–15; Eyice 1959b, 245–250;Eyice 1994, 322-324. Zur älteren Literatur u.a. v. d. Goltz, 1895, 73; Pargoire 1901, 56–91; Mamboury 1920, 322–330; Lehmann-Hartleben 1922, 103–106; Janin 1923, 193–195; Meliopoulos 1927, 325–345; Krautheimer 1986, 351; Mango 1994, 343–357 (II. Le Palais de Bryas, 347–350); Köroğlu 1996, 10–14; Ricci 1998 131–149; Ricci 2003, 515–519; Ricci 2004; Ricci 2011; Ricci 2012, Hellenkemper 2013, 73f.

43 Ricci 2012 sieht die Ruinenstätte ohne nähere Erklärung als Klosterkomplex von Satyros.

44 Janin 1964, 153, 489.

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seinem minderjährigen Sohn Konstantin (VI.) auf dem Thron in der Aula des Palastes. In gewiss feierlicher, sorgfältig choreographierter Zeremonie vergibt der Kaiser streng nach Rang ehrende Belohnungen an die Feldherren.[45] Leon Grammatikos bezeugt in seiner Chronik, dass es Tradition war, im Palast von Sophianai Kriegsbeute zu verteilen.[46] Vermutlich wurden diese hochoffiziellen Zeremonien mit Staatsbanketten beschlossen. Die Wahl des Ortes war pragmatisch und strategisch zugleich. Sophianai lag außerhalb der Stadt, am Endpunkt der Heerzüge vom östlichen Kriegsschauplatz und war zugleich der Ort für die Belohnung und Entlassung des Heeres. Wir wissen aber nicht, warum dem Palast Sophianai der Vorzug vor Hiereia gegeben wurde.

Es wäre plausibel, wenn Manuel I. Komnenos (1143–1180) – oder schon zuvor Johannes II. Komnenos (1118–1143) – in Damalis/Skutarion (Üsküdar) einen Palast gebaut hätte, allein mit der Begründung der besseren, angenehmeren Luft, ganz im Gegensatz zu Konstantinopel. Dies ist kein Topos (der gelehrten Literatur), sondern die offenbar zutiefst empfundene, subjektive Einschätzung der Zeitgenossen – schon seit römischer Zeit –, dass Landluft der Stadtluft vorzuziehen sei. Diese sensible Empfindung mag in der Tat auf konkreten Erfahrungen beruhen, insbesondere aufgrund der bisweilen intensiven Belästigungen durch beißenden Rauch des Hausbrandes, der Bäckereien, der kleinen feuerführenden Handwerksbetriebe, der in der Stadt verteilten öffentlichen und privaten Thermenbauten. Je nach Windrichtung und -intensität konnte die Beeinträchtigung in den Stadtvierteln beträchtlich sein.

In der ersten Nachricht über einen Palast bei Damalis, den Manuel I. wegen der besseren Luft zur gesundheitlichen Erholung aufsucht, beschreibt Niketas Choniates eine deutliche politische Szene.[47] Der Kaiser zitiert den Patriarchen Theodosios Boradiotes (1179–1183)[48] und die hohe Geistlichkeit, unter ihnen namentlich der kämpferische Erzbischof von Thessalonike, Eusthatios[49], nach Damalis/Skutarion in seinen Palast. Zunächst hindert einer der kaiserlichen Sekretäre die hohen Geistlichen an einer Audienz, um strittige Fragen zum Gottesverständnis der Muslime zu diskutieren. Schließlich gibt der Kaiser – oder sein Ratgeberstab – nach und empfängt die Kirchenvertreter. Hier wird also deutlich die Erholungszeit des Kaisers unterbrochen zugunsten der Klärung aktueller Glaubensfragen und -diskussionen. Der Sommerpalast ist hier Dienstort des Kaisers.

Es mutet überraschend seltsam und historisch unerwartet an, dass ein Vierteljahrhundert später, am 26. Juni 1203, eben dieser Palast besetzt wird, nun als Palast des Kaisers Alexios bezeichnet,[50] um den in Damalis/Escutaire versammelten Führern des Vierten Kreuzzugs als Unterkunft und Ort der Beratung über die nächsten strategischen Schritte gegen den byzantinischen Kaiser zu dienen.[51] Fortan hören wir nichts mehr von diesem Palast, aber er bleibt in der Hand der Franken und wird vermutlich nach der Eroberung der Stadt Kronbesitz des lateinischen Kaisers. Die Komnenen hatten für die Wahl des Ortes in Damalis/Skutarion vermutlich verschiedene Beweggründe, nicht zuletzt auch geographisch-strategische Aspekte. Die alten benachbarten Paläste lagen nicht fern, Sophianai, Chalkedon und Hiereia. Aber der persönliche Wohnstil, die Vorstellung von einem „neuen Palast" hatten sich geändert. Der Kaiser als sichtbarer Bauherr spielt als Motiv herrscherlicher Darstellung gewiss eine Rolle. Ausschlaggebend für die Ortswahl war vielleicht der bithynische Küstenpunkt mit der kürzesten und sichersten Verbindung zur Kaiserstadt. Überdies gewinnt man aufgrund der vielfachen mittelalterlichen Nennungen der Verbindungen zwischen Konstantinopel/Galata/Hagios Mamas und Damalis/Skutarion den Eindruck, dass diese Wasserstrecke die weitaus befahrenere war als die Verbindung nach Chalkedon,

45 Theophanes 451.

46 Leon Grammatikos 191 (über Leon IV.).

47 Niketas Choniates 215,2–4 van Dieten: „Palast bei Damalis, Skutarion [Üsküdar] genannt".

48 Theodosios Boradiotes, ODB, s.v.

49 Eusthatios, ODB, s.v.

50 Gemeint ist Alexios III. (1195–1203).

51 Villehardouin 1973, 136–139, Kap. 136–137.

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wo es einen weiteren komnenischen Palast gab.[52] Der komnenische Palast in Damalis scheint jüngst bei archäologischen Forschungen in der Uferzone der mittelalterlichen, heute verlandeten Hafenbucht von Skutarion (Üsküdar) gefunden worden zu sein.[53] Şehrazat Karagöz hat anlässlich der Ausgrabungen für das Marmaray Metro Projekt schwere Fundamente eines byzantinischen Großbaues, sorgfältig in verdeckter Schichttechnik gemauert, freigelegt. Diese Fundamente streichen über einen aufgelassenen byzantinischen Friedhof hinweg. Karagöz erwägt eine Deutung des erschlossenen Befundes als Trapeza eines Klosters. Gegen diese Benennung spricht die derzeit bekannte Überlieferung byzantinischer Klöster und ihre ungefähre topographische Lokalisierung im Ortsbereich von Skutarion/Üsküdar.[54] Ein bedeutendes Kloster der Komnenenzeit am Hafen von Skutarion wäre wohl in den Quellen genannt. Die vorhandenen Mauerabschnitte an der Uferkante des Hafens sind eher Teil eines profanen Großbaues, dessen Fassade auf die gegenüberliegende Seite des Bosporus, nach Galata, gerichtet ist. Augenscheinlich gehören die aufgefundenen Fundamentteile zu dem in Skutarion bezeugten komnenischen Kaiserpalast.

Höfisches Protokoll in den Sommerpalästen

Trotz der seltenen, eher nur beiläufigen Literaturnotizen zu den byzantinischen Sommerpalästen lassen sich Ausschnitte des Hofprotokolls erkennen. Es ist unstreitig, dass das kaiserliche Hofzeremoniell überall dort galt oder angewandt werden musste, wo der Kaiser respektive das Kaiserhaus präsent war.

Allein der Umstand, dass ein Kapitel über das kaiserliche Protokoll anlässlich des jährlichen Erntedankfestes in Hiereia in die von Kaiser Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenetos (913–959) veranlasste Fassung des Zeremonienbuches aufgenommen wurde, zeigt die Bedeutung des Ortes und des Festgeschehens.[55] Auch wenn dieser Text als eine Protokollhandreichung im 6. Jahrhundert unter Justinian verfasst wurde, so bedeutet die Aufnahme in eine hochoffiziöse Sammlung von Protokollempfehlungen des 10. Jahrhunderts, dass das Erntedankfest des kaiserlichen Hofes in jener Zeit sich möglicherweise noch immer so vollzog (oder an einen anderen Sommerpalast verlegt wurde?) oder einzelne Bestimmungen in der Zwischenzeit verloren gegangen waren und nach der Intention des kaiserlichen Auftraggebers (Konstantin VII.), die Tradition fortsetzend, wiederaufgenommen werden sollte.

Der Blick auf die Quellen zur Nutzung des Kaiserpalastes in Hiereia im 9. Jahrhundert – der *reditus* des Theophilos und die Bauten Basileios' I. (867–886) – legt nahe, dass neben den anderen Palastnutzungen, das Erntedankfest vielleicht immer noch (oder wieder?) dort gefeiert wurde; vielleicht eben deshalb, weil es ein unbeschwertes Fest in angenehmer Umgebung war und in der Regel frei von staatspolitischen oder kirchlichen Zwängen.

Weitere bedeutende Zeugnisse für die strenge zeremonielle Einbindung der Paläste im Hebdomon, in Hiereia, vielleicht auch in Bryas, sicher aber in Hagios Mamas sind im Zeremonienbuch festgehalten.[56] Unter dem langen, im Anhang angefügten Kapitel zur sorgfältigen Vorbereitung kaiserlicher Feldzüge behandelt der Autor die Frage, welche unterschiedlichen Aspekte bei der

52 Villehardouin 1973, 135f., Kap. 134.

53 Karagöz 2007, 32–53; Atik 2007, 54–63; Karagöz 2010, 85–109, bes. 103 Abb. 13; Işık 2010, 111–120; vgl. dazu Hellenkemper 2013, 76f.

54 Als ortsnahe Klöster sind H. Philippikos (wohl auf der Kuppe nördlich über dem Hafen, vielleicht an der Stelle einer jüngeren H. Elias-Kirche) und H. Marina (in der Umgebung von Chrysopolis, wohl in der Ortschaft Paloutikon), vgl. Janin 1975, 23–27.

55 De Caerimoniis, I, 373–375; zum Ritual der Traubensegnung Herrin 2001, 20f.; zu neuzeitlichen Festen der Weinlese vergleiche Megas 1963, 153–159, bes. 158f.

56 Haldon 1990; Hunger 1990.

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Rückkehr des Kaisers von einem Feldzug oder von einer langen Reise beachtet werden sollten.[57] In dieser eindringlichen Empfehlung sind die Empfangsorte genau benannt, im Westen der Stadt Rhegion (Küçükçekmece) und Hebdomon (Bakırköy), im Osten Satyron (im Bezirk von Maltepe), Poleatikon (Bostancı), Ruphinianai (Caddebostan) oder Hiereia (Fenerbahçe).[58] Hier wird nichts dem Zufall überlassen; aus dem Text spricht, gerade mit der Nennung alternativer bithynischer Begrüssungsorte,[59] eine lange Erfahrung. Es ist Handbuchwissen für das kaiserliche Protokoll. An die allgemeinen Bestimmungen und Empfehlungen schließen sich geraffte (Erfahrungs-)Berichte über die Rückkehr des Kaisers Basileios I. (867–886) von seinem Feldzug gegen Tephrike (Divriği) und Germanikeia (Kahramanmaraş) i. J. 878 (oder 879) an[60] und die Rückkehr des Kaisers Theophilos von seinem Feldzug gegen die Araber in Kilikien i. J. 831.[61]

Dieser zweite Erfahrungsbericht, im Zeremonienbuch als Musterbeispiel im Anhang beigegeben, eröffnet unmittelbar mit der kaiserlichen Ankunft in Hiereia. Die Senatoren trafen den Kaiser in angemessener Ferne vom Palast (*eis to palatin*) und bezeugten mit der Proskynese ihre Ehrerbietung. Die Kaiserin hingegen erwartete ihren Gemahl im Palast, so die Protokollnotiz, innerhalb der Schranken des Unteren Triklinions: Nachdem der Kaiser von seinem Pferd abgestiegen war, erwies sie ihm ihre Reverenz mit einem Kuss. Der Kaiser ordnete an, dass der Senat in Übereinstimmung mit dem Ablauf einer formalen Prozession ihn nach Hiereia zu begleiten habe; darüber hinaus bestimmte er, dass die Ehefrauen, die aus der Stadt herübergekommen waren, die Kaiserin in den Folgetagen begleiten sollen. Soweit die Niederschrift über den Empfang in Hiereia i. J. 831; dieses Protokoll sollte augenscheinlich als autorisiertes Muster für solche Empfänge dienen.

Einladungen zur Jagd

Seit frühbyzantinischer Zeit haben wir verstreute Zeugnisse über zuweilen ausgeprägte Jagdleidenschaften der Kaiser[62]. Diese Nachrichten sind in der Regel allein auf die Person des Kaisers bezogen. Daher können wir den Notizen zumeist nicht entnehmen, ob manche der Jagdausflüge geplanten gesellschaftlichen und/oder diplomatischen Absichten des Kaiserhauses dienten oder eine Teilnahme besondere kaiserliche Gunst erkennen lässt.

Das Treffen des Gesandten Liutprand mit Nikephoros Phokas im kaiserlichen Schloss Bryas war eine politisch notwendige Begegnung, aber die Gesprächsthemen wechselten – auch wegen des drohenden diplomatischen Fiaskos – zu den Jagd- und Hegeinteressen des Kaisers.

Wie sehr die Jagdleidenschaften einzelner Kaiser ihre Handlungen beeinflussten, zeigt sich beispielhaft in der Entscheidung der Kaiser Tiberios I. Konstantinos (578–582) und Maurikios (582–602) für den Bau eines Palastes in Damatrys, fern der bithynischen Küste in einem Gebiet reicher (ehemaliger) Waldfluren.[63] Die Wahl des Ortes und der Bauaufwand über Jahrhunderte lässt sich gut mit der Nähe zur Kaiserstadt – mit schnellen Verkehrsverbindungen zur Küste oder nach Chalkedon – und den (ehemals) vorzüglichen Jagdrevieren begründen. Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos (1143–1180) ging hier im Winter zur Jagd.[64]

57 Haldon 1990, 136.
58 Haldon 1990, 139.
59 Zu den Orten vgl. Hellenkemper 2013, 65–68, 73f.
60 Haldon 1990 140/141: hier Hiereia und Hebdomon als Stationen namentlich genannt; Hunger 1990.
61 Haldon 1990 146/147.
62 Vgl. Patlagean 1992; Dennis 2010.
63 Patria III 171; Berger 1988, 715f.; Janin 1923, 290–298; Ricci 2011, 71–88; Hellenkemper 2013, 72f.; Sürel/Eyüpgiller 2013, 137–154; Die Entscheidung für diesen Ort gegen Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts, ist nicht mit den günstigen Fernverbindungen in das innere Kleinasien zu begründen, sondern muss sich wohl ausschließlich auf die Nähe der Haupstadt und auf die Jagdgebiete beziehen. In diesem bithynischen Hügelland lag tatsächlich die Grüne Lunge der Hauptstadt.
64 Janin 1964, 148.

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Erst in spätbyzantinischer Zeit bezeugen hohe Besucher, so Pero Tafur (1437), Clavijo und Cyriacus Pizzicolli i. J. 1444 unter Andronikos III. Palaiologos (1328–1341) Jagdgesellschaften, zu denen sie eingeladen werden, gemeinsam mit dem genuesischen Konsul und dem venezianischen Bailo.[65]

Es lässt sich noch nicht erkennen, ob diese Praxis, zur „Staatsjagd" zu bitten, eine jahrhundertelange Übung in Byzanz war oder ob dies auf mittelalterliche westliche Einflüsse zurückgeht.

Die früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Paläste im Umkreis von Konstantinopel, an nahezu vierzig unterschiedlichen Orten, erfüllten als Staatspaläste augenscheinlich mehr Aufgaben, als der erste Blick und die verstreuten kargen Quellen vermuten lassen.[66] Es zeichnet sich außerhalb der Stadt ein Ring von nahen Staatsschlössern ab, die in das kaiserliche Hofleben eingebunden und vielfach über Jahrhunderte erhalten wurden. Die byzantinischen Paläste jenseits der Stadtmauern wurden aus persönlicher Entscheidung zunächst als Orte der Erholung gegründet. Aber sie wuchsen, wohl auch mit ihrem Umfang, schnell aus dieser Rolle heraus, oft noch zu Lebzeiten der Bauherren. Aus Sommerpalästen wurden Dienstpaläste der Herrscher, Zeremonialorte und Orte des Regierungshandelns.

Über Jahrhunderte stand dieser Kranz von Staatspalästen dem jeweiligen Herrscherhaus zur persönlichen Nutzung und zur politischen Verfügung[67]. Damit gewinnen wir ein erweitertes Bild politischer Palastkultur und zusätzliche Facetten des byzantinischen Herrscherbildes:

- Paläste als Residenzen auf Zeit – neben dem Großen Palast und dem Blachernenpalast.
- Paläste als Orte politischer, gesellschaftlicher, militärischer, diplomatischer und kirchlicher Begegnungen und Entscheidungen.
- Paläste als Orte von Empfängen, Gastmählern, Hochzeiten und Geburten, von sportlichen Leidenschaften und Jagdabenteuern.
- Paläste als Zufluchtsorte und Orte erzwungener Internierung.

65 Constantinides 2002, 97 Anm. 44.

66 Die gegenwärtige Belegsammlung des Forschungsprojektes zählt mehr als vierzig kaiserlichen Residenzen in Thrakien und Bithynien, vielfach Einzelnennungen als Sommerpaläste, Kurorte oder Jagdhäuser.

67 Herrin 2001, 103 nennt beispielhaft Paläste, die der Kaiserin Irene (797-802), neben dem Großen Palast, in der Stadt und in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft zur Verfügung standen: Hiereia, Therapeia, Hagios Mamas und ihr eigener neuer Palast Eleutherios; diese Reihe lässt sich um Hebdomon, Sophianai, Damatrys und Bryas erweitern.

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Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Entwurf/Kartographie: H.Hellenkemper / A. Strack.

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Lucy-Anne Hunt

John of Ibelin's Audience Hall in Beirut: A Crusader palace building between Byzantine and Islamic Art in its Mediterranean Context

Introduction

A palace reception hall in the Middle Ages served a number of different functions: administrative, diplomatic, social, local and international. The display of power and wealth is one aim, but that is usually shown for a purpose and in conjunction with other motives. As the architectural critic Kim Dovey has written, – of architecture in the modern urban environment – "Power is not lodged inertly in built form. Force, coercion, domination, manipulation, seduction and authority are forms of everyday practice which are inevitably mediated by built form. Such mediations are inevitably complex and multi-dimensional".[1] But the exercise of power has always depended on the planned use of symbolic and ceremonial space. The present contribution draws attention to a written description of an early thirteenth century palace in the Frankish East, that of the powerful and influential John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut. While the palace itself does not survive, the description by the German envoy Wilbrand of Oldenburg, dating to 1212, is arguably no mere literary pastiche but is evocative not only in offering pointers in reconstructing a rare example of a Crusader palatial building but also in offering a glimpse into the attitudes and principles employed in the building's design, location and decoration. This was undertaken in the castle environment of the fortifications of Beirut, a centre of power shortly after it was retaken by the Crusaders from Saladin's Ayyubid successors at the close of the twelfth century. Its symbolic display of power and historical-cultural reference, balancing Byzantine with Islamic art, epitomises its position as a nexus of power relations and diplomacy, mediating power in a complex Mediterranean society which comprised multiple communities internally and needing constantly to negotiate and renegotiate with its neighbours externally.

The Description and the question

Wilbrand of Oldenburg's description of the palace hall built within the fortification wall of Beirut (Fig. 1) by John of Ibelin has been recently re-edited by Denys Pringle, whose translation is also reproduced here:

> Et, ut tactum est, castrum fortissimum est. Ex una enim parte munitur mari, et alti rupis precipitio; ex alia enim parte ambitur quadam fossa murata et adeo profunda, ut in ea plures captivos tamquam in alto carcere videremus detrusos. Hanc fossam prospiciunt duo muri fortes, in quibus contra machinarum insultus eriguntur turres validissime, cum quarum iuncturis lapides magni ferreis vinculis et duris amplexibus internectuntur. In una illarum, que de novo construitur, vidimus quoddam palatium ornatissimum, quod pro mea insufficientia breviter describo vobis. Funditus est forte, bene situm, ex una parte mare et naves illic discurrentes, ex altero latere prata, pomeria et loca amenissima prospiciens. Pavimentum habet subtile marmoreum, simulans aquam levi vento agitatam, ita ut, qui super illud incesserit, vadare putatur, cum tamen arene illic depicte summa vestigia non impresserit. Parietes vero domus marmoreis tabulis, que sui operis subtilitate diversas cortinas illic mentiuntur,undique conteguntur. Cuius testudo adeo proprie et aerio colore depingitur, ut illic nubes discurrere, illic Zephirus flare et illic sol annum et menses, dies et ebdomadas, horas et momenta suo motu in zodiaco videatur distinguere. In quibus omnibus Suriani, Sarraceni et Greci in magistralibus suis artibus quadam delectabili

1 Dovey 1999, 17.

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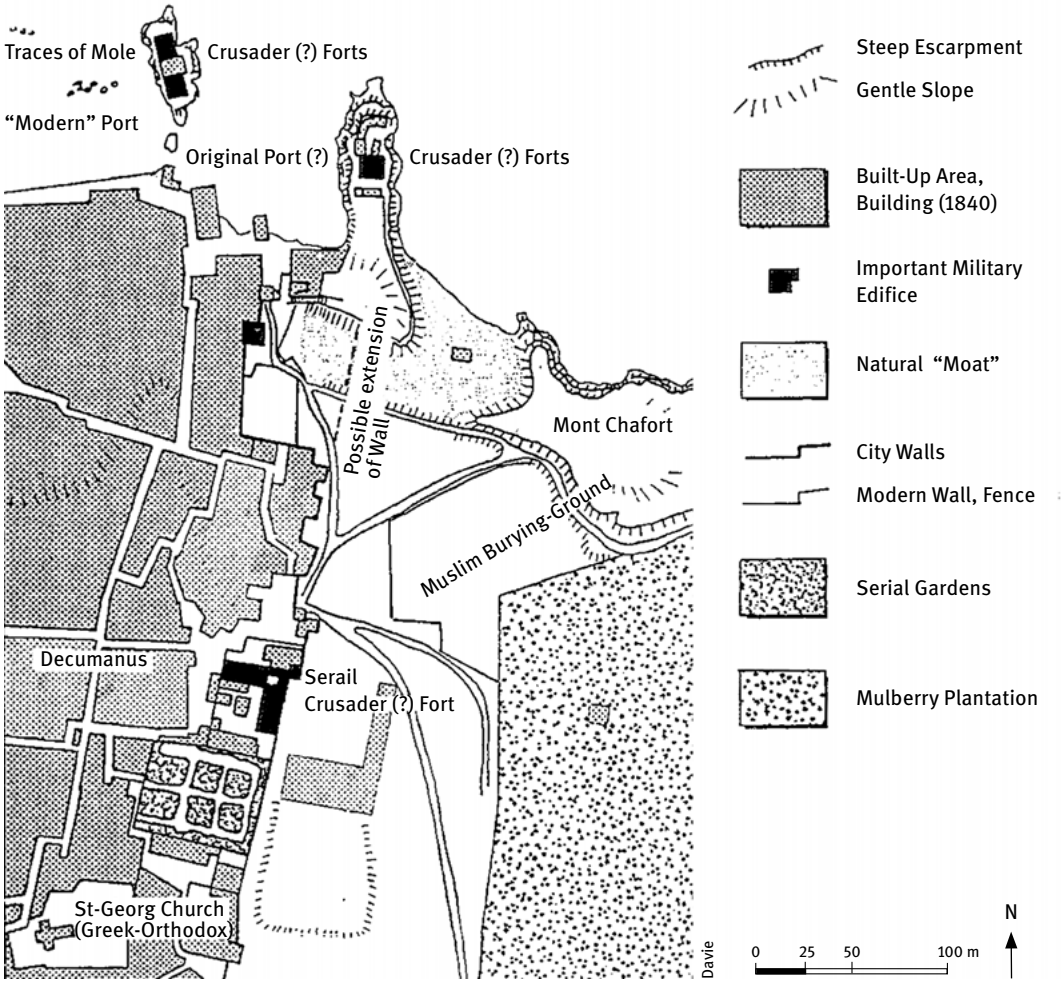

Fig. 1 Crusader castle site, Beirut, based on maps of 1840.

operis altercatione gloriantur. In medio vero palatii loco centri est quedam cisterna diversissimo marmore consternate, in qua ipsum marmor ex diversis coloris tabulis compactum et tamen ductum pollicem non offendens innumerabiles florum ostentant varietates, quas cum oculi videntium distinguere laborant, disgregantur et illuduntur. In cuius medio quidam draco, qui animalibus illic depictis inhiare videtur, cristallinum quemdam fontem parturit et in habundanti quantitate profundit, ita ut alte dissiliens aerem, quem fenestre pulcro ordine ex omni latere, amministrant, tempore caloris humectet et frigidet. Ipsa etiam aqua, ex omni parte cisterne perstrepens et in subtilissimos poros se recipiens, sompnum suis dominis assidentibus blando murmure inducit; cui omnibus diebus meis libenter assiderem[2].

And, as has been said, it is a very strong castle. For on one side it is defended by the sea and a high precipice of rock and on the other side it is encompassed by a ditch, walled and so deep that in it we saw many prisoners cast down as in a deep prison. This ditch is overlooked by two strong walls, on which very strong towers have been erected against the assaults of machines, and their large stones are bound together at the joints with large iron bands and hard braces. In one of them, which is being newly built, we saw a very ornate hall, which despite my inadequacy I shall briefly describe to you. It is strong from the foundations and well sited, overlooking on one side the sea and the ships passing to and fro on it, and on the other meadows, orchards and most delightful places. It has a delicate marble pavement, simulating water agitated by a light breeze, so that whoever walks on it imagines himself to be wading, although his footprints have made no

2 Pringle 2012a, 118–19 for the Latin text.

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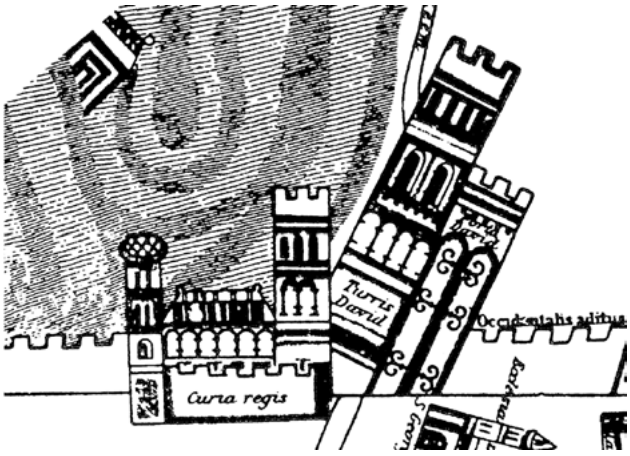

Fig. 2 Detail of *Curia Regis,* Map of Jerusalem (MS Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. MS 437).

impression on the surface of the sand represented there. The walls of the house are covered all over with marble panels, which by the subtlety of their workmanship imitate various curtains. Its vault is painted so particularly the colour of the sky, that there the clouds appear to scurry, there the Zephyr to blow, and there the sun to define the year and months, the days and weeks, and the hours and seconds by its movement in the zodiac. In all these things Syrians, Saracens and Greeks glory in their mastery of their arts through a delightful competition of workmanship. In the middle of the hall, at the central spot, is a pool lined with variegated marble, in which the marble is put together from panels of different colours, which do not jar when a thumb is drawn across them. They represent innumerable varieties of flowers, which, when the eyes of beholders strive to separate them out, mock them and disperse. In the centre a dragon, which seems about to devour the animals depicted there, emits a jet of crystalline water, pouring it forth in such an abundant quantity that in hot weather, dissolving on high, it may humify and cool the air, which is let in through fair rows of windows on every side. The same water, resonating throughout the pool and being received into the slenderest of channels, lulls to sleep by agreeable murmurings its lords who sit near by. I would willingly sit by it for all my days.[3]

The archaeological remains of palaces in the Latin Kingdom have been enumerated by Adrian Boas.[4] Our knowledge is slim. The royal household was first housed near the tower of David within the city walls, then it moved to the *Templum Salomonis* (the al-Aqsa mosque), and then to near the Holy Sepulchre, where the main hall had a window looking into the Holy Sepulchre. It was finally moved back to near the Tower of David, on the site of the Herodion palace.[5] This move is dateable to the 1160s, as the pilgrim Theodoric refers to the palace and the adjacent *solarium* next to the tower of David here as being new: "Turis David...cum adiacente solario et palatio noviter edificato."[6] The appearance of a building labelled as the royal court or palace (*curia regis)* on the twelfth century Cambrai map of Jerusalem (detail, Fig. 2) suggests that the palace comprised a hall with two towers set against a fortification wall, with a gabled and porticoed *solarium* on the second floor.[7] Confirmation that this upper storey does actually represent a *solarium* is to be found in the mosaic of the palace ("*palatium*") of Theodoric on the upper south nave wall of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Theodoric's

3 Pringle 2012b, 65–66 for the translation. This supercedes the earlier text published by Laurent 1864, 166–167; de Sandoli 1983, 204, 206 and the earlier available translations of it: de Sandoli 1983, 205, 207; Richard 1996, 140; Prawer 2001, 451–452. I am grateful to Prof. Denys Pringle for permission to cite his edition and translation of the text.

4 Boas 2010, 71–89.

5 Boas 2010, 72–74.

6 Ellenblum 2007, 101 with note 30; Boas 2010, 73 with note 9.

7 The Cambrai map is MS Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. MS 437: Ellenblum 2007, 101 with Figs 2–2a; Boas 1010, 73–74.

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Fig. 3 Palace of Theodoric, mosaic. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, upper south wall.

palace church, built in the early sixth century (Fig. 3).[8] Excavations at the Armenian Garden in Jerusalem in 1971, which may have bearing on the palace of the Latin kings, revealed two halls with barrel vaulting.[9] We also have an image in sculpture of the *curia regis,* the residence of the royal court, which is identified by seal evidence, carved on a twelfth century column, below an image of the *Templum Domini* (the Dome of the Rock) and above that of the Holy Sepulchre.[10] This shows a rectangular building in front of a gate with two towers (Fig. 4). Its gabled end and upper storey with windows – presumably again representing the solar – is also similar to the palace of Theodoric. The sculpted column was argued by Zehava Jacoby to have been commissioned by the royal court at Acre after that city was reconquered from the Muslims in 1191 and became the seat of the government of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the fourteenth century, quite some time following the final Muslim victory in 1291, it was inserted into the entry façade of the Mamluk funerary complex of Sultan Hassan in Cairo (Fig. 4). So, while some information can be gleaned about the palaces of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem, we have information about their decoration. This is where Wilbrand's description of John of Ibelin's palace building comes into its own.

Wilbrand's text is an important survival of a detailed description of the decoration of a palace structure. The description is well known and often quoted, often as an example of the luxury which must have existed in Crusader palaces which have not been preserved.[11] Many writers have drawn attention to the multicultural character of the artisans involved. In this connection David Jacoby and Peter Edbury have independently noted that John of Ibelin's mother was a Byzantine princess, Maria Comnena, who had married Balian II after the death of King Amalric.[12] All scholars accept it as an accurate description, and Patricia Antaki has referred to its accuracy in her interpretation of the information revealed during the 1995 excavations of the Crusader fortress. This describes the position of the castle overlooking the sea, its position at the northeast corner of the town, and its moat and double enceinte[13]. For Jaroslav Folda "the details [of the decoration] are unusual and reflect an increased concern to record the *realia* of the visual and aural world".[14] But it has never been considered in any detail nor in the light of twelfth thirteenth century palace art in the Levant

8 Bandmann 1951/2013, 109 with Fig. 2.20 describes it as "an earlier form of the solar of the medieval palace."

9 These were suggested to have been part of the southern side of the ground floor of the palace. Other excavations in 1988/1989 near the citadel revealed two groin–vaulted rooms which may also have been associated with the palace: Boas 2010, 74 with note 11.

10 Jacoby, 1982, esp. 123–126 with Figs. 5.3b, 5,5a, 5.6a.

11 Kennedy 2001, 120.

12 Edbury 1997, 29. Jacoby 2004, 108.

13 Antaki 2001–2002, 328–329 where it is dubbed as a unique description; see also Annexe 2, 343.

14 Folda 2005, 136.

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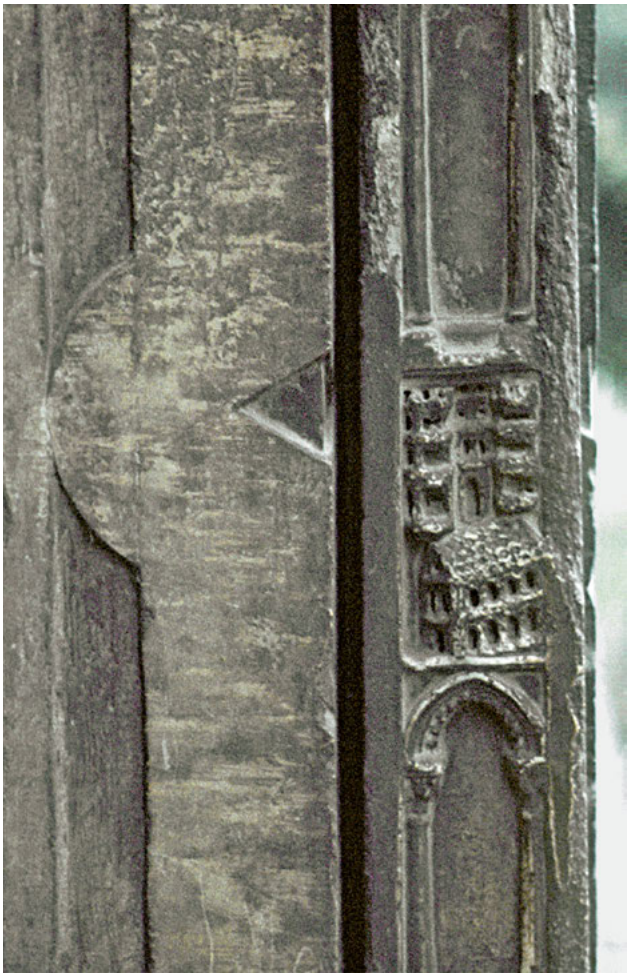

Fig. 4 *Curia Regis*, Jerusalem. Detail of square marble column. Entrance, funerary complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo.

more widely. Some caution must be exercised here. Wilbrand is certainly writing within the conventions of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Poems dedicated to Roger II praise his palaces as a manifestation of his power and munificence through the sensual pleasures of seeing, hearing and experiencing touch and feel, describing rippling water, colours, movement and sounds, with the gardens mirroring Paradise.[15] But Wilbrand's description by no means falls into the trap of palaces descriptions which "are frequently lacunary and misleadingly hyberbolic."[16] Even if the passage is a literary construction it may well represent, as has been argued by Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi for the Description of the Garden of St. Anna by the early fourteenth century Byzantine writer Theodore Hyrtakenos, a reflection, *mimesis,* of reality.[17] Furthermore, in other ways Wilbrand's text is quite down-to-earth. His praise for John is factual and business-like rather than hyperbolic: "a certain John, a very Christian and vigorous man." Enough of what Wilbrand says fits well enough with available archaeological and art historical evidence to verify the main features of the hall, even if it is expressed in the literary form of the day.

So, it is the art historical aspect that this paper aims to address in revisiting the description in the light of Byzantine and Islamic art. The question is this: can the description be reflecting the actual decoration of the palace of John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, in the early thirteenth century?

15 Cassarino 2013, 108.
16 Rogers 2006, 63.
17 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002, 141–142.

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The following discussion refers back to the text and translation cited at the beginning and is structured following Wilbrand's arrangement of his material, giving consideration to the position of the palace hall, its pavement, its walls, its ceiling, and finally its basin and fountain. John was following in the tradition of Byzantine and Islamic rulers who, as avid collectors, valued, amongst other things, marble revetments, wall hangings, and fountains.[18] Arguably these elements were shaped and adapted in the Beirut audience hall to express John's tastes, preoccupations and agenda as the Crusader lord of Beirut. Particularly evident amongst these is his interest in the material world as mediated through science and art, complementing his political and diplomatic ambitions.

Wilbrand of Oldenburg and John of Ibelin

Wilbrand's description was coloured by his experience of visiting Beirut in his capacity as German imperial ambassador, visiting significant allies and centres in the Latin Kingdom, Cilicia and Cyprus before going on pilgrimage.[19] Beirut was of strategic importance to imperial policy at this time (1212) even if there was subsequently a falling-out between John of Ibelin and the Emperor, and indeed John came to lead the resistance against Frederick II, who attempted – unsuccessfully – to take the fortress of Beirut by force in 1232.[20] John, known to historians as the "Old Man of Beirut" to distinguish him from others with the same name, is typical of the Ibelin family whose wealth and power can be attributed to astute political manoeuvering and strategic alliances cemented through marriages. Building on the web of connections established across the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cyprus and the West, John himself gained the seigneurie of Arsur (Arsuf) through marriage.[21] By 1198 he had been appointed Constable of Jerusalem by King Amalric of Jerusalem, a post he gave up to become lord of Beirut.[22] Beirut had been retaken by the German forces of the emperor Henry VI in 1197 by troops led by the imperial marshall and the imperial chancellor Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim.[23] This took place a decade after the town had been taken by Saladin in 1187. John undertook to rebuild the fortifications of Beirut, an achievement which was celebrated on his seigneurial seal, which depicted his castle with the text "*Castellum civitatis Beryti*".[24] By the time of Wilbrand's visit he had served the first of two terms he undertook during his career as regent for younger relatives. His aim was to develop Beirut as a semi-independent base. In this he was assisted by geography as Beirut was cut off from the rest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem until 1227 by the Muslim-held territory of Sidon.[25] He aspired to compete with the major centres of Acre and Tyre in the extent of his political and commercial activities. In the early 1220s he issued trading rights to western merchants, starting with the Genoese and then extending them to the Venetians and merchants from Marseilles.[26] His activity in this direction has been seen as an object lesson in how to build up a port.[27] John's political ambitions, supporting Hugh 1 king of Cyprus, put him on a collision course with the King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in Acre, John of Brienne. He became the leader of the so-called "baronial movement" a concern of which was underpinning

18 Rogers 2006, 64.
19 Halfter 2001; Pringle, 2012b, 3.
20 Edbury 1997, esp. chap. 2, 24–57.
21 Edbury, 1997, 29.
22 Edbury 1997, 28.
23 Ibn al–Athīr, 30, recounts how the emir Usāma, who held the Beirut as a fief, had offered to defend the city but once the Crusaders had taken Acre and were turning their attention to Beirut he fled the city and Beirut "was easy prey."
24 Schlumberger et al. 1943, 40 no. 2 (seal lost from the Archives of Genoa); Richard, 140 with n. 4.
25 Edbury 1997, 29.
26 Riley–Smith 1973, 76–77.
27 Riley–Smith 1973, 76.

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with legal justificatory arguments.[28] But a greater conflict was that with Frederick II, who challenged John's power in the East on his arrival in the Latin East in 1228.[29] Imperial forces besieged Beirut during 1231–2 taking the town but not the fortress. The episode prompted John to muster forces from Cyrus to relieve the fortress after the town had fallen.[30] Peter Edbury describes John as a ruler who "fought tenaciously to defend his possessions and power."[31] As a "godfather" figure, generous yet ruthless, he "understood the need to project an image of himself as a champion of right and justice."[32] This, then, provides the basis for understanding John's agenda as the Crusader lord of Beirut. His powers of persuasion were put to good use – no doubt at home in his own audience hall as well as elsewhere. Truces were in force with Muslim rulers, as during the time (1205–1210) of John's regency for Maria, his niece, the daughter of Queen Isabella of Jerusalem.[33] The fostering of good relations would have been needed to maintain these. Relationships with allies and enemies alike, as well as "clan" members, and those responsible for political, legal, military, ecclesiastic and commercial activities, would all have needed to have been cultivated.

The Castle

Willbrand evidently arrived at the castle of Beirut from the sea, as the land route had not yet been secured from Muslim control.[34] Access from the sea would have been through the postern of the north tower.[35] The castle is now destroyed. Wilbrand describes its position as being defended from the sea with a high precipice of rock on one side and a ditch on the other. This position can be visualised from mid-nineteenth century maps (Fig. 1, northern, seaward side).[36] It was located on a promontory at the north-eastern edge of the medieval town, at the intersection of the inland and sea walls, and protected by a deep ditch.[37] Overlooking the ditch was the prison: Wilbrand says he saw prisoners. These prisoners were presumably incarcerated in the keep, which was a large tower on the landward side, guarding the entrance.[38] William of Tyre, referring to the castle before the time of John of Ibelin, mentions two major towers, one on the seaward side and the other on the land side. This latter must have been this keep, guarding the main entrance.[39] The presence of double-enceinte walls, referred to by Wilbrand, have been compared with those at the castle of Tartus (Tortosa).[40]

During Wilbrand's visit the palace hall was being built in one of the towers. He notes that the view from the hall on one side was to the sea showing the movements of its shipping and on the other across the land, to its agricultural activity. The way the windows were sited, according to Wilbrand, was so that air passed through them on all sides forming almost naturally-induced air

28 Perry 2013, 70–71.
29 Edbury 1997, 34.
30 Edbury 1997, 44.
31 Edbury 1997, 56.
32 Edbury 1997, 57.
33 Edbury 1997, 31.
34 Richard 1996, 139.
35 Antaki, 2001–2002, 328, noting that the same arrangement occurs at the castle of Athlit.
36 Davie 1987, fig. 4 (reproduced here as Fig. 1).
37 Pringle 1993, 112, with plan, fig. 36; Antaki, 2001–2002 summarises the state of research.
38 Antaki 2001–2002, 328.
39 Antaki 2000–2001, 328 with note 27.
40 Pringle 1993, 121; Antaki 2001–2002, 329 with note 33. Wilbrand himself visited Tortosa, on his journey between Beirut and Antioch, and noted that, although it was a small city, it was well fortified with a castle and its main fortification wall had eleven towers "as if crowned with eleven previous stones." These towers are rectangular: Kennedy 2000, 133; Boas 1999, 51–53 with Fig. 2.9 (after Deschamps) summarises the fortifications of Tartus.

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conditioning. This is supported by the sea imagery in the text. As a whole, according to Patricia Antaki, who has interpreted the material from the 1995 excavations, the castle was L-shaped covering a space of c. 0.74 hectares (c. 7,120 m 2), and so of average size for a Crusader castle.[41] Chambers in the towers were large: one in a tower on the southwest side examined during the excavations in 1996 measured 11 m × 6 m × 7 m high.[42] Masons' marks found during the excavations conform with those in other Crusader castles built in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, pointing to a date, for the sections in which they were found, to either 1183–1185, or under Ibelin rule.[43] The investigators in 1995 saw no trace of the metal clamps securing the masonry which are mentioned by Wilbrand.[44] John's rebuilding work using clamps might well, however, have been in the upper parts of the castle, now completely destroyed.

While the town of Beirut fell to the Mamluks in 1291, parts of the foundations of the Crusader remains were preserved into the nineteenth-early twentieth century. Lithographs of Beirut, which, studied in conjunction with a description of 1422, surviving nineteenth century maps and Wilbrand's description, have contributed to a reconstruction of its layout (Fig. 1).[45] This shows that the Crusader fortifications followed the Roman fortifications.[46] Roman marble pillars were found in the remains of the castle in 1995.[47] It has been suggested that the size of Beirut remained fairly stable with its continuous role as a seaport serving sea traffic along the local Levantine coast. The original port lay to the west of the castle. A second port, with a jetty, was added to this, it has been suggested, in the Crusader period.[48] Indeed this could well date from the early 1220s, when John was negotiating trade agreements with overseas merchants to expand external trading links, as has been mentioned. Two defensive towers on the outer island fort were reported by Rey in 1871.[49] It is believed that the later seventeenth century palace built inland in the main town, visible to the south of the medieval castle in Fig. 1, contained medieval elements.[50]

The Palace-Hall's Decoration: A marble pavement representing the sea

It is the marbling on the pavement that first caught Wilbrand's eye.[51] He was struck by the way that the "delicate" marble floor simulates the movement of water, ruffled gently by the Zephyr, the warm west wind, represented on the ceiling above. The pavement can be visualised by looking at

41 Antaki 2001–2002, 341 with Fig. 14, citing Beaufort as a castle of similar size.
42 Antaki 2001–2002, 339.
43 Antaki 2001–2002, 340.
44 Antaki 2001–2002, 338.
45 Davie 1987, 157–58 with plan fig. 4 (here Fig. 1) based on the 1840 maps.
46 Davie 1987, 156.
47 Antaki 2001–2002, 338.
48 Davie 1987, 157–158.
49 Rey 1871, Fig. 44; Richard 1996, 139–40; see comment by Davie 1987, 157.
50 Fakr al–Din refurbished the inland palace in the seventeenth century (position, Fig. 1 here). It was described by G. Mariti in 1787 who considered it to be "of Sarrasine origin." This seems to be consciously continuing in the tradition of the audience hall: we do not know if any trace of the hall was visible in the seventeenth century but it could, in any case, have been known through Wilbrand's description. There were stables attached prompting the suggestion that it was at one time in use by a military order, although no evidence is adduced. The refurbishment was undertaken by craftsmen brought in from Tuscany. It included the repaving the courtyard with a design of multicoloured marbles. The fountain at the centre of the courtyard had small walls around it decorated with vases. (The latter vases have misleadingly migrated in one modern translation of Willbrand's text: Prawer 2201, 452.)
51 Wilbrand also had an eye for marble work elsewhere, as in his mention of the floor in the cathedral of Sts. Peter and Sophia in Tarsus: Halfter 2001, 183; Pringle 2012b, 77.

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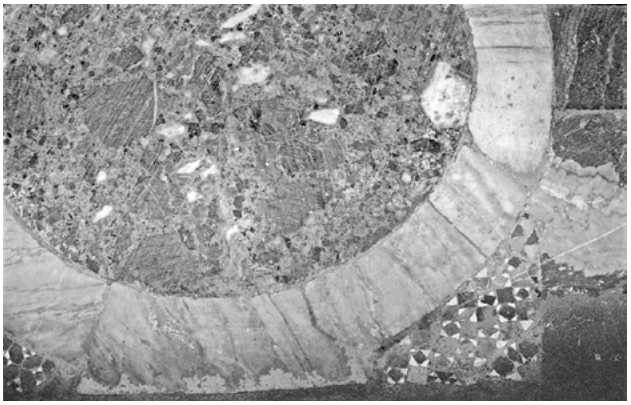

Fig. 5 Detail of pavement, S. Sophia, Istanbul.

marble panelling in several medieval buildings, especially Byzantine ones. Proconnesian marble in particular lends itself to the water analogy because of its inherent veining. Quarried on the island of Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmora up to the sixth century, this was commonly used in the Byzantine world at that time.[52] It remained a valuable commodity and was reused in various ways thereafter. Proconnesian marble made up the largest percentage, followed by *marmor triponticum* and Thessalian marble, of the marble hoard buried at Acre shortly before 1291, most of which Edna Stern, the excavator, suggests came from Byzantine buildings in Greece and Asia Minor.[53]

The image of the pavement-as-sea is suggestive of a passage in Paul the Silentiary's *ekphrasis* describing St Sophia in Constantinople, written in 563, in which the sea laps against the ambo of Proconnesian marble. The scene is one of a "wave-washed land; extended through the white-capped billows by an isthmus into the middle of the sea."[54] In St. Sophia the panels are laid out in matched panels, back to back, creating an undulating design like waves that is repeated over the floor.[55] The only exception is the marble *omphalos* on the southwest side of the nave, which was added in the ninth century (Fig. 5).[56] Apart from this the repetition of the wave pattern is broken only by the four green Thessalian marble strips representing the rivers of Paradise.[57] In his discussion of the "Proconnesian seafloor" Fabio Barry lists the Beirut pavement as being in the Byzantine tradition, best preserved in the floors at St. St. Sophia and the Acheiropoitos in Thessalonika of the mid-fifth century or c. 620, and which was also transferred to Italy and elsewhere.[58] The idea of leaving no footprints while wading he derives from the Latin author Ausonius.[59] The metaphor of wading is suggestive of human activity, productive and light-footed, given a fair wind. The idea of human engagement with the pavement of St Sophia as sea appears in a twelfth century *ekphrasis* on St Sophia, written for a feast commemorating Justinian I's re-inauguration of the church in 563, which mentions blue waves lapping against stone, as if a pebble has been thrown into the water".[60] The pavement as sea might well have been known through several examples: the pavement of the

52 Mango 1972, 63 note 43.

53 Stern 2010, 157.

54 Friedländer 1912, 50 ff; translated by Mango 1972, 95.

55 Pentcheva 2011, 96 with figs. 2 and 3. The latter reproduces a useful reconstruction of the layout of the pavement from above.

56 Pedone 2011, dates the *omphalo*s to the reign of Basil II. (867–886) with repairs after the earthquake of 1346. See below.

57 Majeska 1978 was the first to interpret the strips as the rivers of Paradise, connecting them to the processes of episcopal consecrations. Pentcheva 2011, 96 with note 28; Schibille 2014, 100.

58 Barry 2007, 629–630 with note 26. A detail of the marble floor at St. Sophia is reproduced, Fig.2 and the floor of the Acheiropoitos, Fig. 5.

59 Barry 2007, 630 note 26, citing Ausonius, *Mosella*, 10:53–54.

60 Mango/Parker 1960, 239. The writer was Michael, then Rector of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople.

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church of St. John Studius (Imrahor Camii) in Constantinople, for example, seems to have had such a sea pavement prior to the installation of its *opus sectile* floor, probably during the restoration by Isaac II Comnenos after 1059.[61] At Beirut, then, John may well be making a conscious, educated, decision to pave his audience hall with a sea pavement, with its imperial Byzantine connotations. The pavement of water, as in St Sophia, represents the universe itself.[62]

There is a geological/geographical undertow as well in the belief, highlighted by Barry, that marble is frozen water: this as enunciated by Avicenna, whose work was disseminated to the West through scholastic circles at this time, often in conjunction with Aristotle.[63] Other Arabic writers and poets employ comparable water similes, likening water to valuable natural substances including molten silver, rock crystal, and glass.[64] In Jewish and Muslim thought the crystal walls and the marble water floor associated with the palace of Solomon enhanced his prestige as the "paragon of god-given kingship".[65] The justification of authority and leadership would certainly have appealed to John's Beirut agenda, and is endorsed in his cosmological scheme combining the sea pavement with the astrological ceiling. A literary parallel exists in the description of the bedchamber of Countess Adela of Blois in a laudatory poem written in her honour by the historian of the first crusade, Baudri abbot of St Pierre de Bourgueil, in c. 1000.[66] Here signs of the zodiac, constellations, and planets are described as adorning the ceiling. The *mappa mundi* on the pavement shows the world divided into geographical sections and includes the natural features of seas, rivers, mountains and towns. It is inhabited by fantastic creatures and monsters of earth and sea. The decoration of Adela's chamber is put into a philosophical context with the sculpted female personifications adorning Adela's bed including Philosophy and the seven Liberal Arts, the Quadrivium, Trivium, and Medicine with Galen and Hippocrates.[67] John's Beirut pavement shares the overall concept of "cosmic geography" with this description, as well as the sea of the pavement shown in motion. But John's hall is arguably more locally focused on Beirut itself, with his hall's position in the castle fortifications directly overlooking the sea. The astrological details of his ceiling differ, and in the description of the decoration of the walls there is no mention of the figural Old Testament, mythological and military imagery of the tapestries on the walls of Adela's chamber.[68]

The Palace Hall's walls

The marbling on the walls is described as Wilbrand as resembling curtains, or hangings (*diversas cortonas*) in their subtlety. This could have resembled the vertical linear patterning of the cladding of the walls of St Sophia (here Fig. 6). In Jerusalem itself "patterned" marbling from Crusader contexts was reused in Ayyubid monuments. One very clear example which resembles curtains is that reused as the marble "backcloth" in a blind triple arcade on the south wall of the al-Aqsa mosque. Forming striped zigzagging in light and dark marble, the effect is an optical illusion of a cloth curtain zigzagging in and out between the arches.[69] This Ayyubid reuse was taking place in Muslim-held Jerusalem at the same time as John was building his reception hall. Such marbling in its reused

61 Barsanti 2011, 89 with note 6, and 95 for the dating.
62 And the sanctuary heaven, in the religious context of a church: Barry 2007, 631.
63 Barry 2007, 634.
64 Tabaa 1986, 35 with note 15.
65 Barry 2006, 639 with note 88.
66 Barral i Altet 1987, with French translation of the text of the pavement, 42–44; Barry 2007, 639 with note 91; Kedar 2006, 177–183; Boas 2010, 66 with note 60.
67 Barral i Altet 1987, 41, summary.
68 Barral i Altet 1987, 41, summary.
69 Buschhausen 1978, 186 with fig. 160.

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Fig. 6 Detail of Marble wall revetment, S. Sophia, Istanbul.

position does, of course, become "Ayyubid."[70] But this may well be a case of Christian-Muslim shared taste for marbling which was, in either case in reuse. The role of the artists – whatever their "nationality" – then becomes a matter of how they handle, cut and resized pieces and imbued them with new meanings.[71]

It is also quite possible that the curtain-simulating marbling on the walls of the reception hall in Beirut would also have included different types of marble, to provide variety, colour and to simulate textile patterning, and even texture. Two fragments of wall dados of a naturally colourful marble *marmor chiam,* which originally comes from Chios, were found in the Acre hoard.[72] This had been the case with one of the rooms in the Great Palace built for the emperor Theophilus (829–842) called the *mousikos* ("skilled in the arts") by Theophanes Continuatus after the "precise joining of its marbles", of which three different types are specified.[73] In the secular Crusader context textile hangings in aristocratic houses would have been be a commonly-evoked image. The effect of colourful marble inlay is itself simulated in wall paintings on one of the nave piers at the recently-restored upper church of St Jeremiah, belonging to the Hospital of St. John, at Emmaus (Abu Ghosh) (Fig. 7) which are attributed to the time of King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Emperor Manuel Comnenos in c. 1170.[74] Given the Byzantine affiliations of the figural painting, it is not surprising that the simulated marble inlay itself imitates Byzantine workmanship.[75] The east end of the crypt too has painted imitation curtains, similar to those on the Deisis painting from the Abbey of the Virgin at Jehoshaphat in the Israel Museum of similar date.[76] It can be suggested, then, that John of Ibelin may have acquired marble from Constantinople after it was taken by the Latins in the Fourth Crusade, and in so doing rivalled Damascus, from which Beirut had so recently been freed. After 1204 the Venetians stripped marbles, with mosaics, from Constantinopolitan churches and took them to Venice.[77] But they also sold them in Egypt and Syria, where many were eventually used in the palace of the Ayyubid governor of Damascus al-Nasir (r 1180–1225), according to the thirteenth century Arabic chronicler Abū Shāmah in his *Book of the Two Gardens*, written

70 See the remarks of Flood 2009.

71 Buschhausen's thesis is that the artists working on the twelfth–century material were southern Italians: Buschhausen 1978; see the review by Burgogne and Folda 1981. See further below on the artists at Beirut.

72 Stern 2010, 154 with Fig. 4.

73 Mango 1972, 164.

74 Kühnel 1988, 149–80 for the programme as a whole, with le Comte de Piellat's watercolour of the nave (Pl. XXXVIII Fig. 65). Such architectural polychroming can profitable be examined in conjunction with both the architecture and painting: see the comments by Grabiner 2001, 119 and *passim*.

75 Weyl Carr 1982, discusses the programme in the light of Manuel Comnenos' patronage in the Holy Land and, 215, mentions the presence of some of the simulated marble inlay in the crypt and the upper church.

76 For the Abu Ghosh crypt painting: Kühnel 1988, Pl. 39 (Peillat watercolour). For the Abbey of the Virgin Deisis painting: Seligman 2012, *passim* with Fig. 1 and 209, making the connection between the Deisis in both.

77 Demus 1984, 2. For the marble work of San Marco see Demus 1960. Greenhalgh 2009, 444, refers the exoticism with which imports from the east were regarded by the Venetians.

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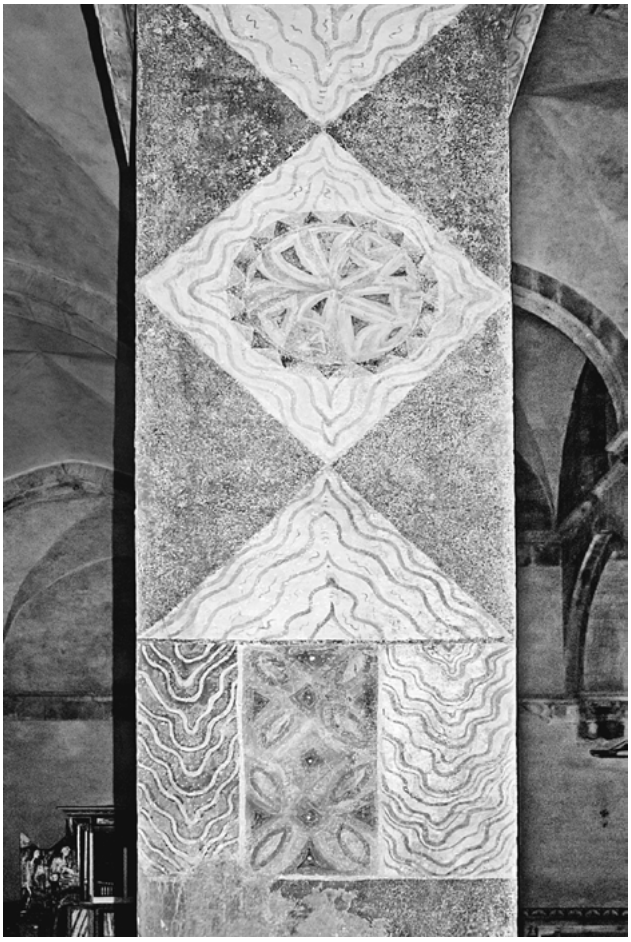

Fig. 7 Church of St. Jeremiah, Abu Ghosh. Imitation marbling, pier, upper church.

in Damascus in the thirteenth century.[78] The Venetians could have sent a consignment of marble to Beirut, or John could have acquired them via another port such as Acre, which we know traded in marble. Marble was an emotive material. It is likely that the pulpit sent with other gifts by Saladin to the Byzantine emperor Isaac II in 1188 to both cement an alliance and ensure Islamic worship in Constantinople, was of marble: it was described as a *maumaria* meaning "something to do with the Muslim religion".[79] Intended to support the practice of Islam in Constantinople, it was "captured" by the Genoese and taken to Tyre; Saladin sent another one the following year.

The painted ceiling: Cosmic imagery of Sun and Time

Wilbrand observes the blue sky, moving clouds, with Zephyr the gentle warm west wind blowing, and with the sun as the focus defining time throughout the year, months, days, weeks, hours and seconds through its movement in the zodiac. This opens up the rich array of medieval astrological imagery. In Islamic art the sun was shown as one of the planets. But with the spread of astrological imagery in a wide variety of media in the twelfth-to-thirteenth centuries there was a tendency for the sun to move centre stage to take up the central position with the planets, and sometimes also

78 Barbier de Meynard 1898, 154; Barry 2010, 24 with note 47, with reference to Carole Hillenbrand's identification of al-Nasir with the "Osamah" of the text.
79 Brand 1962, 172.

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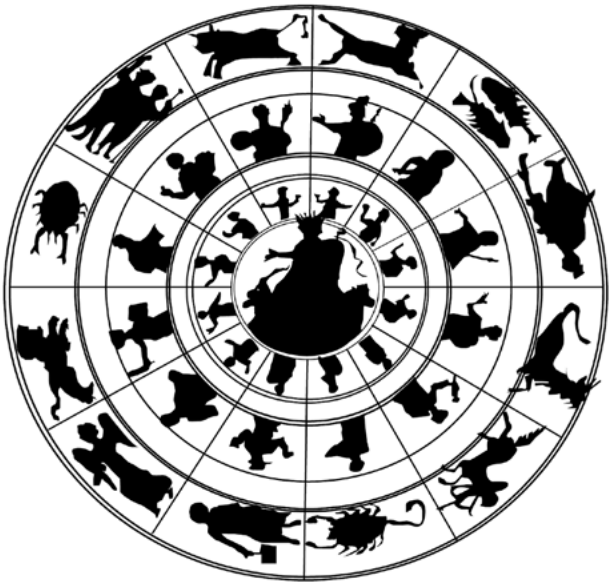

Fig. 8 *Helios* at the centre of the Cosmos (schematic Drawing of MS Vat. gr 1271 fol. 9r).

the signs of the zodiac, depicted rotating around it. The sun also lost its human form, and as a sun disk replaced earth in its position at the centre of the universe.[80] The sun in this central position parallels its place in Jewish and Christian imagery.

The *Sol Invictus* iconography, showing the sun god in his chariot in the centre, had imperial, astrological and cosmological connotations with its origins in Neoplatonist thought and magical practice. The figure of the sun god himself is traceable in the Eastern part of the Graeco-Roman world, especially in the devotion to the Mesopotamian deity the sun god Shamash, venerated in Syria and North Mesopotamia including the Syrian cities of Edessa and Palmyra.[81] With its roots in Roman art, it appears in Christian and Jewish liturgical calendars. The Jewish synagogue pavements of fourth – sixth century Palestine specifically refer back to second century pavements in Antioch.[82] The layout of the scene is based on a radial composition within a square format, with the Helos/Sol figure in his chariot in the centre sometimes accompanied by the moon and a star (night and day). In the outer circle are the signs of the zodiac, representing the months, or the labours of the months, depicted in a clockwise or anti-clockwise sequence.[83] Beyond that, in the four corners, are the personifications of the seasons. The latter are occasionally replaced by winds, as in, for example, the Roman stone ceiling panel at Palmyra of the first century A.D., and the Jewish synagogues at Huseifa in Palestine, and later Sparta in Greece of the fourth century.[84] In these the winds are each shown in bust form with the wind projecting out of their mouths in three lines.

Wilbrand's description evokes the depiction of the Sun in this central, dominating, position. An illustration of the sun at the centre, with concentric circles, one of which includes zodiac symbols representing sections of time, can be found in the famous illustrated Greek ninth century manuscript in the Vatican Library of the Handy Tables of Ptolemy (Vat. gr. 1291, fol. 9r) dating to the reign of the emperor Leo V (813–820) or Constantine V (941–975) (here Fig. 8, in diagrammatic form).[85] Based on a Late Antique model, it articulates the detailed interest in time in its astrolog-

80 Carboni 1997, 9.

81 Greenfield and Avigad 2001, 128.

82 Hachlili 2002; Levine 2003, esp. 103–107. For the Antioch pavements: Levi 1951.

83 Unlike the Julian calendar, in the Jewish calendar the month corresponds exactly with 30 days.

84 Hachlili 2002, 238, Table 2. Huseifa is illustrated, Fig. 3 and Sparta, Fig. 17.

85 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. gr. 1291, fol. 9r, Helios at the centre of the cosmos. Spatharakis 1987 rpt. 1996 esp. 142 with Fig. 6, whose proposed dating is corrected by Wright who suggests 341–375. See also Tihon 199; Zandbergen 2011; Cohen 2014, 55–56 with Fig. 11 (colour). For Ptolemy's Handy Tables overall see Tihon/Mercier 2011.

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Fig. 9 Plate with the Ascension of Alexander the Great. Shuryshkar Regional Historical Museum Complex.

ical setting that Wilbrand describes. It is arranged in concentric circles comprising three figural bands with twelve compartments each, and two thinner verbal bands. Based on a Late Antique original, the illustration shows Helios/Sol in the centre in his chariot, against a blue sky. The sun is surrounded by the two-thirds-length figures of naked nymphs, shown with juxtaposing pale and dark skin, personifying the hours of day and night specified by the abbreviated Greek alphabetical letters in the thinner band immediately beyond them. In the next concentric ring are twelve male personifications of the months, followed, in the outer ring, by the signs of the zodiac. Below each of the personifications is written the date and hour of the sun's entry into each of the zodiacal signs.

One aspect could be telling. Wilbrand reported that the ceiling included details of time down to the second. The Handy Tables, however, only calculate to the minute, even if they are easier to use.[86] So if the ceiling painters had access to a Ptolemy manuscript it was probably the Almagest itself. Charles Burnett has drawn attention to a manuscript of the Almagest which was translated from Arabic to Latin probably in Antioch in the mid-twelfth century.[87] Such a manuscript could have been available to John of Ibelin just over half a century later. He may also have had an astrologer in residence as well, as did many of the rulers of his day, of whom Theodore of Antioch is an example, to be returned to below.[88]

The representation of the sun within the cosmic imagery of the ceiling, as well its probable radial layout, prompts me to introduce into the discussion the silver plate from the Shuryshkar Regional Historical Museum Complex, Muzhi, in Siberia (Fig. 9).[89] Displaying a combination of western and Byzantine features, it is currently regarded as a Crusader work of the early thirteenth century, c. 1208–1216, made in Latin Constantinople.[90] I would like to suggest, however, that it belongs within the orbit of palace art in Latin Syria, and even that of John of Ibelin at Beirut in

86 Pedersen 2011, 400.

87 Burnett 2003, 23–7; Burnett 2009, 5.

88 al–Jazari 1974, 17–41 with Pls. 1 and II and Fig. 4. This incorporated a disk with the sun and moon rotating.

89 Marshak 1997, with colour plate reproduced here as Fig. 9.

90 Marshak 1997, 401, attributed it to a vassal of Henry of Hainault (r.1206–1216), the second Crusader emperor of Constantinople. Steppan 2000, 88, remarks "it seems quite probable that a Byzantine craftsman made the plate for a Western client sometime after the Fall of Constantinople in 1204". Finally, Georganteli 2012, 144, 164 concurs with the dating and attribution to Constantinople.

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particular. At the inner centre of the plate is a repoussé roundel with the Ascension of Alexander with Alexander's name inscribed in Greek, with Alexander seated on a throne in a chariot drawn by two griffins. Surrounding this in ten roundels made up of linked foliage scrolls, are engraved personifications of the Sun, Moon, and Jupiter (?) at the top, with the earth and ocean at the bottom. David playing the harp, and Bellerophon riding Pegasus appear in the scrolls on the left side. The three remaining scroll roundels on the right side contain riding figures with weapons. The imagery, then, is inspired by mythology, cosmology and Romance literature; the apotheosis of Alexander was based on the Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Kallisthenes and appears here as it does widely in Byzantine art, as an archetypal imperial image of rulership.[91] One correspondence with the Beirut ceiling is that on the silver plate the sun at the top, when taken in conjunction with the moon, provides the heavenly counterweight to the earth and ocean below, encapsulating, as it were, the decorative programme at Beirut. Another correspondence is that the scenes of the scroll medallions on the silver plate also seem to be in motion. This heavenly circulation suggests, then, a cosmological association as at Beirut. Furthermore, while Alexander is shown enthroned as a western ruler, this is combined with a chariot the wheels of which are decorated with rosettes. This is seen in Islamic art as a cosmic symbol, as will be remarked on below in relation to the sculpture at the Ayyubid gate of the Aleppo citadel.

The silver plate in Muzhi is clearly related to the twelfth century cloisonné enamelled Artuqid bowl in Innsbruck which also shows the Ascension of Alexander in a central roundel surrounded by other roundels, this time of animals and birds, with courtly scenes and palm trees between them. All writers since 1995 have attributed it to Constantinople.[92] The imagery is the same on the reverse, with the enamelwork on the foot missing, and with a Persian inscription which has not been read, or is perhaps a pseudo-inscription. The Artuqid bowl is inscribed around the rim with the name of the Artuqid ruler Rukn ad-Daula Abu Sulayman Dā'ūd, ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Khartpert from 1114 (?) to 1144.[93] We will see below how close the Artuqid work at Diyarbekir was to that of Beirut in the early thirteenth century and the bowl could be a forerunner of that. Thomas Steppan has noted that the roundels of the Artuqid plate are not synchronized with the central panel; in being fifteen degrees off axis they trip movement which "appears to set the twelve images in the wide band in a carousel-like motion around the central medallion."[94] This heavenly circulation is, in anticipation of the Beirut ceiling, suggestive of a cosmological interest. The attribution to Constantinople rests on the argument that it was a gift from the Byzantine court. However, there is no textual evidence that Byzantine court workshops took commissions from non-Christian rulers, and the court did not give them crowns.[95] Why would the Byzantines want to honour this non-Christian Artuqid ruler with the same imperial iconography with which they displayed their own emperor's status? It is more likely that the Artuqid ruler commissioned it himself from a centre familiar with Byzantine iconography, where Greek craftsmen were at work using the required technology and with access to the necessary materials. Such a place was Latin Syria.The Greek makers of the Artuqid bowl could well have copied elements – the dancers in particular – from the crown of Constantine Monomachos.[96] Byzantine imperial iconography remained the gold standard and was copied here, as in Sicily. This leaves us free to reattribute the Artuqid bowl to a centre in Syria in the early 1140s. One candidate is Antioch, which would explain several Eastern and also its Sicilian associations. Another is Tyre, with its tradition of glass manufacture and also its regal aura, with its

91 Steppan 2000, 87–88 points to its presence on the façade of San Marco in Venice. See Georganteli 2012, 143 with note 4 on the dissemination of the Alexander Romance.

92 Steppan 1995, with photographic documentation; Soucek 1997, with colour plate; Steppan 2000, with Fig. 1; Georganteli 2012, 144 with Fig. 1b.

93 Steppan 2000, 84

94 Steppan 200, 84 with Fig. 3.

95 Steppan 2000, 97 with note 78.

96 Steppan 1995, 21 with note 20.

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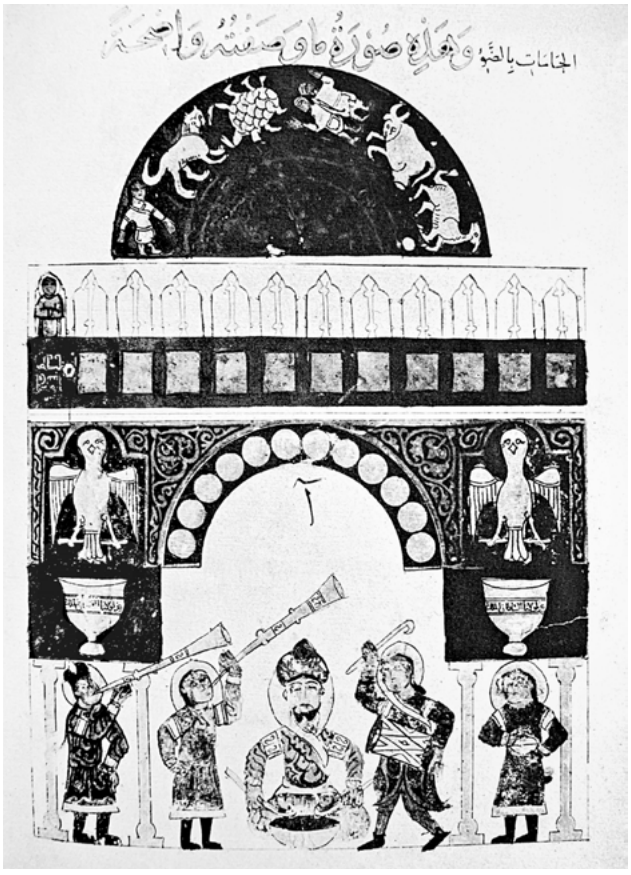

Fig. 10 Design for castle water clock. Al-Jazarī *Automata (*MS., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.533).

cathedral the place of coronation of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem. The employment of Greek artists at Beirut, as at the Artuqid courts, as I will argue below, is part of this trend, half a century later.

The passage of the sun also brings to mind the castle water clock made by Ismai'l Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī at the court of the Artuqid ruler Nāṣir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd (r. 597/1200–619/1222 at Diyarbakir and described in *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (*Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya)*. Illustrated here (Fig. 10) in a manuscript dating to 1354, it shows a large clock modelled on the façade of a castle above which is a "cupola" in which the sun during the day and the moon at night were visible rotating through half of the zodiac.[97] The clock itself operated in such a way that when the figure at the top moved, the birds dropped balls and the musicians played.[98] In his treatise al-Jazarī refers to the clock "from which can be told the passage of the constant and solar hours". He also described the disk at the top on which the signs of the zodiac are painted (Fig. 11), reproduced here from the Istanbul manuscript written by a named calligrapher in Hisn Kayfa (modern Hasankeyf) in 1206.[99] He writes: "the faces of the disc and the spheres are painted in a colour like the colour of the heavens, and the pictures of the signs of the zodiac are adorned with gold and other beautifying colours".[100] The spheres were decorated with gold leaf in the case of

97 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Access. no. 14,533. See colour photo at: Boston M.F.A. (2015); Coomaraswamy 1924, 10–12 with Pl. 1 (reproduced here, Fig. 10).

98 For the functioning of the clock see Salim Al–Hassani 2015.

99 Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi ms A 3472 p. 52. The calligrapher's name was Yusuf ibn̓ Othmān al–Hesnkefi. See Stchoukine 1934, 137 with fig. 8 (reproduced here as Fig. 11). Meineke 1996, 63, points out that zodiac signs appear on the bridge at Çizre in Upper Mesopotania, which was al-Jazarī's birthplace. For the background to the history of the Artuqids in this period see Hillenbrand 1990. For an illustration of the signs of the zodiac in the manuscript of 1315 see Atil 1975, 103 no, 44.

100 al–Jazarī 1974, 39. The disk is illustrated Pl. II and Fig. 33.

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Fig. 11 Zodiac Disk. Al-Jazarī, *Automata*. Istanbul. (Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi MS A 3472).

the sun and white glass for the moon.[101] This text was completed in 1204 or 1206 and so very close in date to the time of Wilbrand's visit to Beirut. Wilbrand does not mention a mechanical clock at Beirut, but his description draws attention to a wider courtly interest in astronomy. It is likely that a few courtly libraries were stocked to accommodate these interests. Donald Hill suggested that, in basing his work on Heron's *Mechanics* and Philon's *Pneumatics*, al-Jazarī, at the Artuqid palace at Diyarbekir, had direct access to Greek manuscripts as well as to Arabic translations of them.[102] Perhaps Greek Ptolemy manuscripts were in the palace library at Beirut, given that John's mother was a Byzantine princess. For christians, as well as being part of the arts curriculum, this cosmological interest also served the function of reminding worshippers of the liturgical calendar.[103] An example of this in Jerusalem in the twelfth century is the carving of the labours of the months with sol and luna appearing in the archivolts of the western-style moulding over the north door to the church of St. Mary Latin in Jerusalem.[104]

Winds

Figures of winds, with other personifications such as those of the constellations and the sun and moon, accompany the tables in the Vatican Ptolemy Handy Tables' manuscript.[105] But rather than isolated figures we are looking for imagery that would have translated into the painted ceiling programme at Beirut. In the illustration of winds in Latin manuscripts of the twelfth-to-early thirteenth centuries the winds take on the role of the beneficent, moving force of the Divine Spirit, the *pneuma*, acting as agents of God's will as Prime Mover and providing structure, stability and

101 al–Jazarī 1974, 36.

102 al–Jazarī, 11–12. The library at Hisn Kayfa was famous, and accommodated the bibliophile Syrian prince Usama ibn Munqid (d. 594/1188) for ten years: Meineke 1996, 63. This library would have been transferred to Diyarbekir when the court moved there in 1185.

103 Hourihane 2007, 1.

104 Folda 1995, 275–278 with Pl. 8A.11a–d.

105 Wright 1985, 335.

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order to the universe, as Barbara Obrist has argued in her study of medieval wind diagrams.[106] As agents of the immaterial Divine Spirit they are depicted in a variety of figural forms.[107] To take just one example, in the illustration of Annus and the Macrocosm in a manuscript of Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber Scivias*, dating to the turn of the thirteenth century, the winds in the four corners appear as active, controlling, agents.[108] Shown as naked winged leaping figures with wind-blown hair standing on end, they hold individual heads in their hands. These heads represent subsidiary winds which the main winds are keeping in check. Here there are four winds whereas Wilbrand only referred to one. There are alternative explanations for this. Perhaps literary convention with a single wind was in his mind. The other possibility is more straightforward: Wilbrand is observing the painting in its unfinished state and perhaps only one wind had been completed. It is of course possible that there was only one wind ever planned. But the format of the ceiling, if it was painted on the a rectangular or a square section of vaulting in the hall, would lend itself to the inclusion of four winds, one in each corner. To go one step further, perhaps the ribs of a square bay of groin vaulting converged to support a central cupola which contained this circular, rotational cosmic design of sun and time. This can be envisaged by looking, for example, not at a ceiling but at a floor mosaic of the late twelfth century from the church of S. Salvatore in Turin, which is structured as a circle in a square.[109] In this case no less than twelve winds occupy the four corners of the mosaic pavement, blowing horns. The circle is delineated by the ocean, with islands identified with inscriptions, roundels of animals representing the various parts of the created world, and the Wheel of Fortune in the centre. Clouds are specified at Beirut; they could have made up the circular rim in such a scheme. One belief, derived from the Stoic tradition of ancient science which survived into the Middle Ages, was that winds evolved from clouds.[110]

The Basin and Fountain

At the centre of the Beirut hall, according to Wilbrand, lies a pool lined with perfectly-fitted multi-coloured marble. The marble pieces are shaped like geometrically-placed flowers which confuse the viewer who tries to focus their vision on them exclusively. In the pool is a fountain with a dragon which threatens surrounding animals. A jet of water shoots up from the fountain. The air coming in through the windows all round the hall is cooled by the water from the fountain in hot weather. The channelling of the water creates a pleasant sound, creating a relaxing environment for the onlooker.

A starting point for envisaging the pool and fountain in its hall setting is courtyard design within contemporary Ayyubid and Artuqid citadel palaces, including the citadel of Aleppo.[111] The plan of these is cruciform in shape, with a central courtyard, which is usually square, and four iwans. The focus of the design is the flowing of water, from a spout in the wall at one side running down a marble slab (the *salsabil)* at one end into a basin in the centre of the courtyard, from where it spouts upwards as a jet of water to then spray down and be piped underground into the castle cistern (eg. Fig. 13).[112] In Islamic terms the jet of water could be seen as a jet of glass such as that

106 Obrist 1997, 73–84.
107 Obrist 1997, 76.
108 Heidelberg Univ. cod. Salem X16, fol. 2v. Cohen 2014, 60 with fig. 15 (colour).
109 Kitzinger 1973/1976; Barral i Altet 1987, 52 with Figs. 3–4; Donkin 2008, Fig. 2. Tabaa 1997, 91–92 saw a mixed picture regarding the use of domes in the Islamic citadel courtyards: see below.
110 Obrist 1997, 36.
111 See the discussion of Islamic citadel palaces in Tabbaa 1997, esp. 88–92.
112 Tabbaa 1986.

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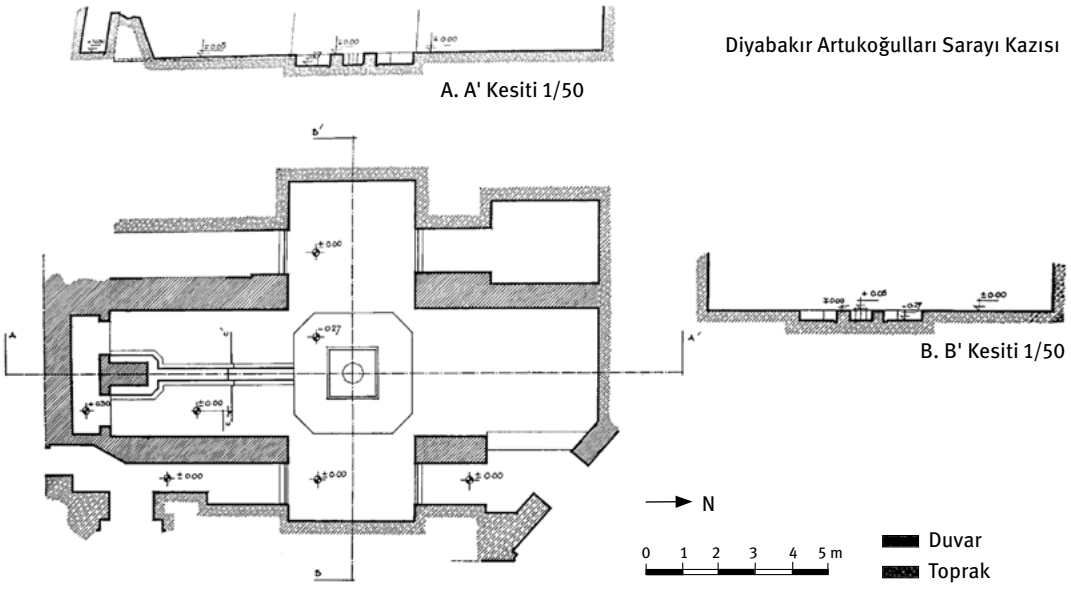

Fig. 12 Artuqid Palace, Plan, Diyarbakir.

described by Ibn Jubayr issuing from the marble fountain of the Umayyad mosque at Mosul.[113] This is, as it were, a landscape garden in miniature, the outside being brought inside the citadel. Two examples of palace citadel courtyards have particular bearing on the decoration of the fountain in the Beirut hall and its decoration. One of these is the Ayyubid palace at Sahyun/Qal'at Salah-al-Din, the former Crusader castle of Saône captured by Saladin in 1188, into which the Ayyubid palace was built in the early thirteenth century. The Syrian-French excavations, undertaken In 2000–2001, confirmed that the palace was built in the first half of the thirteenth century.[114] They showed that at the centre of the courtyard, at the heart of the castle itself, was a stone basin decorated in mosaic in a geometric design. The courtyard pavement had also originally been laid with marble slabs. The western *iwan* originally had a ribbed vaulted, which had collapsed.[115] The other is the Artuqid citadel palace at Diyabekir (Amid) (1201–1222), which was excavated in the early 1960s but is no longer visible.[116] Here the cruciform plan of the small courtyard (Fig. 12) is again structured with four *iwans* with a waterfall fountain (*selsebil*) linked by a water channel (*shadirwan*) to an octagonally-shaped basin in the centre (Fig. 13).[117] This is identical to Wilbrand's description of water "resonating throughout the pool and being received into the slenderest of channels." The decoration of the basin as a whole in Diyarbekir is extensive, with tiling and mosaic (Fig. 14). The floor of its interior is decorated with *opus sectile* work with geometric shapes which resemble stylised flowers (Fig. 15) just as Wilbrand describes.[118] Such *opus sectile* work, using coloured *tesserae* shaped into oft-repeating designs, was commonly used in Byzantium, especially after the period of Iconoclasm. It appears in conjunction with *rotae*, the porphyry disks, in the ninth century *omphalos* in the pavement of St. Sophia (detail, Fig. 5). Given this connection it is very likely that the work at Diyarbekir was undertaken by Christian, probably Melkite, craftsmen, perhaps even those who also worked at Beirut.[119] Artuqid rulers had long coveted Christian mate-

113 Ibn Jubayr 1952, 242.
114 Michaudel 2015.
115 Grandin 2008, 34. 36, with plan 35.
116 Aslanapa 1962.
117 The dimensions of the courtyard are 3.50 × 3.80 metres: Tabbaa, 1996, 91
118 Maguire 2012, 67.
119 Korn 2011, 387 also suggests that there were Christian stonemasons at the Artuqid court. I would extend this to the mosaic work as well, especially considering the local Melkite tradition of mosaic work at the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.

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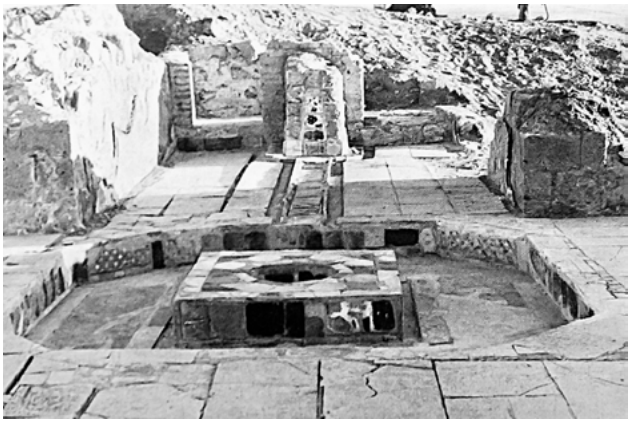

Fig. 13 View towards fountain, North chamber. Artuqid palace, Diyarbekir.

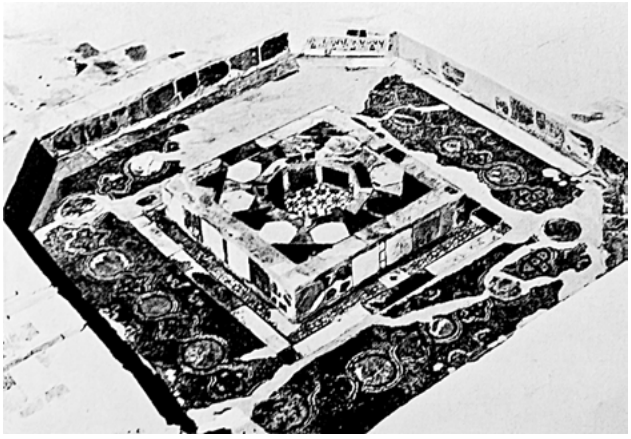

Fig. 14 Basin in courtyard. Artuqid citadel Palace, Diyarbekir.

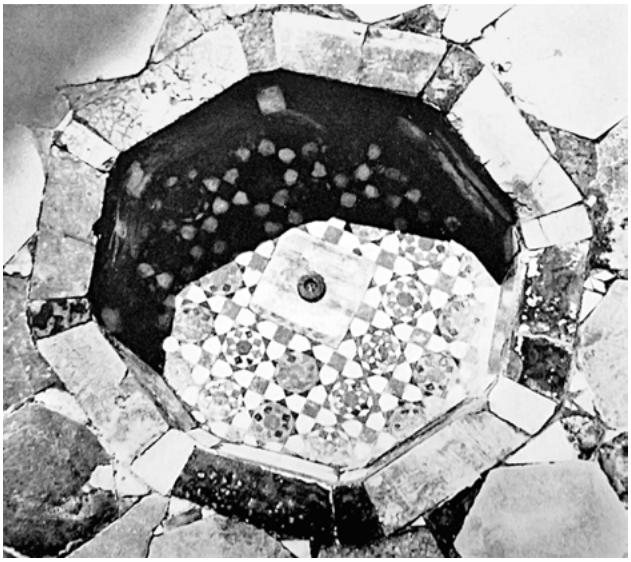

Fig. 15 Interior of basin in courtyard, Artuqid palace, Diyarbekir.

rials and craftsmanship: the Syrian "Jacobite" Patriarchate Michael the Syrian even reported that Nur ad-Dīn Muhammad, the Artuqid governor of Hisn Kayfa from 1167 to 1185, was struck down and died as punishment for his action of removing marbles from a church to use in his palace.[120]

120 Chabot 1899 Vol. III, 396; Barry, 2010, 23 note 45.

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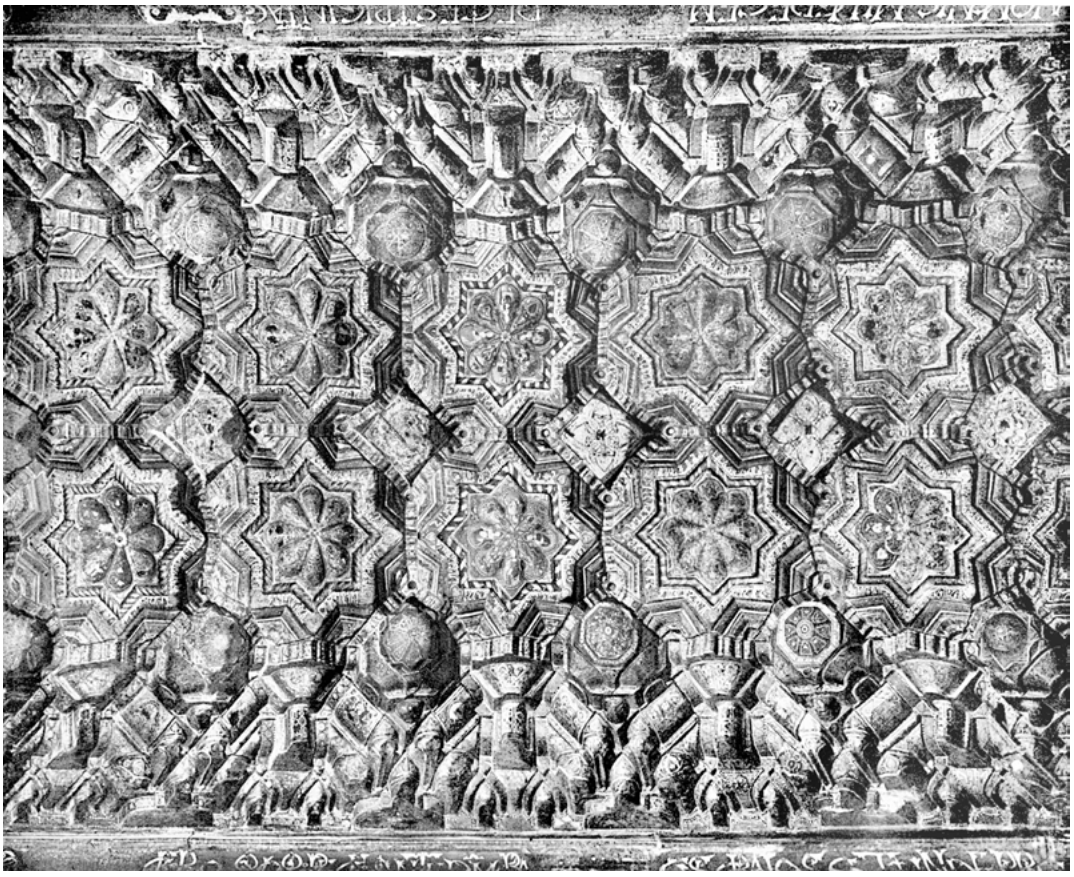

Fig. 16 Ceiling, Cappella Palatina, Palermo.

The description of the craftsmanship at the Cappella Palatina in Palermo by Philagathos of Kerameōs, delivered between 1140 and 1153, and probably 1143, sets craftsmanship like this in a cosmic context.[121] Here the pavement with its *opus sectile* stars and flowers resembles a spring meadow:

> The most holy floor resembles a spring meadow because of the many –coloured marbles of the mosaics, as if it were adorned with flowers; except that flowers wither and change, while this meadow is never fading and everlasting, and within itself maintains eternal spring.[122]

This follows the reference to the painted *muqarnas* decoration on the ceiling (Fig. 16) which is "decorated with delicate carvings, variously formed like little coffers; ... it imitates the heavens when, through the clear air, the host of stars shines everywhere".[123] This juxtaposition of earthly and heavenly at Palermo reflects, for Jeremy Johns, the conception of the Cappella Palatina as creation itself.[124] A glance at some of the *opus sectile* work in the Cappella Palatina pavement, and elsewhere in the building, shows the resemblance between it and the basin at Diyarbekir (Fig. 15), and so by association, likely also with Beirut.[125] Although no *muqarnas* is mentioned in the audience

121 Johns 2005, 6, who argues for the consecration date of 29 June 1143, and the completion of the ceiling by this date (7). His translation, 13, is given here. See also Andaloro 2011, 586; Di Liberto 2013, 144.

122 Johns 2005, 13.

123 Trans. Johns: Johns 2005, 13.

124 Johns 2010, 388; Di Liberto 2013, 32, note 11.

125 Compare Aslanapa 1962 Taf. 26 (2) reproduced here as Fig. 15 with the detail of the panelling reproduced by Longo 2011, 54 Abb. 4 in which the tree-like motif third from right is very close to the Diyarbekir work. This "Arabo-Norman" craftsmanship is considered by Longo 2011, esp. 492-493, who points out that an artificial material is also introduced.

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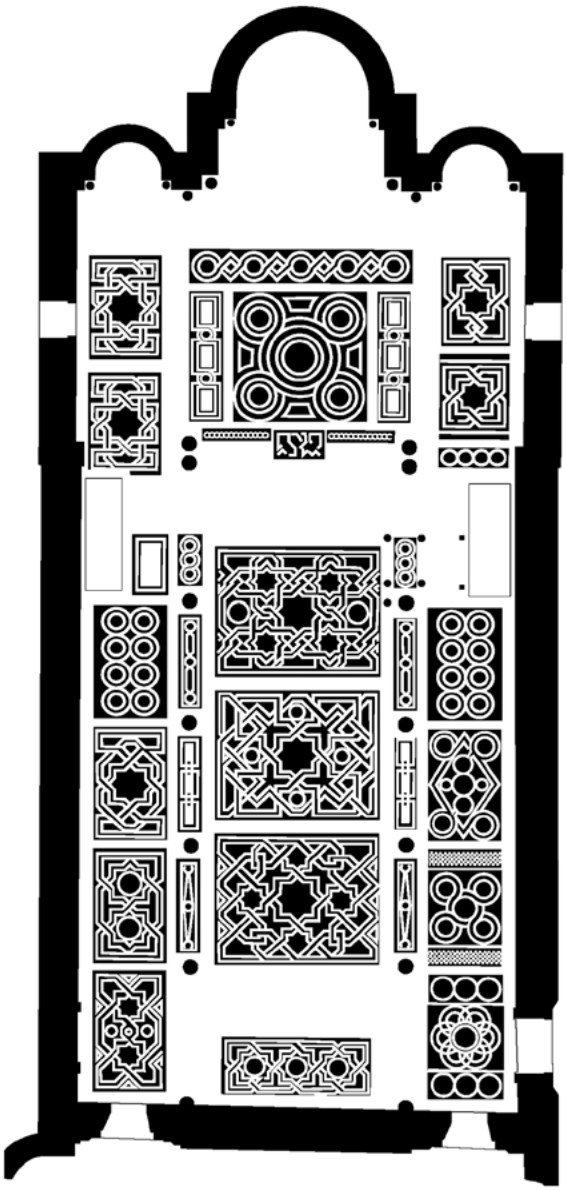

Fig. 17 Pavement, Cappella Palatina, Palermo.

chamber at Beirut, the decoration of the Beirut hall is also an ideal (re)creation, a reflection of the heavens. William Tronzo discussed the Cappella Palatina's main nave as a recreation of a reception hall of a Fatimid palace, complementing the sanctuary where the liturgy took place.[126] In this the parallel *opus sectile* pavement panels flanking the square panel second from the west of the south aisle (Fig. 17) guide visitors from the threshold to the platform in the middle of the western wall where the king received visitors.[127] Crusader leaders too were well aware of the role of craftsmanship in such ceremonial symbolism: Hugh of Caesarea is an example of a Frank who visited the palace of the Fatimid caliph in his capacity as King Amalric I's envoy in 1167, as recorded by William of Tyre.[128]

126 Tronzo 1997, 111–112.
127 Tronzo 1997, 111.
128 Richard 1996, 129; Tuley 2013, 326–327.

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The Fountain itself

In the centre of the basin Wilbrand describes a fountain which is in the form of a dragon which both appears to terrify animals surrounding it and emits a jet of water. This fountain might well have been made of coloured stone, including porphyry. The way it is presented is similar to the literary description by the early fourteenth century Byzantine writer Hyrtakenos in his Description of the Garden of St. Anna. In this latter text the fountain is multi-coloured.[129] The basin is in green stone, the vertical tube in the centre is linen-coloured and the pinecone on top out of which water flows is of purple porphyry.[130] Around the basin are carved menacing wild animals, including lions, leopards and bears, while drinking birds perch on the rim.[131] As part of Hyrtakenos' fountain it is the animals that are aggressive. But at Beirut the tables are turned and instead of a passive pineapple the fountain is headed by a dragon. Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi see the origins of Hyrtakenos' description in Romance literature of the second half of the twelfth century, including the inclusion of *automata* in *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites and *Drosilla and Charikles* by Niketas Eugenianos.[132] I have previously put forward the view that Wilbrand's description is also suggestive of automatata, and this line of thought can be developed.[133] The Beirut fountain evokes the thrashing about of a full-length dragon, perhaps in the form of a mechanical device built into the marble core of the fountain. Such a mobile dragon can be visualised through al-Jazirī's image of the elephant water clock from the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Automata* of 1206 (Fig. 18).[134] This shows the movement of two entwined dragons at the central core of the mechanism: not surprisingly al-Jazarī wrote that the design of this particular water clock brought together many devices.[135]

Dragon iconography has varying connotations which arguably have a bearing on this fountain. First, dragons were traditionally regarded as guardians of water sources, and in that capacity commonly appear as water spouts. Al-Jazarī's automata made at the Artuqid court of Diyarbakir included a device for handwashing which incorporated a servant holding a ewer with a dragon spout.[136] A second dragon association is talismanic, providing protection. An example is the relief of entwined dragons over the Serpent Gate of the Ayyubid fortress of Aleppo (Fig. 19) of the early thirteenth century.[137] This is attributed to the Ayyubid ruler al Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, (who continued to rule in Aleppo to 1216) around the time that the Gate of the Lions was built (606/1209–1210).[138] This iconography, typical of city gates, has been associated with power and good fortune, with the knotting together of the dragons an apotropaic symbol. The dragons' necks encircle rosettes, in

129 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002, 144–145 for the translation of the text, which is discussed, 126–127. See also Maguire 2012, 64–65.

130 Dolezal/Mavroudi 2002, 144–145 for the translation of the text, which is discussed, 126–127, with reconstruction, Figs. 11. 12. See also Maguire 2012, 64–65.

131 Translation, Dolezal/Mavroudi 2002, 145: "The bounding of lions, the leaping of leopards, and the swaying of bears, as well as the images of other wild animals that the craftsman had excellently carved, were so close to moving that the beholder wished he could somewhere far away, lest the beasts suddenly leapt on him and tear him to pieces".

132 Dolezal/Mavroudi 2002, 130.

133 Hunt 1984/1998, 58–59.

134 Ms Istanbul Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi 3472 p. 90: Stchoukine 1934, 137 with Fig. 7. For al–Jazarī's text see al-Jazarī 1974, 58. The miniature of 1315 is reproduced in Ettinghausen 1977, 95 with colour plate and explanation of how the clock worked.

135 al–Jazari 1974, 57.

136 al–Jazari 1974, 153–155 with pl. 26 and fig. 119; Kuehn 2011, 47 with note 115 and Fig. 35 of the Istanbul manuscript of 1206. Atil 1975, 100 no 51 reproduces the MS of 1315.

137 Tabbaa 1997, 76–77 with Figs. 25–26.; Kuehn 1997, 26, 101

138 While the present large tympanum inscription at the gate of the serpents is a Mamluk insertion, the inscription to al–Ẓāhir Ghāzī at the Gate of the Lions is clearly dated to 606/1209–10: Tabbaa 1997, 73–75.

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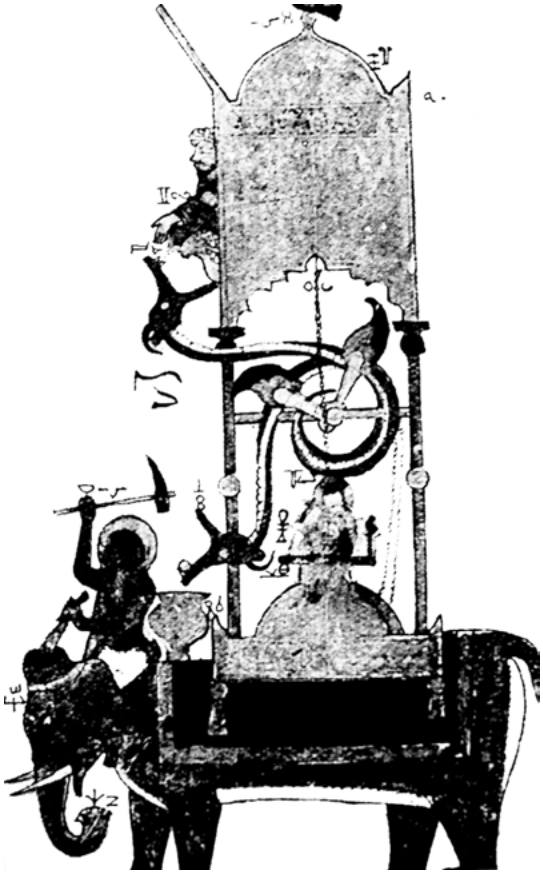

Fig. 18 Elephant Water Clock, al-Jazarī, *Automata* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi MS A 3472).

the form of eight-pointed stars, which have been indentified as solar symbols.[139] This suggests an astrological association with Jawzahr, the eighth, invisible, planet, who is responsible for solar and lunar eclipses.[140] Assuming that that the dragon fountain in the centre of the Beirut hall is sited directly below the sun painted in the ceiling, this juxtaposition could be playing out the traditional astrological conflict between Jawzahr and the sun. This antagonism is to be seen in the astrological iconography of the "Vaso Vescovale" in the British Museum, a bronze bowl with silver inlay attributed to Khurasan in c. 1200.[141] Arguable the fountain at Beirut plays out that confict in a cosmic sense.

But a final, related, association has local resonance. Willy Hartner first drew attention to the popularization and dissemination of a version of this conflict in the form of imagery of St George and the dragon.[142] The struggle between St. George and the dragon was popularly believed in the Crusader period to have taken place at Nahr Beirut, the river of Beirut, near its mouth.[143] This association might, at first consideration, be thought somewhat confrontational in the audience hall of a Christian lord. The imagery was not, however, viewed as such in popular Christian-Muslim terms.

139 Hartner 1938, 144.

140 Carboni 1997, 6.

141 Hartner 1938, 121. The bowl has the signs of the zodiac on the body and planets on the lid, including Jawzhar as the eight planet. See also Ward 1993, 21 with colour plate.

142 This was suggested by Hartner on the basis of an illustration of the angel Shamhurash fighting the dragon, a scene he considers a Persian version of St. George and the dragon. This appears in a miniature in MS Paris, Anciens fonds Persian 174, which Hartner cites as the text by Nāṣir al–Dīn Muhammad al–Sīwāsī, *Daḳāi'ḳ al–Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, written in 670–671/1272 A.D.: Hartner 1938, 143 with note 45 and Fig. 22. For the iconography of St. George in the Anatolian context see, amongst others, Pancaroğlu 2004.

143 Robinson 1841, 439 with note 3 refers to travellers' account from the Crusader period and probably earlier; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1921, 238.

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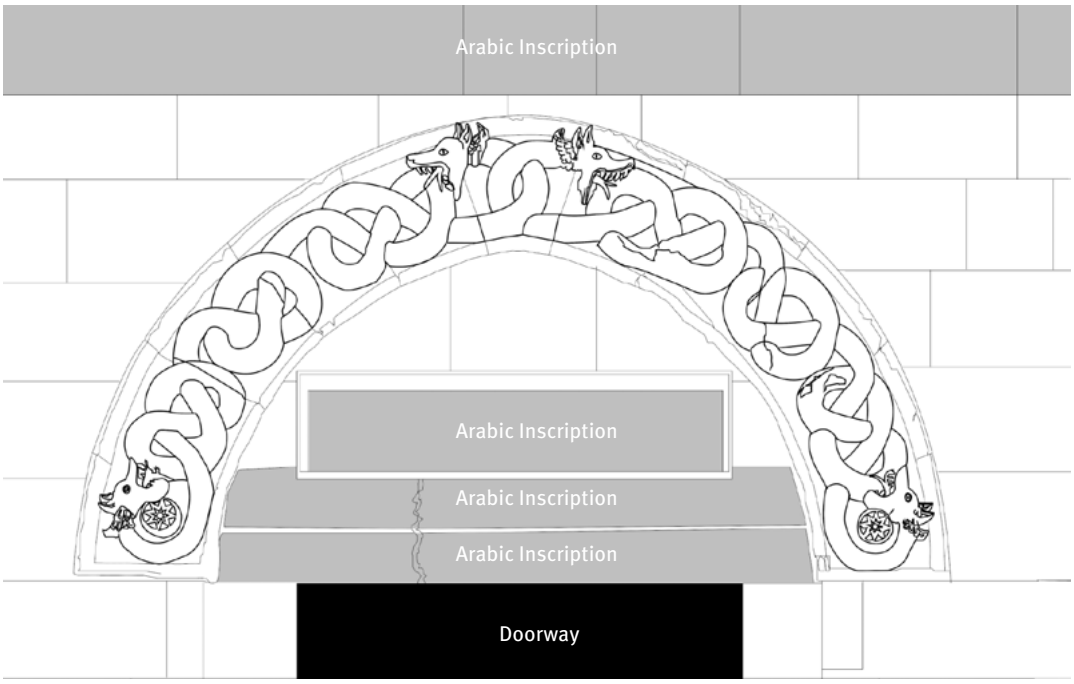

Fig. 19 Dragon Arch, drawing of detail, Serpent/Dragon Gate, Aleppo citadel.

Albtrecht Fuess describes how, still in the Mamluk period, Christians and Muslims both processed to Nahr Beirut at the time of the *id an-nahr* on 23 April, a festival deemed heretical, however, by the Mamluk authorities.[144] That this imagery of sun-dragon/St George-dragon was considered appropriate for an audience hall, given the diplomatic function of that space and the need for John to negotiate with others, both Christian and Muslim, can be explained by Hartner's belief that "during the Middle Ages astrology was simply the great international means of understanding among the adherents of all possible religions, Muhammadans, Christians, Jews and "pagans".[145] Indeed it night be speculated that the imagery in John of Ibelin's palace hall did just that: accommodated visitors of different faiths.

The Architecture of the solar hall in the context of rulership

Wilbrand mentions windows "on every side" which let in the air, which suggests an airy, light space such as a solar. As previously remarked, we know from the pilgrim Theodoric that the royal palace of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, rebuilt in the 1160s next to the tower of David, had a solar on the upper storey (Fig. 2). But Wilbrand states that the air flow from the upper windows is cooled by the water from the fountain, so it cannot have been a second storey. Nor is it described as adjacent to the main hall, as some early thirteenth century solars were, but only as upper windows in the hall itself.[146] One must conclude that given the constraints within the tower that several of its palatial characteristics were all compressed into the single chamber. The appearance of the hall, in this case with upper windows, is consistent with Crusader architecture in the thirteenth century. An example is the

144 Fuess 2001–2002, 90.

145 Hartner 1938, 143.

146 One example of an early of early thirteenth–century solar adjacent to the main hall was the bishop's palace at Canterbury, for which see: Rady/Tatton-Brown/Bowen 1991, 47 with Fig. 2; Reeve 2001, 100–101 with Fig. 7.2. This was a gabled structure over a vaulted undercroft. Another was in the west range at the castle at Skenfrith in Gwent on the English–Welsh border: Kenyon 2005, 118 with Fig. 6.3.

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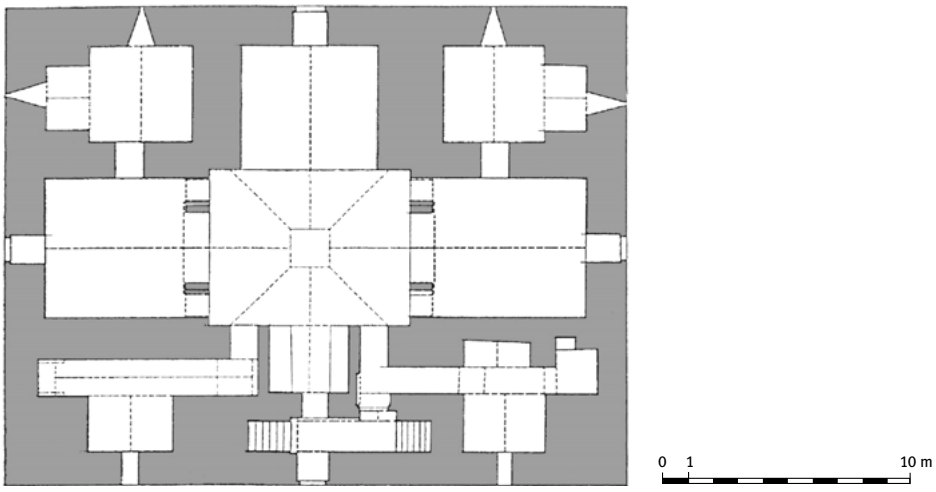

Fig. 20 Ayyubid Palace, Plan, Bosra citadel.

"Hall of Columns" within the Hospitaller Compound in Old Acre which is thought to have been a meeting and dining hall. It has groin vaults throughout and windows at the upper part allowing natural light into the hall.[147] There are also ventilation openings throughout the Hospitaller compound, which would have helped the airflow that Wilbrand describes.[148] So one possibility is that the Beirut hall was simply a long vaulted chamber with its ceiling painted, with a "sea" of marble on the floor and marble walls and the fountain in the centre below the spot where the sun was painted.

The additional possibility which should be considered is whether the central bay of vaulting within the hall was adjusted to accommodate a cupola over the fountain. This would draw on the shared features with contemporary Islamic citadel palaces, especially Ayyubid ones in Syria but also including Diyarbekir, that has been discussed here in the context of the basin and fountain. The size of the Beirut hall may be similar to the larger Islamic courtyards. A room in the Beirut fortifications is known to have been 11 × 6 × 7 m high while the Islamic courtyards average between 6.35 and 9.70 metres per side.[149] As at Beirut, these combine the residential with the military aspect, and so became adapted to local circumstances.[150] While most of the Ayyubid palace courtyards are open this is not always the case: the one in the Bosra citadel has an enclosed, cross-vaulted courtyard (Fig. 20).[151] Although not a courtyard, the smaller square, vaulted entrance vestibule to the Ayyubid palace at Sahyun has a carved stone skylight.[152] The constellations are painted on a cupola in the caldarium at Qusayr 'Amra in the early eighth century.[153] Al-Jazarī's water clock for the Artuqid court in the shape of a palace façade (Fig. 10) depicts a zodiac in the cupola rising over the centre of the palace. These examples might suggest that the zodiac at Beirut too was painted in a cupola. So it would not be without precedent if the central vaulted bay in the Beirut hall had been adapted to display this imagery in a cupola.

Cosmic iconography is inevitably an expression of power, and John has his place in the scheme between heaven and earth, the water below and sun above, within Byzantine imperial/Islamic tradition.[154] At Qusayr 'Amra, the ruler is enthroned with the water beneath his feet and the blue of the sky above, identifying with the creator/Cosmokrator. At the Cappella Palatina the ruler's throne

147 Fuhrmann–Naaman/Kislev 2010, 19. 49. 51 (where it is mentioned that sills are slanted to allow natural light into the hall below), with pls. p. 34. 28. 38.
148 Fuhrmann–Naaman/Kislev 2010, 51.
149 See above note 40 for Beirut; for the Islamic palace courtyards: Tabbaa 1996, 91.
150 Moaz 2009, 56.
151 Tabbaa 1996, 91 with Fig. 65.
152 Grandin 2008, 26 with plan 35 and photo 365.
153 Carboni 1997, 6; Vibert–Guigue/Bisheh 2007.
154 Wright 1985, 355–362.

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was poised in the middle of the western wall between the earth (Pavement, Fig. 17) and the sky (ceiling, Fig. 16), with the depictions of the Ascent of Alexander, representing the ruler/Cosmocrator and the chariots of the sun and the moon depicted in the ceiling paintings above.[155] The early thirteenth century silver plate with central medallion showing the ascent of Alexander (Fig. 9) has been argued above to belong within this Syrian context, rather than a Constantinopolitan one, and may even have been made for John of Ibelin. The northern iwan of the Ayyubid citadel palace of Aleppo survived through to the later fifteenth century when it was described as having a floor of coloured marble and a fountain of marble from which water flowed into the centre of the courtyard and came up in a jet. The ruler would have sat in front of this, with the rectangular-shaped *muqarnas* vault above his head, which still survives, displaying stars as in the Cappella Palatina.[156] The concept of such cosmic iconography is as much Islamic as Christian, with the sun representing God, drawing mankind to spiritual enlightenment.[157]

I would like to argue that John is very consciously locating his own position here as the heir to Byzantium in his adoption of a sea pavement as a re-creation of that of St. Sophia. It recalls the text of Revelation 4.6: "before the throne there was a sea of glass like crystal." The crystalline sea and the veined, marble cladding of the walls is paralleled in the near-contemporary Serbian church (1208/1209) of the Virgin Evergetis at Studenica at which the marble "clothing" of the church represents the presence of Christ the logos incarnate and the imperial stance defending Orthodoxy against heresy.[158] John, therefore, can lay claim to being a pious ruler upholding Christianity in the face of Islam. The ceiling based on a Greek manuscript reflecting the art and science of Antiquity also places him in this tradition, through his mother the Byzantine princess Maria Comnena. It is the concentration on his Byzantine heritage that provides the key to understanding John's modus operandi. His chamber, steeped in the Byzantine past, is also a "modern" power base with this legacy giving him legitimacy in the contemporary context of a world in which negotiation with the Muslim enemy was a crucial factor. And, as Michael Köhler has noted, twelfth century courtly epies provided a bridge, a channel of communication between Christian and Muslim at a courtly and aristocratic level in casting Muslims as the acceptable pagans of antiquity figures who operated within understood, parallel social and political structures.[159]

But John is not only interested in the pursuit or the expression of power. His concern is also with the conduct and principle of good governance. The floral imagery, in the pool in particular, evokes not just paradise imagery but also the realm itself. Some of Konrad Hirschler's comments on Abū Shāmah's *Rawdatayn* (Book of the Two Gardens) are apt in this respect. Hirchler points to Abū Shāmah's advocacy of good governance in the sense of tending and ordering a delineated garden, which takes place within time, a period of rule, which subsequently disappears without trace as a dream.[160] This is reminiscent of Wilbrand's metaphor for the pavement with footprints in the sand being washed away by waves. The water of life and openness to God's shining light (as the sun) provide guidance and salvation.[161] The astrological position of celestial beings influencing events on earth may be paralleled in Baudri's poem on Adela of Blois. Benjamin Kedar has suggested that in this the conjunction of the constellations described as being on the ceiling in Adela's chamber with the *mappa mundi* on the floor may be connected to the perspective of Adela's husband Stephen of Blois in his logistical role in the East during the First Crusade.[162]

155 Johns 2010; Di Liberto 2013, 146.
156 Tabbaa 1997, 93–95 with Fig. 71 points out the similarity with the Ziza palce near Palermo (1166–85) and palaces in the citadels of Sahyun, Najm and Diyarbakr, as we have seen.
157 Milstein 1986, 550.
158 Erdeljan 2011.
159 Köhler 2013, 31–32.
160 Hirschler 2006/2011, 68.
161 Milstein 1986, 541.2
162 Kedar 2006, 183.

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The Artisans

Wilbrand recounts that "Syrians, Saracens and Greeks" glory in their arts and are working in competition against each other. Who were these Syrians and Greeks? And were they organised according to specialism, language or ethnicity? It is not immediately clear who is meant by "Syrians." Latins did not always distinguish between different Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian indigenous groups and used the word "Suriani" to designate all Arabic-speaking indigenous Christians, as opposed to Greek speaking ones.[163] Some of these would have been Melkite. But the Greek-speaking Christians, the *Greci*, would certainly all have been Melkites, with links to the Byzantine church and its culture.[164] The marble workers were probably Arabic-speaking Syrian Melkites. The work of a Melkite family group of marble stoneworkers originally from Antioch is particularly relevant to the case of the artisans of the Beirut hall. Guiseppe Mandalà has identified several members of the same Melkite family, the *de Indulciis* (of the Andalusians), who worked in Sicily during the twelfth-early thirteenth centuries and who belonged to the élite group of Arabic-speaking Christians of whom of George of Antioch was the most prominent.[165] Their work included sculpture at the cloisters of Monreale and the church of the Holy Trinity in Palermo (La Magione) under the patronage of Matthew of Ajello, William II's Vice-Chancellor (1169–1189), a prominent member of the court of Wiliam II, during at a time (1160s–1180s) contemporary with the production of sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem known as the "Temple Workshop".[166] While most of this work is figural, it is very possible that sheets of marble were also cut by workshops such as this one.[167] A parallel at the al-Aqsa mosque was suggested above for the curtain-like sheets of marble described on the walls at Beirut and so there is the distinct possibility that this workshop of marble-workers, or another related to it, worked at Beirut. We know from the Acre marble hoard that marble pieces was still being imported into Latin Syria from the Byzantine world in the thirteenth century and as patrons like John of Ibelin demanded the specialist work involved, such workshops were kept active. The tradition of marble working in Syria was continued under the Mamluks. We know that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad brought Christian marble cutters from Damascus to work on his Qasr al-Ablaq, which was built between 1313–1314.[168] Since the *ablaq* technique of laying alternate light and dark courses also appears in Crusader architecture, there is continuity here between the Crusader and Mamluk periods.[169]

Given the parallels already adduced with the tradition of Byzantine mosaic work it is feasible to suggest that the mosaic workers here were Greeks. They could be a combination of local Greek-speaking Melkites with Byzantines, possibly some who had left Constantinople after 1204. The presence in Beirut of Maria Comnena, John's mother, might well have had an effect on the immigration of Greek artists here. Local *opus sectile* work is attested: sixth century *opus sectile* floors were excavated in the British-Lebanese excavations of 1994–1996.[170] Their activities in the early thirteenth century might well have also included working at the court at Diyarbekir.

It can be suggested that the third group mentioned by Wilbrand, the Saracens, were primarily responsible for the ceiling painting. This group were arguably working within the Islamic tradition of painting stretching back to Qusayr 'Amra on the one hand and on the other to more recent

163 Weltecke, 2006, 110–111 summarises the arguments about Suriani and Greci in the sources.

164 Kedar/Kohlberg 1996, 171.

165 Mandalà 2009.

166 Mandalà 2009. The starting point is a document of 1202 naming Thomas, son of the priest Demetrius. It is not known exactly when the family arrived in Sicily. See also the comments of Di Liberto 2013, 149 with note 28. 172–174.

167 Di Liberto 2013, 174 links inlays with the figure of an acrobat in the pavement at the Martorana with a capital at Monreale, suggesting that here there was a crossover between figural and two-dimensional work.

168 Rabbat 1995, 200.

169 Boas 1999, 100 noted it in the chapel at the castle of Sidon.

170 Butcher/Thorpe 1997, 296.

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work including that of the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina to which painters had been recruited shortly before the middle of the twelfth century from Cairo and elsewhere. Finally the masons' marks found during the excavations at Beirut which have been compared with masons' marks at other Crusader sites, would indicate, as expected, the predominance of Frankish builders in charge of the rebuilding of the fortifications and the hall within them. Perhaps they coordinated labour from the prisoners Wilbrand saw. The stonework has also been compared with that at Belfort.[171]

To sum up so far: the main point to be drawn from Wilbrand's statement on the artisans is that a collaboration between artists from various traditions, backgrounds and nationalities took place. Beirut was a multicultural city, as were Antioch and Acre and other centres. John must have employed a diversity of craftsmen. Furthermore, given the cross-overs between his palace hall and contemporary Islamic palaces, interchange between courts is perfectly feasible, with craftsmen travelling between one court and another.

Finally, let us return to the question of John's agenda at Beirut and the likely impact of his ambitions on the design of his audience hall., John aimed to raise Beirut's profile not just militarily but also socially in relation to the other major Latin centres in the Levant including Acre and Antioch and towns in Cyprus and the West. Contacts were maintained through emissaries such as Wilbrand as well as those to the Ayyubid and Artuqid courts. His interest in scientific manuscripts is palpable and it is likely that his library included scientific works and literary romances. Beirut, under an outward-looking ruler such as John, could have played a similar rôle between East and West as did Antioch, with its contacts to the East. Emphasis has been placed on Antioch as the point of transmission of Arabic scientific texts to the Latin West via Norman Sicily.[172] An example of a scholar from Antioch who straddled this East-West divide in this way was Theodore of Antioch, a Syriac Orthodox Christian who trained in philosophy, mathematics and medicine in Mosul and Baghdad, completing his studies about seven years after Wilbrand was writing, and ending up working as philosopher to Frederick II at his court in Palermo.[173] His training included studying in Mosul with Kamāl al-Dīn ibn. Yūnus. The texts studied were the works of Al-Fārābi and Ibn Sīnā and consideration was given to problems raised in the texts of Euclid and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[174] Furthermore, Theodore maintained contact with the East while he was in Sicily. His perambulations between the courts of the Seljuk Sultan of Konya (probably sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād (618/1221–1222 to 634/1236–1237) and the court of Lesser Armenian king Constantine of Armenia before settling in Palermo show that educated and skilled individuals did travel between courts even those hostile to one another as the Seljuk Sultan and the court of Lesser Armenia were.[175] Amongst his duties was acting as court astrologer to Frederick II.[176] This would have involved the kind of astrology reflected in John of Ibelin's ceiling, as well as astrolabe predictions. It can be argued, then, that John benefited from having access to this flow of knowledge, acted himself in its transmission, and maintained an active international court culture. It is quite possible that he himself had a court astrologer at Beirut and perhaps also some of the automata so popular at the Artuqid court of his time. After all this was a time of truce before the fifth crusade (1217–1221), which gave a breathing space for such activities

To conclude: What Wilbrand is describing is a hall built into one of the rectangular towers of Beirut's medieval castle. While containing several literary elements – in common with other medieval palace descriptions – Wilbrand's text exhibits several features which are recognisable

171 Molia 2001, 20 for the comparison with Belfort and note 47 for masons' marks. It would be interesting to see a comparison between these and the masons' marks from Artuqid sites: see those reproduced by Meineke 1996, 61, fig. 16.

172 Burnett 2003; Weltecke 2006, 117–118.

173 Kedar/Kohlberg 1996.

174 According to the biography of Bar–Hebraeus: Kedar/Kohlberg 1996, 166.

175 Kedar/Kohlberg, 1996 166–67.

176 Which he performed despite an unfortunate error in 1239 before one of Frederic II's campaigns: Kedar/Kohlberg 1996, 171.

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within the context of palace art and architecture of the twelfth thirteenth century medieval Mediterranean and the West. He specifies that the craftsmen are Syrians, Saracens and Greeks. At the same time the decoration uniquely fits John's circumstances and concerns. His "palatium" is consistent with Crusader palaces in its hall character, with window openings imitating the solar. It also parallels, and adapts, developments in Ayyubid architecture in which residential and military functions are combined in citadel palaces. I argue here that here at Beirut the fountain structure to be found in the courtyard of an Ayyubid citadel palace has been transposed into a Crusader vaulted hall. The fountain is a feature at Sahyun in the early thirteenth century, contemporary with the Beirut palace, and is similarly decorated with mosaic and tile work which is likely to have been the specialist work of local Christians, mostly Melkites, and Byzantines. The decoration of a similar fountain in the courtyard of the Artuqid citadel palace at Diyarbekir is also attributable to Melkite and Byzantine craftsmen. The juxtaposition of the pavement and the ceiling, locating the ruler between earthly and cosmic forces, relies on imagery which is not overtly Christian. The lack of narrative scenes and the choice of a Greek scientific manuscript as the source for the ceiling reflect both his Byzantine heritage, through his mother Maria Comnena, and arguably both a concern to find common ground between Christians and Muslims and to assert his own place in a family of Middle Eastern rulers. The decoration of Justinian's sixth century church of St. Sophia was, after all, completely aniconic. And the choice of a Greek scientific manuscript as the basis for the ceiling expresses an awareness of the common heritage of learning and scholarship. The centre of power has been transferred from the Bosphorus to, amongst other places, the Syrian littoral with the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204. Byzantine artists may well have come to Beirut, perhaps encouraged by Maria Comnena herself.

I argue here that John is casting himself as Justinian, a Roman Christian emperor who is harnessing the prestige of the imperial past to build a power base in Latin Syria. As head of the Latin baronial class he is marshalling his authority which is couched in the visual language of the Byzantine legal, religious and cultural past. But the palace building has the recognisable features of a contemporary Arab palace, thereby asserting John's legitimacy within the local context and framing his right to rule and lead his Arab subjects, Muslim as well as Christian. His concerns, then, are comparable to the issues facing the Normans in Palermo in the twelfth century, and reflected in the Cappella Palatina, in his ambition to both coordinate myriad populations and operate internationally on the world stage. John is asserting his authority and independence at a time, in the thirteenth century, of a power vacuum at the top of the rulership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His model is a consensual one, based on maintaining the balance of power, like the balance of architectural and artistic elements in his palace building. In the same way as he draws on his Byzantine heritage he is drawing on an Arab one, which can be visualised as in the early eighth century wallpainting of the Family of Kings at Qusayr 'Amra. He might even have visualised himself as *primus inter pares*. The palace building was constructed during a period of truce, when negotiation and accommodation must have seemed a viable long-term strategy. On a mundane level the imagery of the palace building is argued here to be relevant to John's agenda for Beirut both in terms of rebuilding the fortifications and his ambition to develop Beirut as a port. He is also concerned that his personal term as lord is measured against his own criteria of good governance. But at the heart of it, in his political and diplomatic dealings, his palace hall provides the space to develop the complex web of relationships required in his political and diplomatic activities, in which "the practices of domination, manipulation, seduction and authority" were effectively mediated. No wonder the Mamluks in their turn saw the reuse of the marbling such as that used in the Beirut palace as so important an instrument in the physical construction of their ideology of power.

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Figure credits

Fig. 1: Davie 1987, fig. 4.
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Part IV: **The Renaissance, Absolutism and the Ottoman World**

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Sabine Frommel

Der Louvre als Haus eines Nachfolgers römischer Imperatoren: Der Neubau der mittelalterlichen Festung unter Franz I. und Heinrich II.

Als Kaiser Karl V. im Jahr 1540 Paris besuchte, befand sich der Louvre noch in dem Zustand, wie ihn König Karl V. (1364 bis 1380) hinterlassen hatte[1]. Von diesem war die Festung Philippe-Augustes umgebaut und erweitert worden. Nur den in der Cour Carrée aufragenden Donjon hatte man in den späten zwanziger Jahren abgerissen. Einige rasch ausgeführte Verschönerungen konnten nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass der französischen Hauptstadt eine Residenz fehlte, die mit den prachtvollen Palästen italienischer Prinzen und Humanisten Schritt hielt. Das Interesse für den Neubau ließ lange auf sich warten, da die Valois ein Nomadenleben führten, von einem Schloss zum anderen zogen und dabei politischen und diplomatischen Vorhaben folgten oder sich kurzerhand von den Verlockungen der Saison leiten ließen.

So fanden auch die wesentlichen typologischen und stilistischen Erneuerungen in den dreißiger und vierziger Jahren des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nicht in Paris, sondern im Schloss von Fontainebleau statt, das italienische Künstler wie Rosso Fiorentino, Francesco Primaticcio, Benvenuto Cellini und Sebastiano Serlio zu einem Zentrum von europäischem Rang machten. Erst nach dem Besuch des Kaisers scheint sich Franz I. mit der Modernisierung des Louvre auseinandergesetzt und den Bologneser Theoretiker und Architekten Sebastiano Serlio, der seit 1541 in Fontainebleau als *architect du Roy* tätig war, um Vorschläge gebeten zu haben[2]. Wenig auf französische Gewohnheiten eingestellt, schlug dieser den weitgehenden Abriss der Festung und des dicht bebauten anschließenden Areals im Westen vor, um eine gigantische Residenz zu errichten, die mit der mittelalterlichen Stadt aufs Drastischste kontrastiert hätte. Drei Höfe von quadratischer, oktogonaler und runder Form sollten einer Tiefenachse folgen und in einem ausgedehnten Garten mit Exedra kulminieren. Ein ähnlich weiträumiges Gebilde mit kühnen Achsen und Schneisen hatte 1516 schon Leonardo König Franz I. für das Schloss von Romorantin vorgeschlagen, nur dass die Anlage sich dort auf freiem Gelände ausgedehnt hätte[3]. Beide Entwürfe blieben auf dem Papier, nicht anders als Gian Lorenzo Berninis großartiges Projekt für die Vollendung des Louvre aus dem Jahr 1665, der ebenfalls auf zu grandiosen Visionen fußte.

Dieser Text widmet sich den einzelnen Bauphasen, aus denen der Neubau der *Cour carrée* hervorging. Ohne dass ein Gesamtkonzept vorlag, spiegeln sie die zusehends stärker werdende Annäherung an antike Vorbilder und die emphatische Sichtbarmachung des französischen Königs als Nachfahre römischer Imperatoren wider. Eine solche Strategie wurde nach dem Tod Heinrichs II. von seiner Witwe Katherina von Medici unter verändertem Vorzeichen weitergeführt, um dann anderen Prioritäten zu weichen und unter den Bourbonen einem grundsätzlichen Bedeutungswandel zu unterliegen.

Der Louvre Franz I.

1545 erteilte Franz I. dem Architekten Pierre Lescot, Seigneur de Clagny, den Auftrag. Kurz vorher hatte dieser bei der Chorschranke von Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois ein italienisches Modell wie die

1 Whitely 1994, 47–52.

2 Zu den Entwürfen Serlios für den Louvre siehe Frommel 2002, 267–285 und Chastel 1978, 441–453.

3 Zu Schloss Romorantin siehe Guillaume 1987, 278–282.

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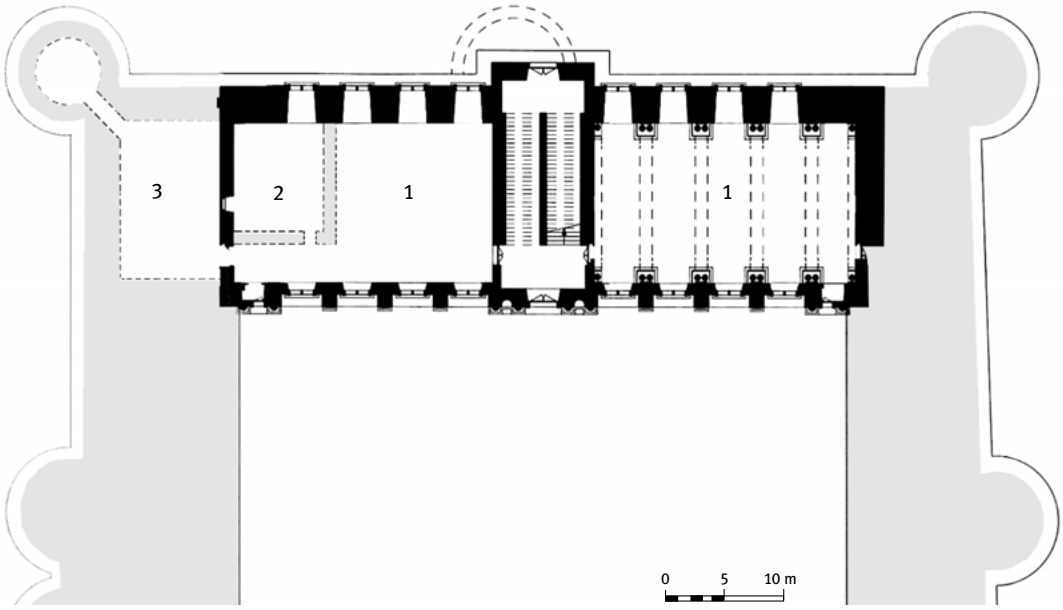

Abb. 1 Grundriss des Entwurfs für Franz I.
1: Saal
2: garde-robe
3: chambre
(Montage von Giancarlo De Leo).

Abb. 2 Rekonstruktion des Saales mit Schwibbögen (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo).

Loggietta von Sansovino auf dem Markusplatz in Venedig meisterhaft assimiliert und so seine innovativen Fähigkeiten als Pionier eines Klassizismus unter Beweis gestellt[4].

Im Gegensatz zu Serlios umfassender Anlage beschränkte sich sein Entwurf auf den Neubau des westlichen, zum Küchenhof gerichteten Flügels der *Cour Carrée* mit dem großen Saal[5] (Abb. 1). Geschickt integrierte er die mittelalterlichen Fundamente und Mauern, was aufwendige Abbruch-

4 Frommel 2013a, 205–226. Zu Leben und Werk des Pierre Lescot siehe Frommel 2014; Lescot 2012; Thomson 1978, 666–667.

5 Aulanier 1951, 85–100; Hillairet 1961; Lowry 1956; Ciprut/Collard 1963; Grodecki 1984, 19–36; Grodecki 1985; Bresc-Bautier 2013.

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Abb. 3 Hypothetische Rekonstruktion der Hoffassade des Entwurfs für Franz I. (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo).

arbeiten ersparte und somit auch die Kosten verringerte, ihn aber doch einiges Kopfzerbrechen gekostet haben muss. Die Eigenheiten dieses Entwurfes lassen sich nur anhand einer rekapitulierenden Aufstellung der Bauarbeiten vom 17. April 1551 und anhand archäologischer Befunde rekonstruieren[6]. In der Mitte des Traktes befand sich das Treppenhaus, das sich im Sinn der französischen Tradition durch einen Risalit nach außen zu erkennen gab[7] (Abb. 1, 3). Flankiert wurde es von zwei Sälen unterschiedlicher Größe, während sich im Süden eine *garde-robe* und im südwestlichen Rundturm die *chambre* anschlossen. Die Wände des größeren Saals wurden von Säulen oder Säulenpaaren rhythmisiert, auf denen Schwibbögen ruhten, ähnlich wie im Ballsaal des Schlosses von Fontainebleau, der etwa gleichzeitig begonnen wurde[8] (Abb. 2).

Als Glanzstück des Projektes besiegelte die zum Hof gerichtete Fassade den Durchbruch zu einem französischen Klassizismus ganz eigener Prägung[9] (Abb. 3). Den mittleren Risalit schmückten elegante Säulenpaare mit kannelierten Schäften, die zu 2/3 aus der Wand traten und denen an den Enden schmalere Risalite mit seichterer Auskragung und vereinfachter Gliederung antworteten. Wahrscheinlich sollte schon in dieser Phase der mittlere Risalit, der die Gliederung eines antiken Triumphbogens in Verona variiert, durch Reliefschmuck und einen segmentförmigen

6 Frommel (in Vorbereitung für 2015); Degageux 2007, 9–46

7 Chatenet 1992, 72–75

8 Dort ruhten die Schwibbögen allerdings auf Konsolen, wie man sie auf einer Zeichnung Charles Perciers erkennen kann. Ein Vorläufer einer von Säulen gegliederten Wand findet sich in der Kapelle des Schlosses von Chambord.

9 Guillaume (in Vorbereitung für 2015) ; Zerner 1996, 144–148.

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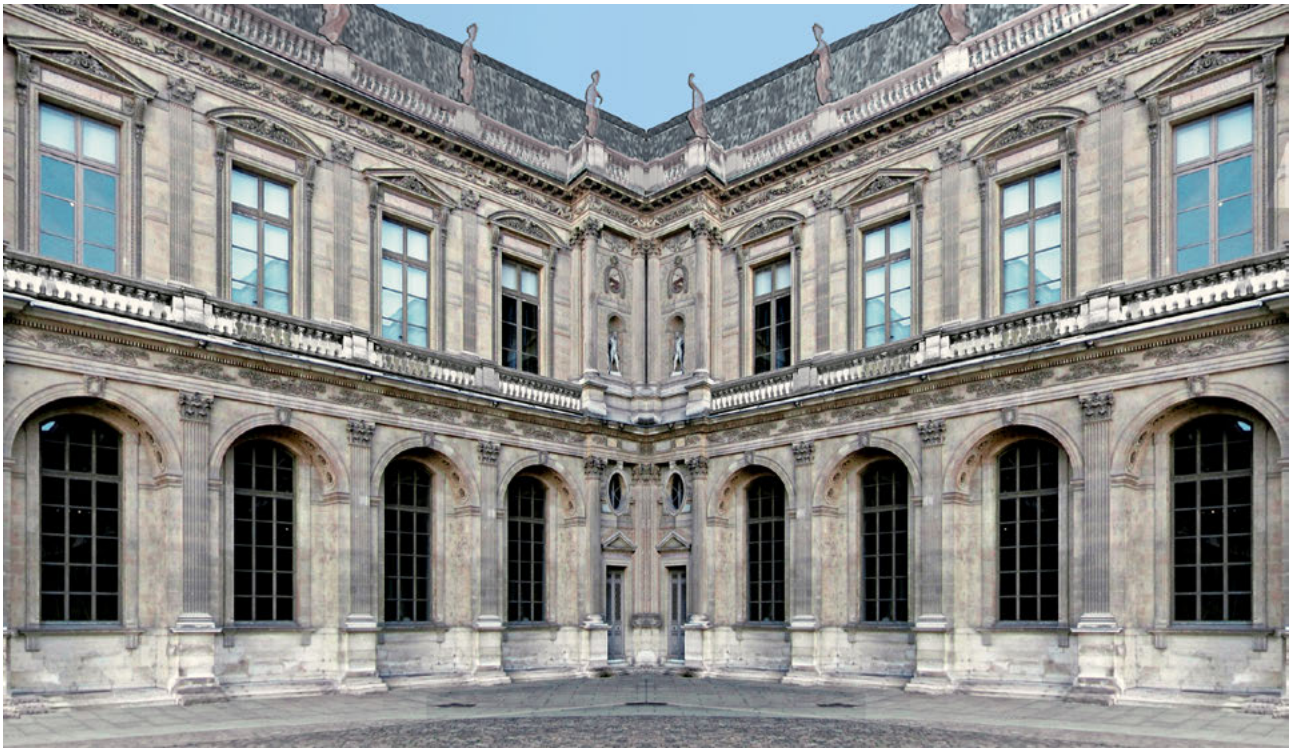

Abb. 4 Hypothetische Rekonstruktion der Ecke des Entwurfs für Franz I. (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo).

Giebel ausgezeichnet werden[10]. Jeweils vier Blendarkaden, deren Bögen auf Pfeilern mit korinthischen Pilastern lagern, gliederten die Intervalle zwischen den hervortretenden Teilen. Die Bögen der steilen Fensterachsen schmiegen sich den Arkaden an und greifen wahrscheinlich auf ein Motiv Leon Battista Albertis in der Unterkirche von San Sebastiano in Mantua zurück. Zweifellos sollte die *bel étage* wie am heutigen Bau von einer kompositen Ordnung bestimmt werden und sich mit den korinthischen Gliedern des Erdgeschosses zu einer prachtvollen Superposition vereinen, wie sie Sebastiano Serlio im Schloss von Ancy-le-Franc kurz vorher verwirklicht hatte[11]. Von dort übernimmt Lescot auch die konsequente Hierarchie der einzelnen Formen, die deren Ort und deren Gestalt bis ins kleinste Detail bestimmen. Die Baluster, die sich in großer Anzahl auf der Baustelle nachweisen lassen, sollten sowohl die Abschnitte zwischen den Risaliten der *bel étage* als auch das abschließende Gebälk zieren. Schon in den dreißiger Jahren war dieses italienische Motiv im Schloss von Saint-Germain-en-Laye und in der Kirche von Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in die französische Baukunst eingeführt worden. Über das Dach und eventuelle Gauben lässt das zitierte Dokument nichts verlauten und es bleibt offen, ob ein steil aufragendes französisches Dach die vitruvianischen Ordnungen bekrönen oder ob die Balustraden eines von verminderter Höhe kaschieren sollten. Möglicherweise sollten darüber Statuen aufragen (Abb. 3). Vielleicht hatte Lescot gehofft, den König zum Neubau auch der anderen drei Flügel bewegen zu können und einen einheitlichen *cortile* nach italienischem Vorbild zu schaffen, wobei sich die schmaleren Joche an den Enden zu einem kraftvollen Eckmotiv verbunden hätten (Abb. 4).

Die zum Küchenhof gerichtete Rückfassade unterlag keinen ästhetischen Ansprüchen. Man bewahrte die mittelalterliche Mauer mit ihrem Wehrgang, der schwere Schatten auf die Fassade warf, und versuchte, die Fenster als rhythmische Abfolge in der massiven Substanz zu öffnen (Abb. 8a). Das vorspringende Treppenhaus sorgte für eine prosaische Betonung der asymmetrischen

10 Der *Arco de Gavi* war durch Serlios *Libro Terzo* (Venedig, 1540, f.CXXXI) in Frankreich bekannt.
11 Zum ersten Mal tritt eine solche Superposition in Serlios *Libro Quarto* auf (Venedig, 1537, p.VI).

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Gliederung. Deutlich offenbart sich, dass der Außenbau noch nicht zum Programm gehörte und der neue Louvre zur *Cour Carrée* hin orientiert war.

Als Franz I. am 31. März 1547 starb, hatte das Erdgeschoss das Gesims der Ordnung erreicht, ohne dass der Herrscher viel von dem Neubau gesehen hatte. Sicher ist, dass der Entwurf in engem Dialog zwischen ihm und dem Architekten entstanden war, der zu seinem direkten Umkreis gehörte[12].

Neue Visionen unter Heinrich II.

Heinrich II. bestätigte Pierre Lescot durch Patentbrief in seiner Funktion als *surintendant du bastiment*. Zunächst einmal mögen die Bauarbeiten nach dem ursprünglichen Projekt fortgeschritten sein. Nach dem triumphalen Einzug des Königs in die Hauptstadt im Juli 1549 wurden neue Vorstellungen laut, die durch mehrere Dokumente überliefert sind und sich zum Teil noch am heutigen Bau ablesen lassen[13]. Einige dieser Umgestaltungen knüpfen an Neuerungen an, wie sie sich jüngst in Adelssitzen unter dem Einfluss humanistisch gebildeter Bauherrn mit guter Kenntnis der italienischen Renaissance vollzogen hatten. Zunächst einmal beauftragte Heinrich II. seinen Architekten, den Ballsaal zu vergrößern und so einen angemessenen Rahmen für das immer raffinierter werdende Hofzeremoniell zu schaffen[14]. Dies erforderte den Abbruch des begonnenen Treppenhauses in der Mitte des Flügels und dessen Wiederaufbau, in vermutlich noch eleganteren Formen, am nördlichen Ende (Abb. 5a, b). Mit einer imposanten Ausdehnung von 455 m^2 (34,50 m × 13,20 m) ist der Saal jetzt von beiden Seiten von sieben Fenstern in steilem Format großzügig belichtet. In Frankreich, wo die Treppe am Außenbau durch Türme und Risalite markant in Erscheinung tritt, zog dieser Eingriff eine neue Fassadengliederung nach sich. Man riss die Vorsprünge an den Enden des Flügels nieder und ersetzte sie durch Risalite, die dem mittleren ebenbürtig sind, um so die Treppe als plastischen Akzent gebührend auszuzeichnen (Abb. 6). Auf diese Weise entstand ein Dreierrhythmus und, indem sich die vermittelnden Arkaden von vier auf drei reduzierten, eine stärkere Dichte und Körperhaftigkeit der Baumassen. Geschickt verstand es der Architekt, den Wunsch nach neuen Proportionen der Innenräume für eine noch triumphalere Fassade fruchtbar zu machen. Konzessionen blieben dann doch nicht aus, denn das Portal liegt nicht in der Achse des Treppenhauses und bildet das *Pendant* zu einer Blendtür im linken Risalit, während das imposantere Portal in der Mitte nun direkt den Saal erschließt. Auch begünstigen die vergrößerten Vorsprünge an den Enden kaum eine Ecklösung – dies verrät auch der heutige Bau – und es muss offen bleiben, ob Heinrich in dieser Phase die Wiedererrichtung des gesamten Hofes erwogen hatte. Baluster waren zweifellos auch für diese Lösung vorgesehen, doch hatte man möglicherweise über dem abschließenden Gebälk eine durchbrochene Brüstung in spätgotischem Stil vorgesehen, wie sie auch von Philibert Delorme am Schloss von Anet verwendete wurde. Zum Küchenhof hin wurde der Risalit ebenfalls abgerissen, und man legte die Fenster nun so an, dass den zum Hof hin gerichteten Arkaden im Sinne einer gleichmäßigen und gerichteten Belichtung stets ein Fenster in der mittelalterlichen Wand gegenüber lag (Abb. 8b).

Gleichzeitig wurden die Schwibbögen im Saal des Erdgeschosses durch eine Holzbalkendecke ersetzt und damit die akustischen Bedingungen des Ballsaals verbessert[15]. Vierzehn Balken von

12 Frommel 2014.

13 Unter den zahlreichen Dokumenten siehe besonders Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, CXXII, 165 vom 17. April 1551 (Grodecki 1984,.28–32), idem, CXXII, 1281 vom 21. Mai 1552 (Aulanier 1951, 87), idem, CXXII, 249 vom 26. Juni 1553 (Grodecki 1984, 33–34), idem, CXXII, 166 vom 8. Februar 1556 (Grodecki 1984, 35–38), idem CXXII, 166 vom 8. Februar 1556 (Aulanier 1958). Für eine komplette Behandlung der Archivalien siehe Frommel (in Vorbereitung für 2016).

14 Chatenet 2002.

15 Die heutigen Gewölbe gehen auf einen späteren Umbau zurück.

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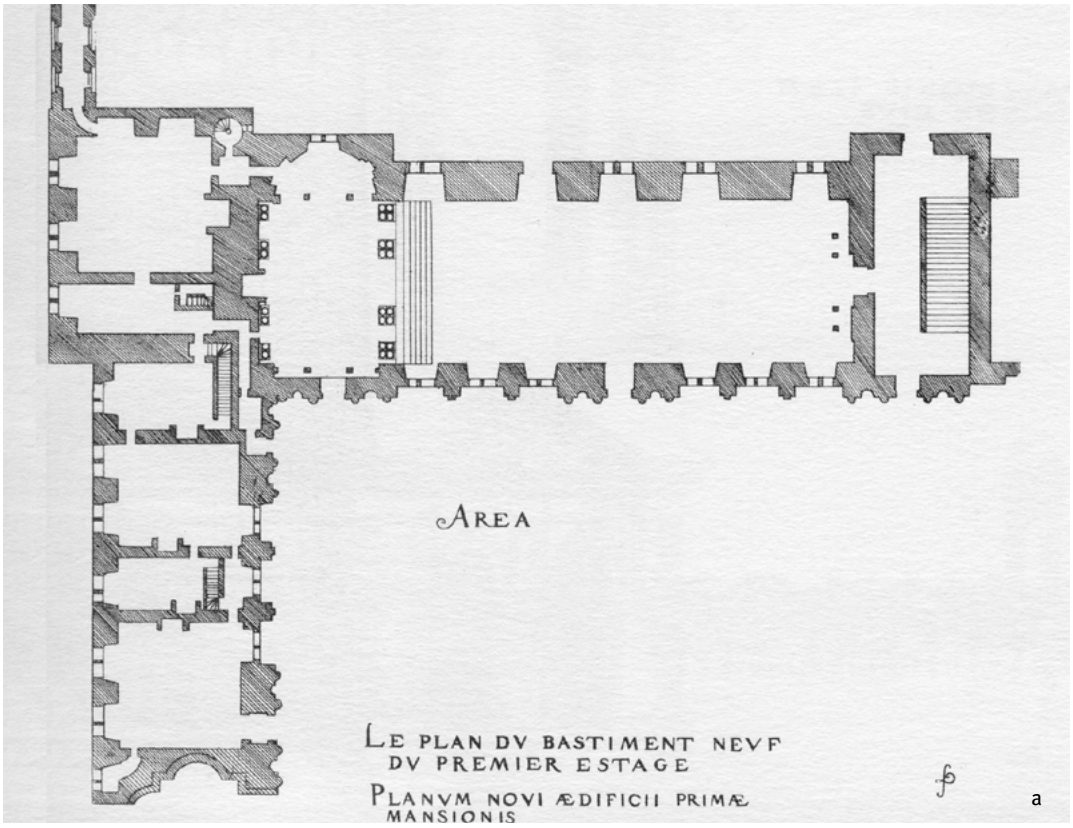

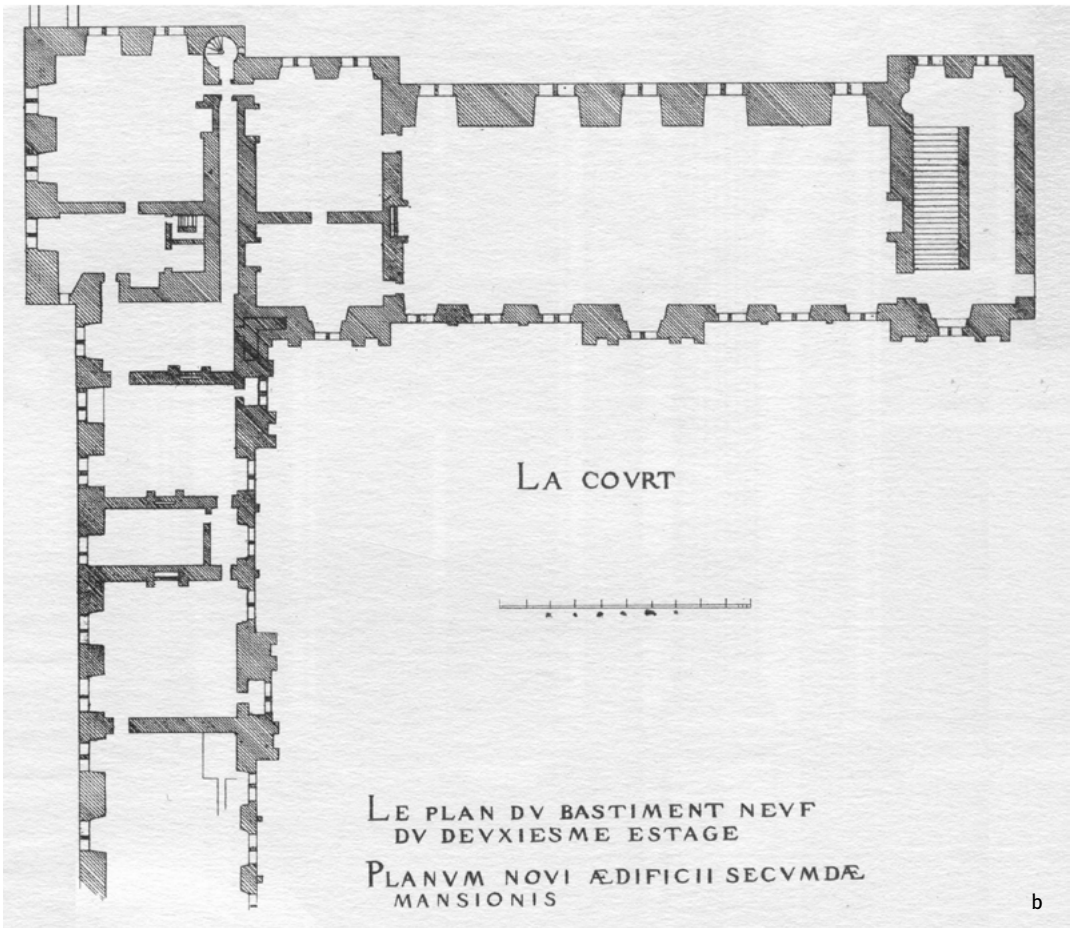

Abb. 5 Grundriss des Entwurfs für Heinrich II. (Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, 1576), Erdgeschoss (a) und Obergeschoss (b).

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Abb. 6 Hypothetische Rekonstruktion des Aufrisses der Hoffassade der ersten Phase des Entwurfs für Heinrich II. (Monatge von Giancarlo De Leo).

sieben Metern Länge ruhten auf kraftvollen Konsolen mit vergoldeten Blättern und Faunenmasken. Die Innenräume sollten des Nachfolgers von Kaiser Augustus, als den die zeitgenössische Ikonographie Heinrich II. feierte, würdig sein, was in einer monumentalen antikisierenden Ausstattung seinen Ausdruck fand. Das Tribunal vor der südlichen Wand war dem König und seinen Nächsten vorbehalten und man erreichte es über einige flache Stufen (Abb. 5a). An der Rückwand befand sich ein Kamin, den Goujon 1550–1551 mit mächtigen Statuen rahmte. Haben spätere Umbauten diesen Teil stark verändert, so sollte die gegenüberliegende Musikertribüne ihre ursprüngliche Form bewahren. Diese wurde von vier mächtigen Karyatiden getragen, die Jean Goujon im Herbst 1551 nach einem Gipsmodell Lescots fertigte. Die neue Treppe bestand aus vier Läufen mit Tonnengewölben, wie sie bereits im Hôtel de ville in Paris von Domenico da Cortona zur Ausführung gekommen waren[16]. Sie waren von aufwendigen figurativen und allegorischen Reliefs geziert, von denen noch die Rede sein wird[17]. Die Erneuerungen betraffen auch die im Rundturm gelegene chambre, die dank des Abrisses mittelalterlicher Relikte und durch drei nach Süden gerichtete Fenster eine regelmäßige Form und intensive Belichtung erhielten.

Im Frühling und Frühsommer 1551 ist in Verträgen von einem 4,50 Meter hohen Attikageschoss die Rede, in dem die immer zahlreicheren Bedientesten Unterkunft finden sollten. Ein Dokument vom 8. Februar 1556 offenbart, dass nicht nur funktionelle, sondern auch ästhetische Erwägun-

16 Cf. Das Bauaufmaß von Calliat des Treppenhauses des Hôtel de la Ville ist publiziert in Guillaume 1985, 241. Solche Lösungen mögen auf Peruzzis Farnesina zurückgreifen, deren Rampen ebenfalls von Tonnengewölben mit aufwendigen Reliefs geziert sind.

17 Gloton 1985, 99–105.

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Abb. 7 Aufriss der definitiven Hoffassade. (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo).

gen dahinter standen. Es verminderte in der Tat den krassen Gegensatz zwischen den Giebeln der Risalite und den zurückspringenden niedrigeren Teilen (Abb. 6. 7). Auch hier sollten Baluster die Risalite zieren und den italienischen Stil der Ordnung betonen. Im Zuge dieser Bauphase wurde nun endlich auch die Rückfassade umgestaltet (Abb. 10a, b). Zunächst glich man sie der Attika an, ersetzte den mittelalterlichen Laufgang durch ein elegantes Gebälk mit Konsolen und rahmte die Fenster mit raffinierten Profilen. Im Juni 1553 entschied man sich für ein Dach mit doppelter Neigung, wie es später irrtümlicherweise dem Architekten François Mansart zugeschrieben wurde. Es zeigt deutlich, dass die Wirkung der eleganten Ordnungen nicht durch ein steil aufragendes Satteldach beeinträchtigt werden sollte.

Während die Arbeiten am Dach fortschritten und Jean Goujon die Attika mit den großformatigen figürlichen Reliefs zierte, kam es zu einer weiteren Ergänzung: Der runde mittelalterliche Turm an der südwestlichen Ecke nahm sich mittlerweile so ungünstig aus, dass sein Abbruch unumgänglich wurde. In Adelsschlössern wie Écouen, Ancy-le-Franc oder Vallery waren derartige Türme von Pavillons mit quadratischem oder rechteckigem Grundriss abgelöst worden, in denen das *chambre* des Hausherrn den Höhepunkt des zeremoniellen *parcours* bildete. Ebenso wie in der italienischen Renaissance zogen wachsende Bequemlichkeit und immer festlicher werdende Repräsentation eine Metamorphose solcher Bauformen nach sich, doch bewahrte dieser Teil weiterhin die Funktion des Wohnraums des Besitzers und repräsentierte als solcher das Symbol seines Status. Im Fall des Louvre empfahl sich eine solche Umgestaltung umso mehr, als die nüchterne Außenfassade die Pracht des Hofes nicht ahnen ließ und es selbst nach Eliminierung des Wehrgangs diesem Teil des Gebäudes an Harmonie und Kohärenz fehlte.

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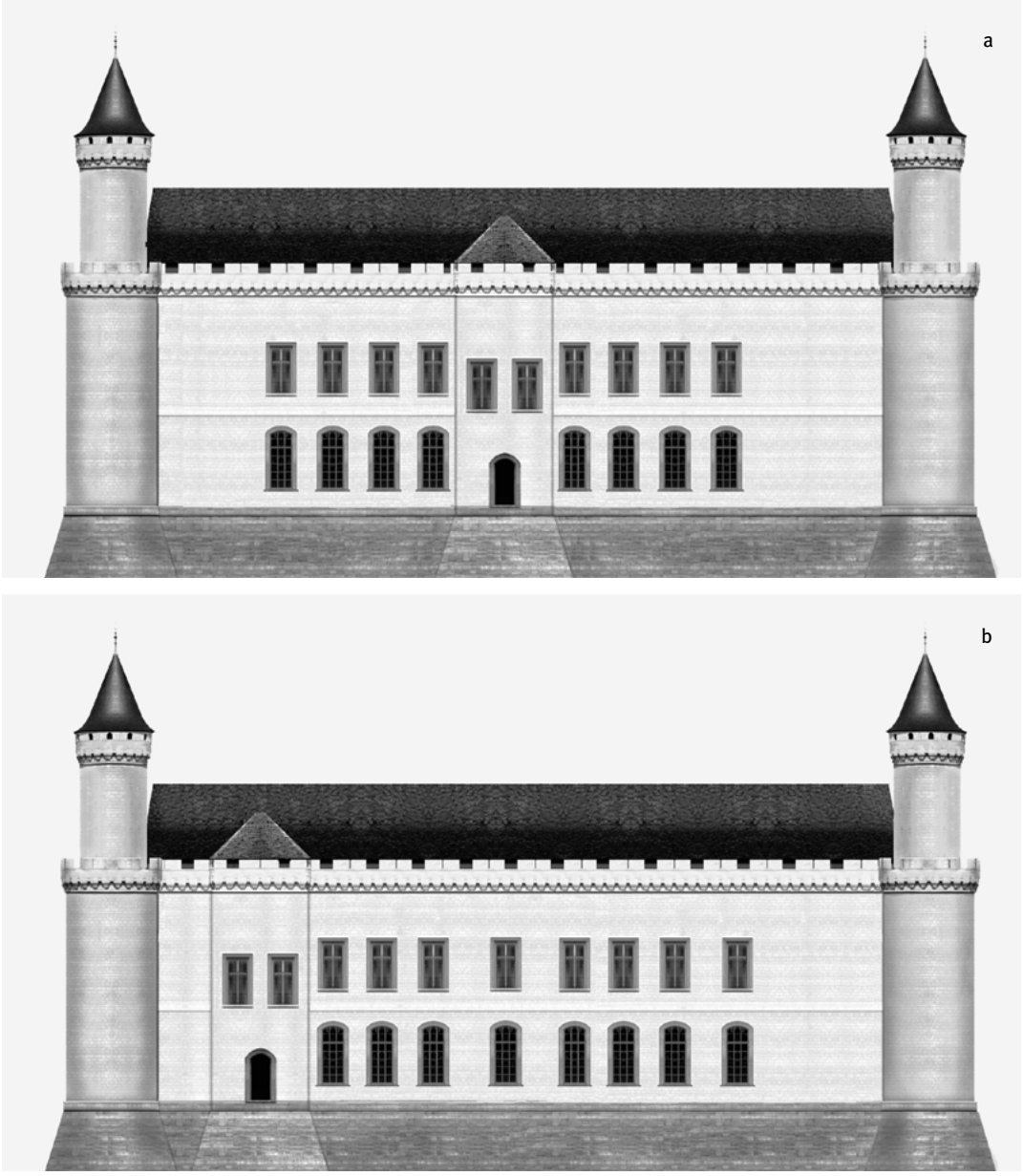

Abb. 8 Hypothetische Rekonstruktion der zum Küchenhof gerichteten Rückfassade. (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo)
a) Entwurf für Franz I.
b) erste Entwurfsphase für Heinrich II.

Das Ergebnis war ein mächtiger Eckpavillon, ein im Sinne des französischen Klassizismus umgedeuteter Turm, in dem das königliche Appartement eingerichtet wurde, das alle bisherigen *logis* in den Schatten stellte (Abb. 5a, b. 9. 10b). Von dort aus genoss der Herrscher einen grandiosen Blick auf die Seine-Landschaft, der einen ans Landleben gewohnten Valois geradezu mit der Kapitale versöhnen musste. In einem Dokument aus dem Jahr 1556 sind bis ins kleinste Detail die Arbeiten beschrieben, die sich auf rasante Weise in nur zweieinhalb Jahren vollzogen[18]. Präzision und Prägnanz des Textes lassen darauf schließen, dass Lescot ihn selbst abgefasst hat. Der Baukörper von etwa 40 Metern Höhe springt nach Westen vor die Rückfassade und nach Süden vor die Seinefront der mittelalterlichen Festung, wo Alt und Neu nun noch drastischer aufeinanderprallen. Die Etagen und trennenden Gesimse werden durch die Rückfassade des *corps de logis*

18 Vertrag vom 8. Februar 1556, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, CXXII, 166 (Aulanier 1958).

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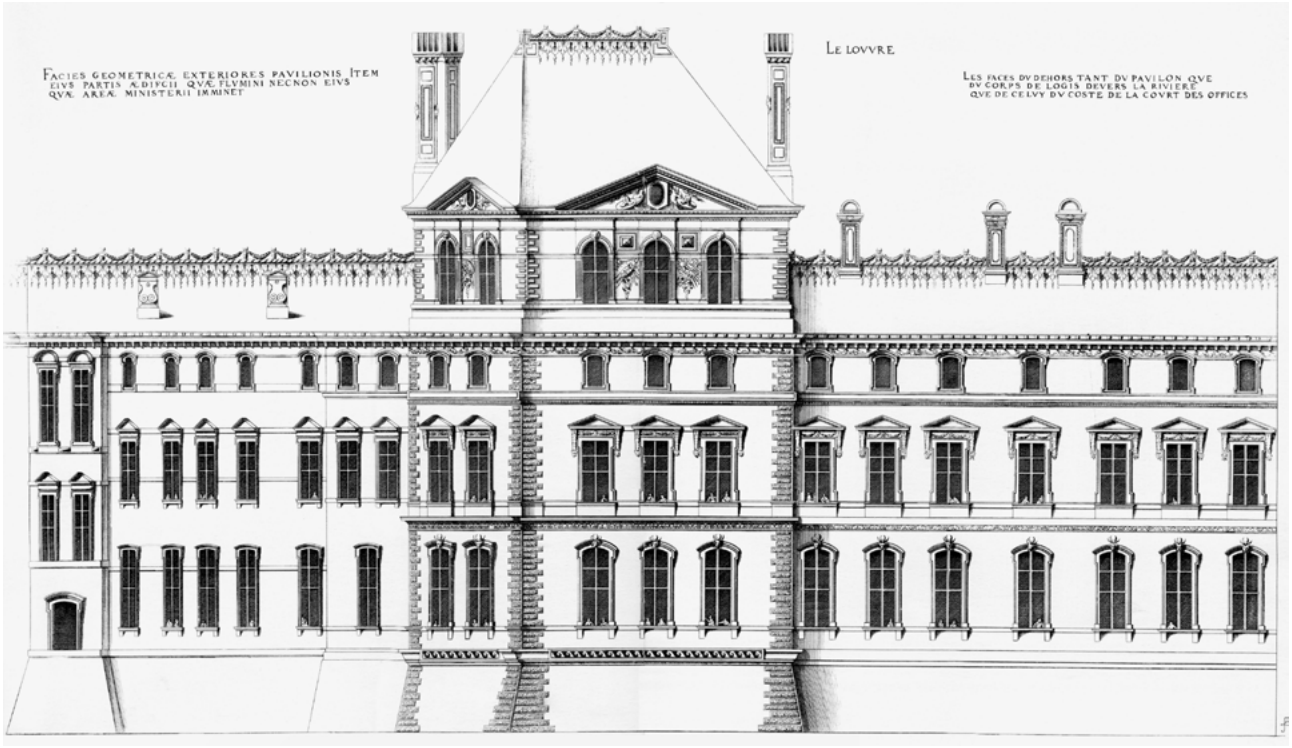

Abb. 9 Pavillon du Roi an der südwestlichen Ecke der cour Carrée (Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, 1576).

bestimmt, während dem Rhythmus der Fenster eine gewisse Monotonie anhaftet. Die Eckrustika ist an italienischen Palästen, wie dem Palazzo Farnese, inspiriert und sollte sich vermutlich vom abgeböschten Sockel an nach oben hin allmählich verfeinern. Das obere Geschoss, das die anderen Teile stolz überragt, besitzt Arkaden nach Art eines Belvedere, zwischen denen Trophäen-Reliefs angebracht sind, die auf die militärischen Siege des Hausherrn anspielen. Ein flacher Giebel leitet zum steilen pyramidenförmigen Dach über. Oberhalb des Attikageschosses erlaubte es ein von Balustraden gesäumter Laufgang, an den neuen Teilen entlang zu wandeln. Hochaufragende prachtvolle Kamine beleben die Dachlandschaft und folgen der nördlichen Tradition. Die Fassaden zeigen, wie meisterhaft Lescot es verstand, die Ordnungen auch ohne Halbsäulen oder Pilaster hierarchisch zu differenzieren und Hof und Außenfassade spannungsreich dialogieren zu lassen. Die Fenster der *bel étage* bekrönen auf tief herabgezogenen dekorativen Voluten ruhende dreieckige Giebel, die sich an Formen Sanmichelis anlehnen. Der segmentbogenförmige Abschluss der Öffnungen des Erdgeschosses erinnert an die Arkaden der Hofordnung. Erst in dieser Phase, also mehr als zehn Jahre nach dem Planungsbeginn, wird der Louvre zum städtischen Monument. Die Entscheidungen gehen nun von einem umfassenden dreidimensionalen Konzept aus.

Wie in einer Kettenreaktion zog das imposante Volumen, durch das sich die Residenz kühn nach außen drängte, eine weitere Umstrukturierung der westlichen Fassade nach sich, indem sich ein weiterer Risalit als symmetrisches Pendant zum Treppenhaus an den Eckpavillon anschmiegte und diesen Teil nun fernwirksam monumentalisierte (Abb. 10a, b). Eine symmetrische Gestaltung war von vornherein ausgeschlossen, da das Niveau der Fenster der Treppenpodeste gegenüber den Geschosshöhen verschoben war. Die Öffnungen der zurückspringenden Fassade gruppierte man nach einer regelmäßigen Frequenz, indem man wiederum mittelalterliche Wandstücke abbrach und neue ergänzte. Eine eindrucksvolle Axonometrie Jacques Androuet du Cerceaus in den *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* (1576) zeigt die neue Gliederung, doch verzichtete er ebenso wie andere Zeichner und Stecher nach ihm auf die Balustrade (Abb. 9). Möglicherweise entsprach sie nicht seinem Geschmack, oder man hatte bald auf diese Zutat verzichtet, da die Vereinheitlichung der Fassade dem französischen Geschmack nicht gar so wichtig war. Offen bleibt die Frage, an welchem Bau man letztlich die zahlreichen kostbaren Baluster verwendete.

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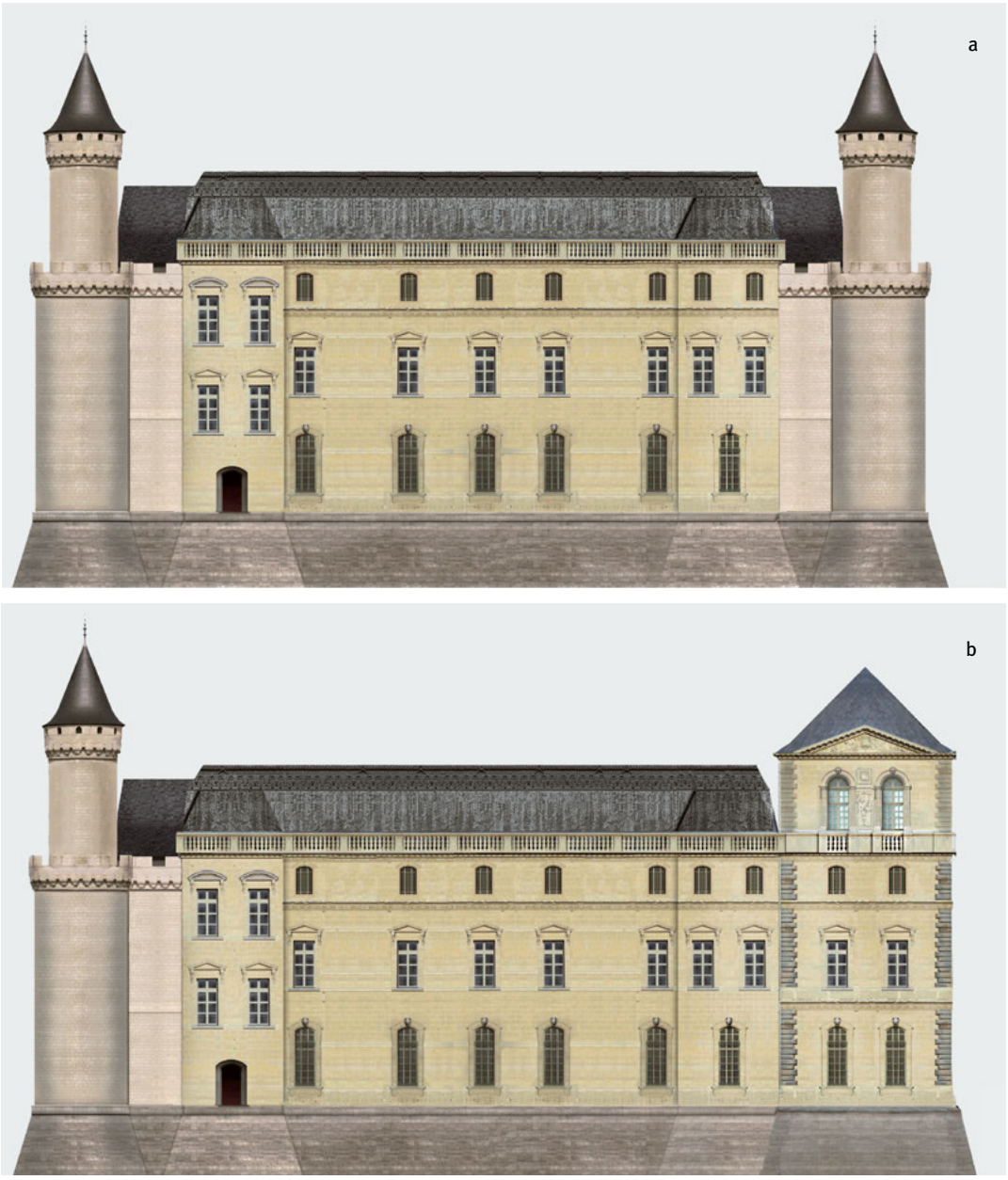

Abb. 10 Hypothetische Rekonstruktion der Rückfassade (Montage von Giancarlo De Leo)
a) mit Verdoppelung des nördlichen Risaliten unter Beibehaltung des mittelalterlichen Turms (nach den Dokumenten nicht als autonome Phase vorgesehen).
b) mit Verdoppelung des nördlichen Risaliten und Pavillon du Roi an der südwestlichen Ecke der cour Carrée.

Auf jeden Fall hatten die Umgestaltungen der Rückfassade wiederum Auswirkungen auf den Saal, da die neuen Fenster nun gegenüber den zum Hof hin gerichteten Arkaden verschoben waren und den Raum nur diffus belichteten. Der neue Risalit kam dem Tribunal zu Gute und lud dazu ein, es aufwendiger und, wie wir sehen werden, antikischer zu gestalten (Abb. 5a). Das Ganze ging mit einer rationaleren Gestaltung der Appartements einher: man zog Mezzanine ein und reduzierte dadurch die Höhe der *cabinets* und *garde-robes* gegenüber den vorrangigen Räumen, so wie es in italienischen Renaissancepalästen seit dem späten Quattrocento der Fall war. In den Jahren 1556 und 1557 fertigte Scibec de Carpi, *menusier du roi*, die hölzernen Kassettendecken der *antichambre* und der *chambre*[19]. Letztere offenbart auffallende Ähnlichkeiten mit der Kassettendecke des Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne von Baldassarre Peruzzi in Rom und bildet ein kunstvolles Gefüge,

19 Archives Nationales Minutier Central, CXXII, 167 vom 21. Januar 1551 (Aulanier 1957, 94–96); Frommel 2012, 251–260.

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das mit martialischen Elementen und Wappen prunkt. Zum ersten Mal wird hier die geometrische Einteilung in der Mitte von einer größeren Kassette mit kostbarerem Schmuck beherrscht, was zweifellos mit der Sichtbarmachung des Königs als Herrscher des Universums zu tun hat[20].

Ohne jegliches Gesamtkonzept haben die drei aufeinander folgenden Phasen die Form des zukünftigen Louvre geprägt. An sie werden sich alle folgenden Erweiterungen bis in das 19. Jahrhundert anlehnen. Sowohl der Wunsch nach Bequemlichkeit, Licht und Öffnung nach außen als auch das Streben nach einer eindringlicheren Herrscherikonographie spiegeln ein neues Verständnis der Königtums wider, das auch in neuen Formen des höfischen Zeremoniells Ausdruck fand[21]. Auf virtuose Weise hatte es Lescot verstanden, die komplexen und sukzessiven Forderungen seines Bauherrn in einen prägnant gegliederten Bauorganismus mit prachtvollen Ordnungen umzusetzen und sich dabei an den jüngsten architektonischen Errungenschaften zu orientieren.

„la superbe grandeur des plus vieux monuments“[22]: eine triumphale Ikonographie

Indem Lescot das Erdgeschoss durch Blendarkaden gliederte, setzte er sich von den typischen französischen Fassaden des *corps de logis* ab und folgte italienischen Höfen, die schon Serlio im Schloss von Ancy-le-Franc den Bedingungen seines Gastlandes angepasst hatte (Abb. 7)[23]. Auch dort schmücken rhythmische, von römischen Triumphbögen abgeleitete Travéen den Ehrenhof und proklamieren den Rang, beziehungsweise die Erwartungen des Bauherrn[24]. Das Attikageschoss scheint auf Vorbilder wie etwa Raphaels Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia zurück zu greifen[25]. Meisterhaft verstand es Lescot, derartige Modelle in neuartigen Synthesen mit lokalen Eigenheiten zu verschmelzen. So treten im Gegensatz zu der burgundischen Residenz, wo die rhythmischen Travéen in einem reizvollen *design* aneinandergereiht sind, die drei Risalite der Hoffassade des Louvre kräftig vor die Wand und kommen als autonome Bauteile dem Triumphbogen noch näher. Der aufsteigende Elan, wie er durch das unterbrochene Gebälk im Erdgeschoss noch gesteigert wird, entspricht einer französischen, aus der Spätgotik herrührenden Vorliebe.

Die Fassade verdankt ihre Pracht der Superposition der Ordnungen und der zunehmenden Eleganz der architektonischen Formen, die dem Nobelgeschoss zu emphatischem Ausdruck verhelfen. Während im Erdgeschoss die Kapitelle der Säulen mit Olivenblättern geziert sind und auf einen Prototyp im Pantheon zurückgreifen, benutzte Lescot für die Pilaster Akanthusblätter[26]. *Varietas* herrscht auch im Fries, wo überkreuzte Lorbeerzweige mit einem Motiv alternieren, das Köcher und Pfeile mit Eichenblättern verbindet. Von den Fenstern und ihren eleganten alternierenden Giebeln auf langgestreckten Konsolen, die an Palazzo Farnese erinnern, bis zu den Fruchtgirlanden im Fries, an denen Vögel picken und die von der Initiale des Herrschers „H“ und Halbmonden rhythmisiert werden, ist hier der Kanon prächtiger[27]. Gleiches lässt sich bei den Tafeln oberhalb

20 Ibid.

21 Chatenet 2002.

22 Jean du Bellay, *Les regrets,* Paris, 1559, (Sonnet CLVII).

23 Frommel 2002, 103–124. Zum Hof des französischen Schlosses siehe Prinz/Kecks 1985, 218–223.

24 Als das Schloss von Ancy-le-Franc errichtet wurde, hatte der Bauherr noch keinen hohen Status erreicht. Der Bau diente dazu, seinen Ambitionen sichtbaren Ausdruck zu verleihen.

25 Frommel 1973, tav.21 und 22e

26 Jean Guillaume ist Autor einer meisterhaften Analyse des Ornaments: „Un nouveau chantier: le Louvre de Pierre Lescot et des derniers Valois (1541–1588). L'Art de Lescot“, in: Henri Loyrette/Jean-Luc Martinez/Geneviève Bresc-Bautier/Guillaume Fonkenell (Hrsg.), *Histoire du Louvre* (in Vorbereitung für 2016).

27 Das eigenartige Motiv der Vögel, die sich an den Früchten nähren, könnte auf Giovanni da Udine's Ornamente in den Loggien von Raphael zurückgehen.

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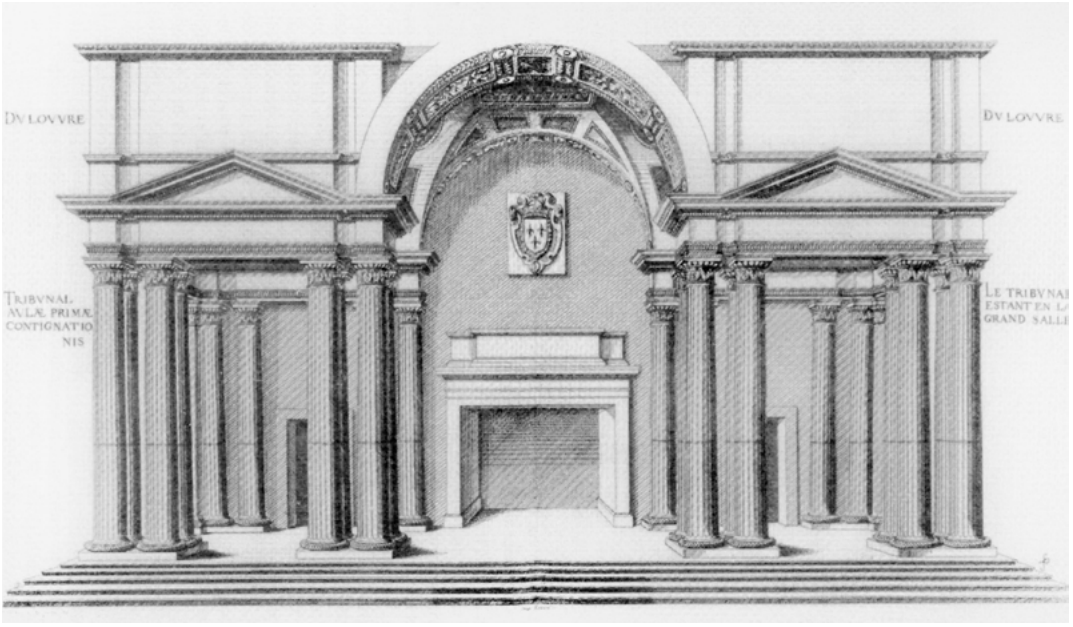

Abb.11 Tribunal du Louvre (Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Les plus *excellents bastiments de France,* 1576).

der Portale und der Nischen der Risalite beobachten. Im Erdgeschoss sind die Intervalle zwischen den Gebälken von rechteckigen Marmortafeln geziert, an die sich halbkreisförmige Flächen mit Inschriften anschmiegen: mit ihren polychromen Effekten erinnern sie geradezu an Juwelierkunst (Abb. 14). Im Obergeschoss sind Architrav und Fries mit derartigen Tafeln von einfacherem Format besetzt, die mit denen, die zwischen den Voluten der Öffnungen der zurück springenden Fassadenteile eingesetzt sind, im Dialog stehen. Die von überkreuzten Lorbeerzweigen und Kronen überfangenen Marmortafeln des Erdgeschosses sind bei den Triumphbögen von Ancona und Verona vorgebildet, die Lescot in Serlios *Drittem Buch* studieren konnte[28]. Im *piano nobile* ersetzen sie ovale Medaillons mit Eichenlaubbekrönung, die gleichfalls durch subtile Farbeffekte mit der Wandfläche kontrastieren.

Laut Ovid kennzeichnete Lorbeer- und Eichenlaub das Haus des Augustus: ...*state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu stet domus*...[29]. Die seitlichen Portale sind von sechs Allegorien gerahmt, die Sieg, Ruhm, Geschichte, Eintracht und gute Regierung darstellen und von der Inschrift VIRTUTI REGIS INVICTISSIMI begleitet werden[30]. Sie spielen auf die heroischen Taten des Königs an, wie sie vom „Ruhm" gehuldigt und in der Geschichte verewigt werden. Zwischen den Kapitellen der *bel étage* sind Füllhörner eingesetzt, während über den Fenstern der Kopf der Jagdgöttin Diane herausschaut, der im mittleren Risalit von Löwen und in den seitlichen von Hunden gerahmt wird.

Das Attikageschoss ist von seichten Pilastern kadenziert, deren Kapitelle sich in Form ornamentaler Streifen fortsetzen und die sich krass von der Tektonik der vorangehenden Ordnungen absetzen. Die Fenster zwischen den Risaliten sind von Trophäen geziert, während sich die Figuren auf die hervorspringenden Teile des Attikageschosses und auf die Giebel konzentrieren. Ordnung und Ornament verschmelzen hier in neuartiger Weise und die großen figürlichen Kompositionen mögen von römischen Fassadenmalereien herrühren (Abb. 13) Im mittleren ist der Kriegsgott Mars mit den Zügen Heinrichs und ihm gegenüber Bellona dargestellt, die in der spätrömischen Mythologie als Schwester, Tochter oder Ehefrau des Mars betrachtet wurde. Zu Füssen des Mars, Vater von

28 Serlio 1540, 123–131.

29 *Fastes,* IV, 953–4; siehe auch *Metamorphosen,* I, 562–3

30 Zur komplexen Ikonographie der Hoffassade des Louvre cf. Jenkins 1977, 289–307; Johnson/Graham 1968, 7–17; Hoffmann 1982, 29–42; Hoffmann 1984, 7–15; Bresc-Bautier 1989; Guillaume (in Vorbereitung für 2016).

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Abb. 12 Pierre Lescot/Jean Goujon, Sängertribüne mit Karyatiden im Saal des Erdgeschosses.

Romulus und Remus, ruht die Wölfin, Symbol der Stadt Rom, während sich unterhalb Bellonas ein Löwe niedergelassen hat. Die Gefangenen, die sich in den schmalen Jochen beiderseits der Fenster winden, spielen an auf die militärischen Triumphe des französischen Herrschers, wie es auch die Trophäen tun, die die Öffnungen zwischen den Fassadenvorsprüngen rahmen[31]. Das imposante Wappen, das zwei Genien im Giebel halten, erinnert unmittelbar an das *stemma* Michelangelos an der Fassade des Palazzo Farnese. Den Giebel des linken Risalit beherrscht eine geflügelte Abundantia, die Prosperität symbolisiert, wie es ebenso unmittelbar darunter an Ernte und Wald gebundene Figuren tun: ein Flussgott, Bacchus, Pan und Ceres. Die weibliche Figur des rechten Risalit hält einen Caduceus, das Zeichen für Merkur sowie für Harmonie, Wohlstand und Gedeihen. Sie könnte die *Vertu mercuriale* abbilden, wie sie laut Vasari alle Prinzen kennen und lieben sollen, um die Künste und guten Talente zu fördern[32]. Die beiden männlichen Sitzfiguren scheinen die *vita activa* und die *vita contemplativa* zu versinnbildlichen, während im engen Joch seitlich der Fenster zwei Kinder mit einem Globus und einer Armilarsphäre dargestellt sind; sie widmen sich dem Schreiben und Lesen. Hier geht es um Wissenschaft, Forschung und die angewandten Künste, wie sie in einem gut geführten Staat florieren. Das Programm spielt an auf den Herrscher als Nachfahre römischer Imperatoren, der ein goldenes Zeitalter einleitet und garantiert, dass es von wirtschaftlichem Aufschwung und der Blüte geistlicher und künstlerischer Aktivitäten gekennzeichnet ist.

Auch im Inneren ist zu beobachten, wie Lescot sich immer stärker antiken Modellen annäherte und diese aufs Originellste variierte. Beim Tribunal kombinierte er auf originelle Weise einen Triumphbogen mit dem Motiv der *Serliana* und benutzte dabei Säulenpaare mit kannelierten Schäften: Das mittlere, von einem Bogen bekrönte Joch war dem Herrscher vorbehalten, während an den Flanken dreieckige Giebel in die Attika hineinragen (Abb. 11). Ein solcher Triumphbogen ist auf antiken Münzen abgebildet, die man bei Grabungen in der Nähe des Palazzo Farnese um 1546 gefunden hatte und die der römische Senat anlässlich einer der Siege des Princeps hatte anfertigen lassen[33]. Jedenfalls ist es kein Zufall, dass das Motiv des Augustusbogens den Ort auszeichnete, der dem König

31 Guillaume (in Vorbereitung für 2016); Thirion 1995, 114–131 ; Hoffmann 1982, 29–42; Hoffmann 1984, 7–15.
32 Vasari, 2007, 20; Guillaume (in Vorbereitung für 2015).
33 Guillaume 2003, 343–353.

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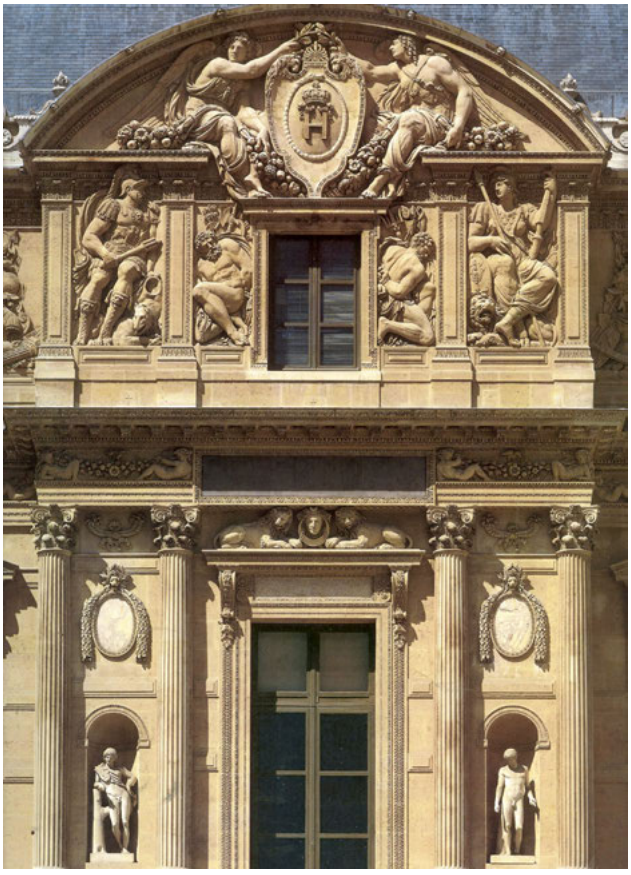

Abb. 13 Pierre Lescot/Jean Goujon, Hoffassade des Louvre, Detail.

im Saal vorbehalten war. Gleichzeitig variieren die seitlichen Joche den antiken Triumphbogen in Verona, der auch den Risaliten der Hoffassade als Vorbild diente und der das Bemühen um subtile Beziehungen zwischen Innenraum und Außenbau verrät. Als der neben dem *pavillon du roi* ergänzte Risalit eine Erweiterung des Tribunals erlaubte, ersetzte Lescot die Doppelsäulen durch Säulenbündel, die an ein Motiv Giulio Romanos in der Loggia di Davide im Palazzo del Te erinnern und denen an der Rückwand weitere Säulenpaare antworten (Abb. 5a. 10b. 11). Möglicherweise handelte es sich dabei um die Wiederverwendung jener Säulen, auf denen die Schwibbögen der ersten Projektphase ruhten. Man hätte kaum auf so kostbare Bauglieder verzichtet (Abb. 2)[34]. Mit seinen sechsunddreißig Säulen erinnert die neue Version des Tribunals an den „korinthischen Saal" Vitruvs, der von Säulen flankiert ist[35].

Die Karyatiden der gegenüberliegenden Musikertribüne zeigen auffallende Ähnlichkeiten mit den Koren des Erechtheions der Akropolis und wurden von Goujon im Herbst 1550 nach einem Gipsmodell Lescots gefertigt[36] (Abb. 12). Die Gesamtdisposition ist nicht ohne Parallelen mit frühen Entwürfen Michelangelos für das Juliusgrabmal, von denen der Architekt Kenntnis haben konnte[37]. Wenn es auch vorerst offen bleiben muss, auf welche Weise Lescot eine so hervorragende Kenntnis der griechischen Vorbilder erwarb, so offenbart sich doch deutlich, dass er seine Modelle abwandelte und sich

34 Gemäß einer im British Museum aufbewahrten Zeichnung du Cerceaus sollte die Gliederung kompakter sein (Boudon/Mignot 2010, 44–46).

35 *De Architectura*, VI, 5.

36 Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, CXXII, 235 (Grodecki 1984,33); Baumer 2014, 223–227; Pauwels 2010, 61–69; Pérouse de Montclos 2007, 57–58

37 Vielleicht durch Antonio Mini, der zwei Kisten mit Zeichnungen Buonarottis nach Frankreich gebracht hatte, die zweifellos zirkulierten und kopiert wurden. Romani 2004, 116.

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Abb. 14 Pierre Lescot/Jean Goujon, Hoffassade des Louvre, Detail.

dabei auf jüngste Erfahrungen in Fontainebleau stützte. So inspirieren sich etwa die Armstümpfe an den weiblichen Statuen am Herkulesbrunnen von Primaticcio und ein Detail wie die Stoffdrapierung auf den Hüften geht auf die Schlafende Ariane zurück, eine bronzene Kopie der Statue der päpstlichen Sammlung im Belvedere, die Primaticcio und Vignola nach Gipsabgüssen in Rom angefertigt hatten[38]. Jedenfalls handelt es sich bei den Karyatiden um ein eindrucksvolles Zeugnis der Migration griechischer Vorbilder, wobei nicht auszuschließen ist, dass man sie für römisch hielt. Dank des Tribunals und der Musikertribüne ist der Saal von einer eloquent triumphalen Herrscherikonographie geprägt, die zweifellos von Humanisten und Dichtern mitbestimmt wurde. Der Schriftsteller und Verleger Gilles Corrozet pries den Raum und seinen antiken Geist in den *Antiquitez* (1561): une grande salle à la mode des antiques, la plus excellente selon l'art d'architecture qu'on vit jamais[39].

Der Welt der Fabeln gehören die Tonnengewölbe des Treppenhauses an, bei denen die Jagdgöttin Diana eine besondere Rolle innehat: die großen Kompartimente im Zentrum sind von Mondsicheln, von sich mit Lorbeer- und Eichenlaub zu komplexen Motiven verbindenden Hirsch- und Wildschweinköpfen und Faunsmasken beherrscht, während Hunde, auf einer Panflöte blasende Faune, an einen Halbmond angelehnte *ignudi* und Blitzbündel die peripheren Felder zieren. Die flachen Kassettendecken der Podeste haben Liebe und Leidenschaft zum Thema, während spielende Putti die geheimnisvollen Andeutungen ergänzen. Ein Hinweis auf die universelle Monarchie ist hier diskret eingefügt, und zwar in Form von Halbmonden, die einen Globus rahmen[40].

38 Frommel 2013b, 431–446. Zu den Bronzestatuen siehe Zerner 1996,104–107.
39 Gilles Corrozet, *Les antiquitez, chroniques et singularitez de Paris,* ed.1561, Kap.XXVII, f.160v
40 Dieses Motiv ist in den Ecken einiger quadratischer Kompartimente sichtbar.

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Die prachtvollen Reliefs vereinen sich mit der Architektur zu einem dichten ikonographischen Programm, das Heinrich II. als Erben der römischen Imperatoren und als Garanten eines Goldenen Zeitalters und einer Pax Augusta zelebriert. Gewiss steht dies in Zusammenhang mit imperialen Ansprüchen, wie sie 1551 und 1551 in Reichweite schienen, oder mit dem Traum einer universellen Monarchie, wie sie von Guillaume Postel in den gleichen Jahren formuliert wurde[41]. Jedenfalls lassen sich bei den königlichen Einzügen in den Jahren 1548–1550 ähnliche Ansprüche beobachten, wo ebenfalls Triumphbögen, Portiken und komplizierte Allegorien das Feld beherrschten.

Neue Prioritäten und ikonographische Programme: Der Louvre unter Katharina de Medici

Du Cerceau berichtet, das Heinrich II. so angetan von den Neubauten war, dass er auch die anderen drei Flügel in analoger Form zu errichten wünschte, um so die alte Festung zu einem modernen Kastell mit vier Eckpavillons umzugestalten, das einen festlichen Ehrenhof rahmt:

le roi Henry se trouvant grandement satisffait de la veuë d'une œuvre di parfaict, délibera la faire continuer és trois autres costez, pour rendre cette cour non pareille. Et ainsi par son commandement fut commencé l'autre corps de bastiment depuis susdit Pavillon, tirant lelong de la rivière[42].

Da der drastische Kontrast zwischen dem neuen Louvre und der alter Festung nun immer augenfälliger wurde, begann man gleichzeitig mit dem *Pavillon du Roi* den Bau des zur Seine gerichteten Flügels, der allerdings nur zähflüssig und unter veränderten Bedingungen Form gewann (Abb. 9) Er beherbergte das Appartement der Königin. Im Gegensatz zum westlichen Flügel haben sich die Fassaden nicht in ihrer ursprünglichen Form erhalten, und während Percier und Fontaine 1806 die Attika durch ein Vollgeschoss ersetzten und so den Trakt dem Ostflügel Claude Perraults anglichen, hatte Letzterer schon 1668 den Flügel verbreitert und im Zuge dessen die zur Seine gerichtete Fassade abgerissen.

Als Heinrich II. im Juli 1559 auf unerwartete und tragische Weise den Wunden erlag, die er während eines Turniers auf der Place des Vosges erlitten hatte, vollzog sich eine Wende. Offensichtlich interessierte es die Witwe Katharina de' Medici nicht, das Vorhaben mit dem gleichen Impetus weiter zu verfolgen, und sie begann 1564 den Bau der Tuileries, einer Villa westlich des Louvre, deren weiträumige Galerien und Gärten das eingeschränkte Raumprogramm des Louvre bereichern sollten. Zu diesem Zweck mag sie kurz darauf, im Jahr 1566, im Süden des *Pavillon du Roi* die *Petite Galerie* begonnen haben, die sich bis zur Seine erstrecken sollte und die nicht über die Fundamente hinaus gedieh. Auf die prachtvolle Suite in der *bel étage* des Südflügels, die 1559 mit dem direkt neben dem *Pavillon du Roi* gelegenen *cabinet* begonnen worden war, mochte sie allerdings nicht verzichten (Abb. 5b). Nicht zuletzt machte ihre Anwesenheit auch Legitimierungsansprüche der Regentin und Königinmutter sichtbar. Doch anstatt den gesamten Flügel homogen vom Keller bis zum Dachstuhl zu errichten, ging Lescot hier in einzelnen Abschnitten vor. Jedenfalls konnte sich Katherina im Jahr 1568 in ihrem prachtvollen Appartement einrichten, das ungefähr 480 m^2 umfasste und sowohl zum Hof als zur Seine gerichtet sowie ähnlich wie im *appartement du roi* von kostbaren kassettierten Holzdecken geziert war. Glaubt man den Darstellungen du Cerceaus in seinen *Plus excellents bastiments de France* aus dem Jahr 1576, so wurde im Zuge dieser Arbeiten der mittlere Pavillon vollendet und nach Osten schlossen sich zwei weitere Joche daran an. Schon 1570, nach der Heirat Karl IX. mit Maria Stuart, hatte Katharina der jungen Königin die Räume überlassen und ins Erdgeschoss ausweichen müssen, das analog gegliedert war und einen zur Seine hin orientierten Garten besaß (Abb. 5a).

41 Hoffmann 1982, 29–42; Hoffmann 1984, 7–15; Bresc-Bautier 1989, 108–109.
42 Thomson 1988, 27.

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Im Jahr 1568 verschwindet der Name Lescots aus den Bauakten. In der *cour Carée* stapelten sich Massen von Kalksteinen und Marmor, die kurz vorher noch geliefert worden waren. Möglicherweise hatte das Mausoleum, das Katharina ab 1568 von Francesco Primaticcio in Form einer frei stehenden Rotunde neben dem nördlichen Querhaus von Saint-Denis errichten ließ, den Fortgang der Baustelle des Louvre zum Stillstand gebracht[43]. Es ist die wohl prachtvollste Grabkapelle der europäischen Renaissance und zugleich die eloquenteste Darstellung des Artemisia-Kultes der Katharina von Medici. Diese identifizierte sich mit der untröstlichen Witwe des Königs Mausolos, die dem Verstorbenen ein monumentales Grabmal errichten ließ, sich der Erziehung der Thronfolger widmete und das Ruder des Staates lenkte. Im Louvre vermittelte inzwischen das Baumaterial die Vorstellung von Prosperität und Unternehmungsgeist, was dem sinkenden Stern der Dynastie nur förderlich sein konnte[44].

Nach dem Tod Pierre Lescots im Jahr 1578 übergab Heinrich III., letzter König des Hauses von Valois, die Zeichnungen an dessen Nachfolger Jean Baptiste du Cerceau und die Baustelle schien mit vollen Segeln ihrem Ende entgegen zu gehen. In Wirklichkeit liefen die Dinge aber anders. Der Herrscher räumte religiösen Gründungen den Vorrang ein, plante eine Kapelle im Schloss und ein Kloster in unmittelbarer Nähe, von denen sich nichts Konkretes erhalten hat[45]. 1582 wurde endlich ein Vertrag unterzeichnet, der die Fertigstellung des begonnenen Flügels beschloss:

pour faire construire et eddifier de neuf partie d'un grant corps d'ostel pour continuer le bastiment neuf encommence à faire depuys le corps de logis ou sontz logés les Roynes faictz de neuf tirentz vers l'eglisse Sainctz Germain de l'Auxerroys[46].

Da die *Cour carrée* im Gegensatz zu ihrem Namen ein rechteckiges Format besitzt, mussten Teile des Ostflügels abgerissen werden, während man den mittelalterlichen Turm an der südöstlichen Ecke bewahrte. Der östliche Risalit blieb jedoch unvollendet und ein Teil der Reliefs entstanden zum Teil erst 1594 unter Heinrich IV.[47].

Die Valois hinterließen eine mittelalterliche und eine neuerrichtete Hälfte, und als Maria von Medici, die Gattin Heinrichs IV., das Schloss besuchte, war sie schockiert von den vom mangelnden Zusammenhang der Teile[48]. Mit den Valois ging auch das Vorhaben des Neubaus der mittelalterlichen *cour Carrée* unter. Im Rahmen der neuen Vision der Hauptstadt, wie der Bourbonen-König sie entwickelte, herrschten größere Maßstäbe, weiträumige Achsen und Durchblicke. Louvre und Tuileries sollten zu einem gigantischen Ensemble zusammenfasst werden und ein anderes herrschaftliches Selbstverständnis widerspiegeln: das des Machthabers eines modernen zentralisierten Staates, das folgerichtig ein anderes ikonographisches Programm nach sich zog[49].

43 Frommel 2010, 193–234.

44 Mit den Pfeilern für eine Zugbrücke und einer Loge für Löwen und andere wilde Tiere erfuhr das ehrgeizige Unternehmen ein vorläufiges Ende.

45 Thomson 1990, 47–81.

46 *Devis et marché de maçonnerie,* Archives Nationales, MC, XC, 138 vom 6. Juli 1582 (unpubliziert).

47 Archives Nationales, MC, XIX, 239 (Lowry 1957, 57).

48 Babelon 1989, 416.

49 Erst unter Napoleon III. sollte dieses titanische Unternehmen ein Ende finden.

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Martin Olin

The Palace of Charles XII. Architecture and Absolutism in Sweden around 1700

The construction of the Royal Palace in Stockholm was begun in 1692.[1] In 1754, it was ready to receive the Royal Family who had camped out in rented accommodation for more than fifty years. Despite a construction period of more than sixty years, the palace is a remarkably uniform structure, conceived and designed during a few years around 1700 by one architect, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728).[2] After Tessin's death in 1728, his son Carl Gustaf and his pupil Carl Hårleman carried through the construction and decoration with great fidelity to Tessin's plans. The palace as built thus diverges very little from the large presentation drawings completed by Tessin in 1704 and engraved a few years later explicitly so that the project could be completed in the event of the death of the architect.[3]

Tessin's royal palace does not reveal any traces of the old royal castle that previously stood on the site. The one detail that actually shows an adaptation to the existing architecture is the absence of a wing towards southwest, where the position of the medieval City Church prevented Tessin from designing a completely symmetrical structure. Apart from this irregularity, which is ingeniously disguised by the lower guard wings so as not to be perceivable from the outer courtyard, we have a case of an ideal palace in the middle of an old city centre, built according to the architect's intentions despite a prolonged period of construction.

But the historical background to this apparently harmonious building project could hardly be more dramatic. In 1692, Tessin had begun construction of the central part of the north wing as an extension of the old castle. This had been the administrative centre of Sweden and the main royal residence since the 14th century. The castle was an intricate and somewhat disorderly accumulation of buildings dating from different eras, where not least the late 16th century additions in a northern mannerist style provided the overall character.

Tessin's north wing functioned as a Roman baroque screen, camouflaging the old castle's gables, oriel windows and lack of alignment with the axes of the street system in the north part of the city. Here, there were to be new suites for the royal family and a new chapel royal on the site of the old one in the northeast part. The deeply religious Charles XI had pushed for the completion of the chapel, which was finished on the new year of 1697, just a few months before the King's death from stomach cancer in April.

The fire

The work on the north wing was still going on when a ferocious fire broke out in the attic of the old castle on the 7th of May. The fire spread quickly over the roofs. The old tower with its three crowns, the symbol of the Swedish realm, sank into the flames. In a few hours the east, south and west parts of the castle were in ruins. The body of the dead King was speedily brought to safety, while the rich decoration of the chapel was consumed by fire. But the outer walls of the new north wing were strong and it alone survived the catastrophe.

1 For the general history of construction, see Josephson/Böttiger/Silfverstolpe 1940.

2 For general works on Tessin, see Josephson 1930, Josephson 1930–1931 and Snickare 2002.

3 Josephson/Böttiger/Silfverstolpe 1940, 69–70.

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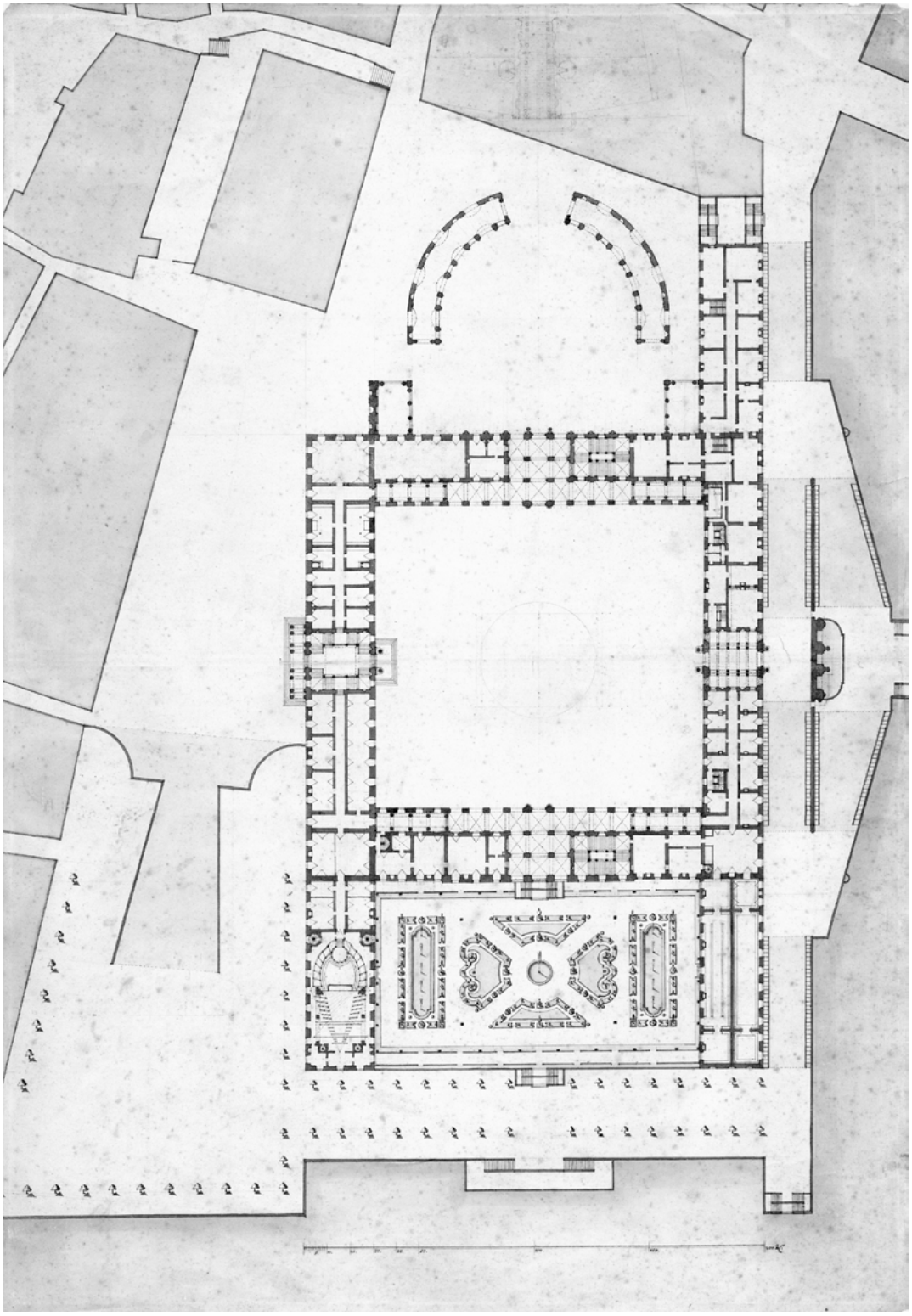

Fig. 1 Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Royal Palace, Stockholm, Ground-floor plan and situation. Drawing approved by the regency council 21 June 1697. Royal Palace, Stockholm (Slottsarkitektkontoret). The position of the City Church (the present Cathedral of Stockholm) is indicated in the upper left part of the drawing.

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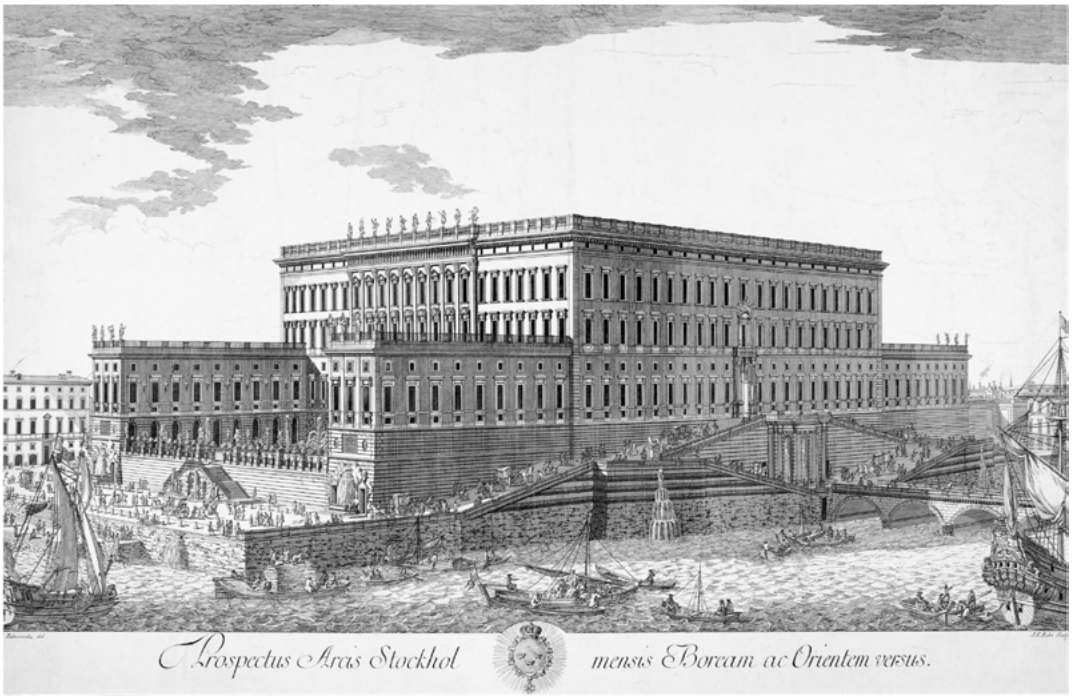

Fig. 2 Jean Eric Rehn after Carl Palmcrantz, Royal Palace, Stockholm, View from the northeast. Engraving, 1752.

The new palace

Already the day after the fire, the royal council convened to discuss the disaster, Charles XII still being a minor.[4] The council asked Nicodemus Tessin to design plans for a new palace, now without having to adjust to the old castle, the remains of which it was now decided to clear away. A new building, the councillors hoped, would thereby become more "regular and prominent". The architect threw himself into the work, and, only six weeks after the fire, Tessin could present two plans of the new palace, one for the ground floor and one for the first floor, which were approved by the regency on the 21st of June 1697. The accepted project thus proceeded from these two plans; the regency left all "the particulars" for Tessin to decide, including the façades.[5]

The plan of the built palace faithfully follows the approved project. Four blocks of the same size, three and a half storeys high (one of them Tessin's surviving north wing) surround the large, central courtyard. To the west and east lower wings have been added. To the east, they frame a garden parterre. To the west, lower, curved wings for the *corps de gardes* form an outer courtyard.

Models and design process

The high and open position of the site, surrounded by water on two sides, gave Tessin the opportunity to design a royal residence with four – arguably equally important – façades, different in character but in a unified style, closely modelled on Roman *cinque-* and *seicento* architecture.

Although the exteriors reflect Tessin's deep familiarity with and admiration for the Palazzo Farnese, Palazzo Barberini, Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, it can be argued that the single most important source of inspiration was a project outside Rome: Bernini's last design

4 Josephson/Böttiger/Silfverstolpe 1940, 58–62.

5 For a discussion of Tessin's plans for the palace leading up to the approved project, see Vahlne 1997.

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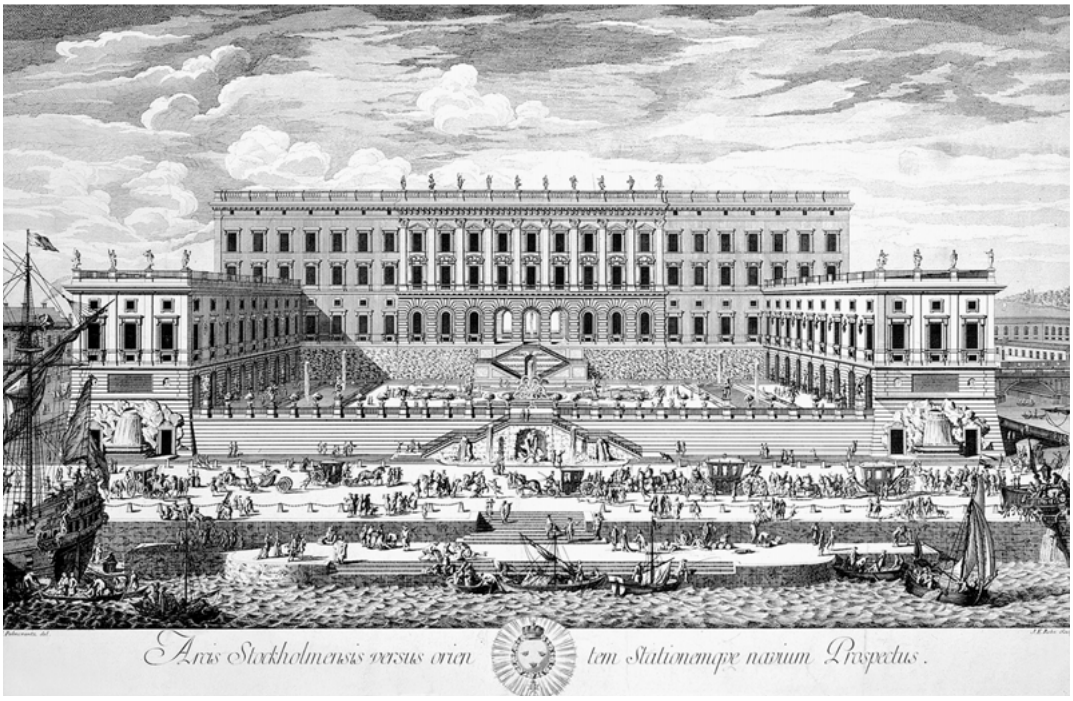

Fig. 3 Jean Eric Rehn after Carl Palmcrantz, Royal Palace, Stockholm, View from the east. Engraving, c. 1750.

for the Louvre. The Italian's proposals of 1665, with their characteristic use of the giant order, were reproduced in engravings, in medals and in two models, now lost, built by Mattia de Rossi in 1666/67 to facilitate Louis XIV's understanding of the definitive forms of Bernini's designs. Tessin had admired the models during his last visit to Paris in 1687, and in 1695/97 he commissioned a set of measured drawings of the models.[6]

There was never any doubt in Tessin's mind that the models for the palace exteriors were to be sought in Italian architecture. Through his training in the house of his father, and in particular during the years from the age of nineteen to twenty-three that he spent in Rome, from 1673 to 1677, he became steeped in the Roman architectural tradition and formed a firm belief in the eternal values of its canon.

In order to keep up with the developments abroad, Tessin eagerly and systematically brought together a wide-ranging collection of books and engravings related to his various responsibilities. He corresponded with agents, principally in Paris, who provided him with prints. Tessin also tried to keep an eye on the Italian market, but since his last visit to Rome in 1688, he had gradually fallen out of touch with the developments in Italy. In October 1702, the Swedish architect experienced a pleasant surprise when he received an unexpected gift. He writes to his correspondent in Paris:

> "The Törnflychts' baggage from has arrived from italy. ... The elder brother has presented me with a thick volume engraved in Rome showing the ornaments of windows, doors, etc. of all that is most remarkable in Rome; and yet a second volume of it has been promised. The first one is quite large and contains many beautiful things, and it can be counted as one of the best books on architecture ever printed. It came out only this past year"[7]

6 del Pesco 2010.

7 Author's translation. See Weigert/Hernmarck 1964, 318–319: "Mrs. Törnflychts ont eus leurs hardes d'Italie. J'attends mes festes encore ce soir ; l'ainé m'a fait présent d'un gros volume qu'on a gravé à Rome, touchant les ornements de fenestres, portes, etc., de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans Rome, dont on promèt encore un second volume. Le premier est fort grand et contient beaucoup de belles choses, et se peut compter pour un de meilleurs livres qu'on aye imprimé touchant l'architecture. Il n'est au jour que depuis l'année passée ; je ne doutte pas que Mr. Mansard n'en aye déja de la connoissance ; sans cela il luy faira plaisir indubitablement par sa grande exactitude et recharge très curieuses...".

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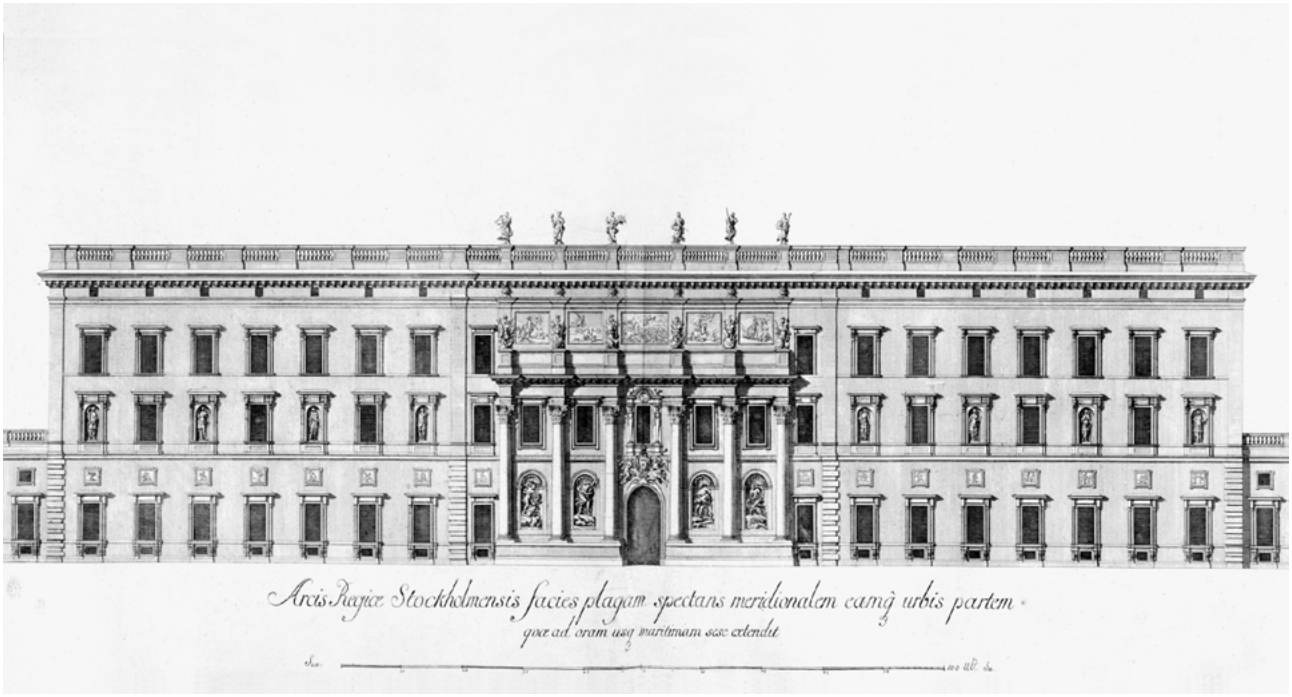

Fig. 4 Claude Haton after Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Royal Palace, Stockholm, South façade. Engraving, c. 1708–1712.

Tessin could hardly have been more delighted with the first volume of Domenico De Rossi's *Studio d'architettura civile* – undoubtedly the book referred to in the letter.[8] Its range of subjects and the precision and beauty of its prints corresponded exactly to the architect's tastes and needs. Not only did the gift of De Rossi's new publication to Tessin meet with the recipient's approval in a general way, it could also not have been timelier. In 1702, the architect was working with the drawings for the new palace. As already mentioned, Tessin had produced plans for a new palace in 1697; but they were only *plans*. It was not until a few years later that he had the opportunity to elaborate the designs for the façades and details. The bulk of the design work was done in 1700–1704.[9] Thus, at the moment when he first opened the *Studio d'architettura civile*, he was looking for solutions to hundreds of details for the vast royal palace of Stockholm.

The most obvious case for which it is possible to argue that a De Rossi print served as Tessin's direct source is the central window of the south façade of the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The location is conspicuous enough, but few have found it curious that the heraldic dove of the Pamphili, the family of Pope Innocent X, should appear over the grandest entrance to the main residence of the Swedish king. The window is clearly based on plate 65 in the first volume of *Studio d'architettura civile*, which shows one of Francesco Borromini's windows over the central nave in S. Giovanni in Laterano, where garlanded herms support an entablature, the cornice of which is broken by a semi-oval arch containing the sitting dove with an olive-branch in its mouth. When the window was finally executed, many decades later, the sculptor interpreted the images freely and the dove flies through the air, thereby making its Pamphili parentage a little less noticeable.[10]

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8 Olin 2013, 189.
9 Josephson/Böttiger/Silfverstolpe 1940, 69–70. Fundamental for the design process is also Kommer 1974.
10 Olin 2013, 192.

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Fig. 5 Royal Palace, Stockholm, South façade, central window.

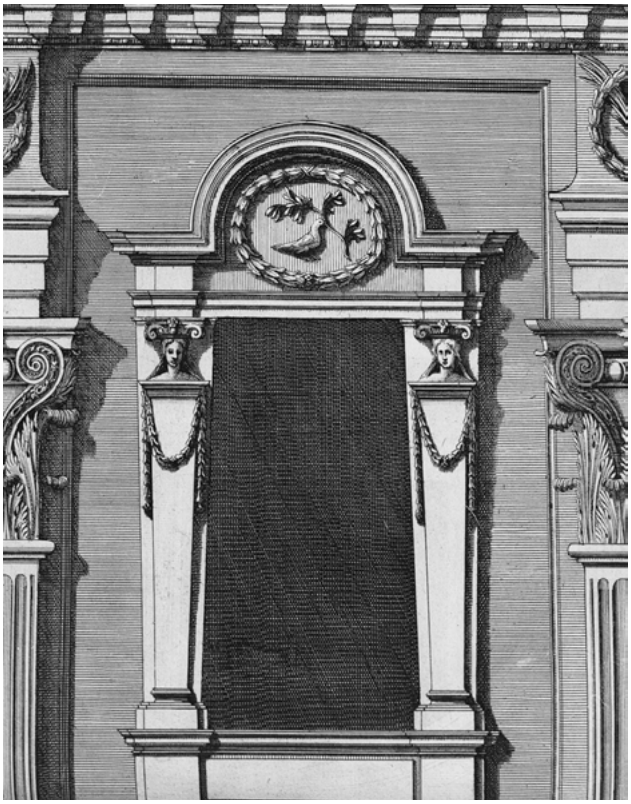

Fig. 6 S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, Clerestory window. Engraving, Alessandro Specchi after Francesco Borromini.

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The royal apartments

Italy clearly provided the inspiration for the details of the exteriors. But Tessin was by no means convinced that the models for the interior should also be sought in Rome. His often-quoted belief was:

> "My thought is to leave all *Préference* to the Italians in the outer *Façades*, but to the French in the inner *Décoration*, and to unite these two well, neither of which wants to cede to the other. This will demand much consideration and hard work, but one can expect the more perfection from the outcome."[11]

The disposition of the interiors is characterised by great regularity. The central block in the south wing was to house the chapel royal and the hall of state, on either side of a vaulted vestibule. Two elaborate staircases to the east and the west communicate with the royal apartments on the first and second floors. Since the first chapel had been gutted by fire, Tessin decided to place the new chapel in the south wing. Thereby, he was free to create four full suites for the King and the Queen: two on the first floor for daily use and two on the second floor for ceremonial use.

The *piano nobile* in a Swedish seventeenth century palace was traditionally on the second floor. The reasons for this custom are not altogether clear, but the climate was surely one motive: it was easier to heat the apartments for daily use if they were situated on the first floor. This usage meant that the architect had to design a ceremonial staircase that went through the full height of the palace. Tessin solved this in an ingenious way, and the staircases at the Stockholm palace are among its most magnificent and architecturally interesting interiors.

The King's suite, which starts from the west staircase, consists of a guard chamber, an antechamber, a large audience chamber, bedroom, small audience chamber and cabinet. Thereafter follows the long gallery, which connects the King's suite with that of the Queen. On the second floor the cabinets form part of an extended gallery. Giving on to the courtyard, rooms of smaller dimension were used as the actual living quarters. The division of a male and female side is kept throughout. The Dowager Queen has the disposition of double suites on the east side, beginning from the east staircase opposite the Queen's guard chamber.[12]

On the first floor, the plan of the second floor is repeated; with the exception that a suite of rooms used by the council and for administrative purposes take the place of the smaller suite to the west, connecting the daily suite of the King with the hall of state. In this way, Tessin creates a sequence of rooms used for ruling the country on the male side – with a privileged route of communication with the Hall of State. On the east side, the female members of the royal family could go into the chapel without leaving their sphere.

In the 1690s Tessin had worked on plans for an immense, never executed royal palace in Copenhagen.[13] The Copenhagen project was in many ways a preparatory study for Tessin's Stockholm palace, and on a conceptual level the two projects have much in common. In the Copenhagen plan, it is even clearer that the model for the organisation of the apartments was Versailles. A characteristic aspect of Tessin's work and of his veneration for international models is his transformation into a general rule of that which in Versailles was but the arbitrary outcome of an historical process. In his presentation of the Copenhagen project, he comments on the curious order of the royal suite, where the bedchamber comes between a larger and a smaller audience chamber – an

11 Vahlne 2002, 72: "Min tanka är att utj ÿttra *Facciaterne* böre lembnas *Jtalienerne* all *Preference*, men åth *Francoserne* den inra *Decorationen* ; men att wähl förena desse bägge, som ingendera willia cedera hwar annan, Kan intet annars Skiee, än med stort omdöme, möda och Arbete, men så lär, man och hafwa att förwänta så mÿcket större full Komblighet däraf" (author's translation).

12 Josephson/Böttiger/Silfverstolpe 1940, 92–93.

13 Josephson 1924, 25–76.

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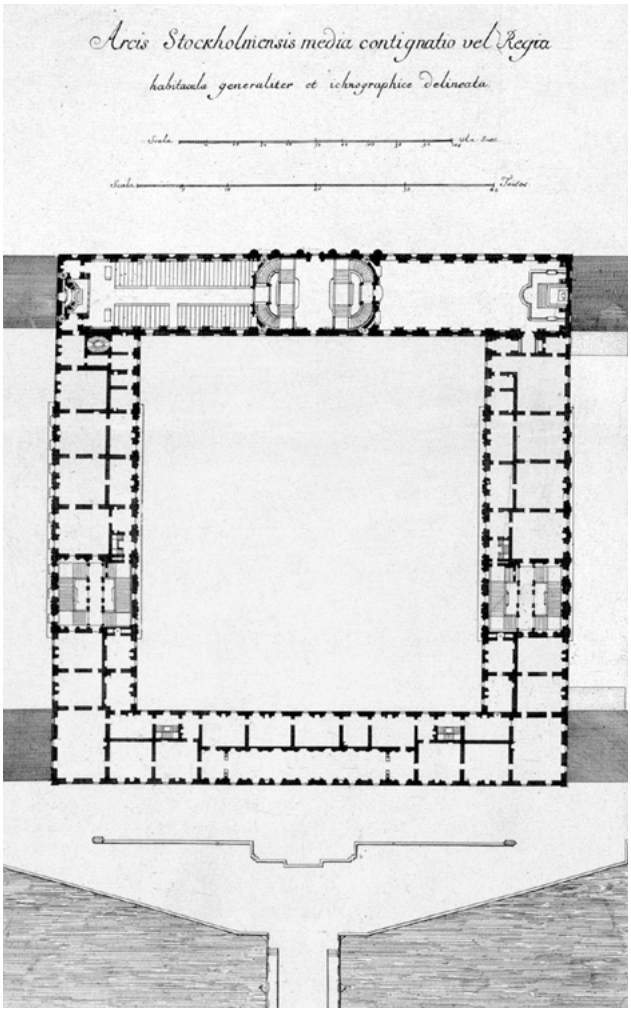

Fig. 7 Claude Haton after Nicodemus Tessin the Younge, Royal Palace, Stockholm, Second-floor plan. Engraving, 1708–1713.

arrangement repeated in Stockholm.[14] As Tessin acknowledges, this was also the case in Versailles, but he does not say (and perhaps did not know) that this was so because Louis XIV had reversed the order of the *grand appartement* on account of his use of the bedroom behind the gallery rather than the one in the north suite.

The King's absence and his correspondence with Tessin

When Tessin first drew up the plans for the palace in Stockholm, the royal family consisted of the fifteen-year old Charles XII, his grandmother Hedwig Eleonora and his two sisters, one of whom was soon to be married to the duke of Holstein.[15] But in the summer of 1700, Charles XII, now eighteen years old, left Stockholm with his army, never to return. The war against Russia, Denmark and Saxony was at first successful for Sweden, but towards the end of the decade the construction of the palace came to a complete standstill. After the catastrophic outcome of the battle of Poltava

14 Josephson 1924, 188.

15 Even though Tessin designed the palace for an "ideal royal family", it should be kept in mind that the Dowager Queen (Charles XII's grandmother) Hedwig Eleonora was a dominating character at the Stockholm court, not least during the young King's long absence.

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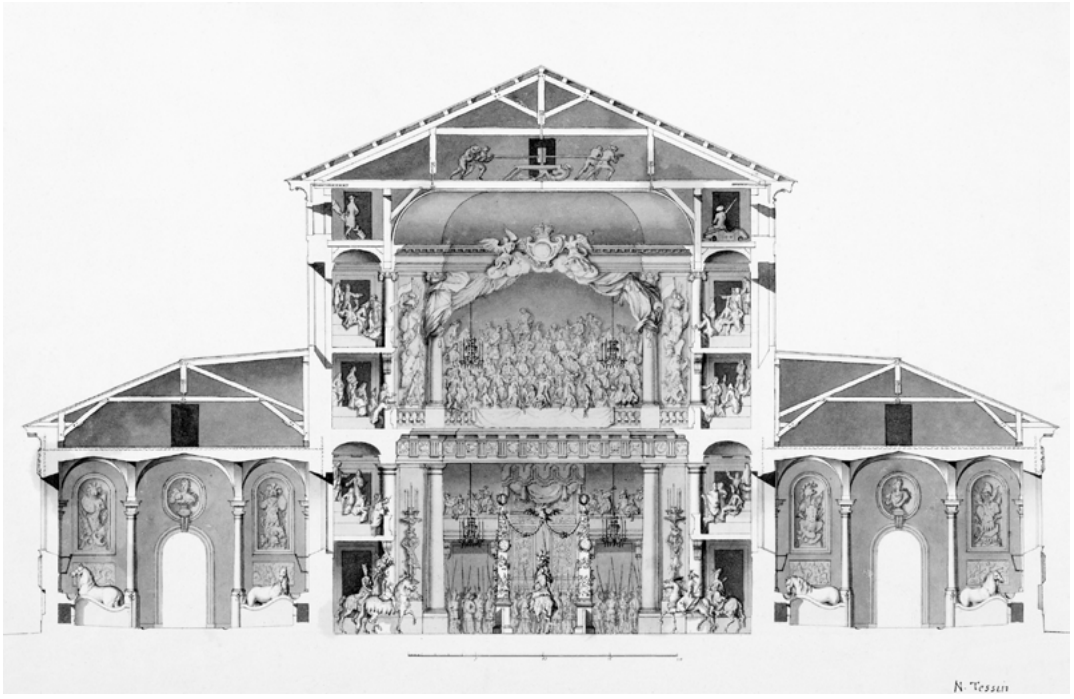

Fig. 8 Carl Palmcrantz after Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Project for Royal stables and riding school. Drawing, c. 1713.

against Russia in 1709, Charles and what remained of his army fled to Ottoman territory and set up camp at Bender (in the near-by village of Varnitsa) on the river Dniester, in present-day Moldavia, some 700 km north of Istanbul. Here the King remained until February 1713, when, following the "Skirmish at Bender" (as the Swedes always translated the Turkish word *kalabalik*), he was transferred to Timurtasch close to Edirne, and then shortly after to Dimotika in present-day Greece. In 1714, Charles was at last persuaded to leave the Ottoman Empire, where he was increasingly regarded as a diplomatic embarrassment.

New plans for Stockholm

The King's status as the Sultan's guest together with an injured foot forced him into a period of irksome inactivity. It was under these tense conditions that Charles began taking an active interest in Tessin's plans for the palace which, although finished in 1704, had taken a long time to engrave. As the French graphic artist Claude Haton proceeded with the work, couriers brought the printed plans and elevations across Europe to the King's camp, where they were studied with great interest. Tessin corresponded regularly with the head of the Royal chancellery, Casten Feif, through whom Sweden was governed during the King's long absence. He was also a personal friend of Tessin and facilitated the architect's access to the sovereign. Feif assisted the King in the interpretation of the designs, wrote down his questions and gave Tessin advice on how to best please His Majesty. During the Bender years, encouraged by Feif, Tessin also developed a new general plan for the surroundings of the palace – more or less the whole centre of Stockholm – which he presented to the King in letters, drawings and prints.[16] The designs for the new royal palace and the associated monumental buildings took the King's mind off his precarious situation and allowed him to dream of returning to his capital in victory, laden with trophies. These fantastically expensive projects

16 The fullest treatment is Josephson 1925, reprinted in 2002. See also Snickare 2005, 71–74.

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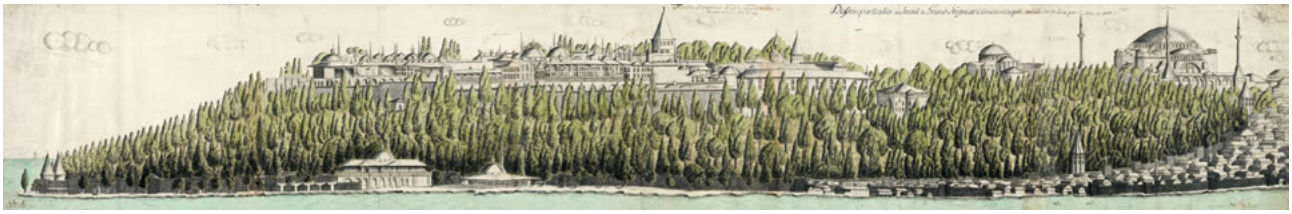

Fig. 9 Cornelius Loos (1686–1738), View of the Seraglio Point with the Topkapi palace. Watercolour, 1710.

were to be kept strictly secret, probably so as not to outrage public opinion in Sweden, where the country was on its knees on account of the war effort.[17]

The King asked questions, Feif wrote them down for Tessin, and the architect answered. From this fascinating correspondence it emerges that the King was only marginally interested in the aesthetics: he suggests that the effect of the architecture can "be made richer by the use of bronze, marble and gold" – not particularly helpful for a country on the brink of ruin – and he had taken a violent dislike of freestanding sculpture.[18] He had few further comments on the artistic side of the project. He was, however, very interested in some aspects of a practical nature. The King asked for secret passageways everywhere, to enable him to pass from one end of the palace to the other without being seen by his courtiers. Charles also took a particular interest in the royal stables, which he thought should be immense and possible to reach without being seen from the palace. Feif and Tessin made ironic remarks to each other, but Tessin loyally provided a new project of megalomaniac scale for stables with an attached riding school for tournaments and festivities.[19]

A few elements of Tessin's great Stockholm plan were eventually executed, though most of it remained on the drawing board, such as the armoury or victory hall for trophies, and a symmetrical square north of the palace with a domed church intended as a dynastic burial place for the royal family.

The Swedes and Ottoman architecture

Did the fact that Charles XII and his men were on Ottoman territory in any way modify Tessin's architectural projects? Even if the answer, as the present author thinks, is no, it is nevertheless fascinating to consider the Ottoman cultural context and what it meant for the Swedes and their understanding of art, architecture and town-planning.[20] It has, for instance, been suggested that Charles XII's reluctance to use sculpture as architectural ornaments was influenced by Ottoman architecture.[21] The King's insistence on architectural solutions that allowed him to pass invisibly through his new palace may also reflect some knowledge of Ottoman court ceremonial, in which a central concept was the seclusion and "invisibility" of the Sultan.[22] In any case, the seclusion in which the Ottoman Sultan lived until the eighteenth century contrasted with the extreme accessibility of the French King. Tessin's ideal was the court of France under Louis XIV, and Charles XII reacted against it, preferring (to the deaf ears of his architect) a court ceremonial in which the King remained unseen, such as the one practised at the Topkapi Palace.

17 Andersson 1859, 179, 181.
18 Andersson 1859, 165–166.
19 Olin 2003.
20 For a recent interpretation discussing parallels between the royal palace in Stockholm and Tessin's projects for central Stockholm on the one hand and the Topkapı palace and Islamic architecture on the other, see Mårtelius 2012, 58–62.
21 Josephson 1947, 54–56.
22 Necipoğlu 1993, 303–306.

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Fig. 10 Royal Palace, Stockholm, View from the southeast.

Shortly after settling at Bender, the King launched a scientific expedition that was to travel around the Eastern Mediterranean to collect information about customs, monuments and sacred places. It consisted of three fortification officers who set out in January 1710 and returned one and a half years later. Most of the material collected by the expedition was lost in the Skirmish at Bender, but in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm around 50 drawings survive. They are mainly from Istanbul, showing panoramas, architecture and costumes. The principal artist was the fortification officer Cornelius Loos.[23] It is clear that the King and, in particular, Casten Feif were interested in certain aspects of Ottoman architecture. Feif writes to Tessin that he has a drawing showing the heating system of a Turkish bath, and he believes that the solution may be used to heat effectively the immense hall of state and the chapel in the new royal palace.[24]

A particular Stockholm project has been connected to the King's study of the panoramas of Istanbul, which he kept in a box under his bed. He wanted to complement Tessin's Stockholm plan with an idea of his own: on the ridge of Brunkeberg, separating the northwest and northeast parts of the city – a serious obstacle to classical town planning on horizontal principles – the King wanted to build a high watchtower and plant a wood of handsome spruce trees.[25] To Tessin, the use of coniferous evergreens as an element in his Roman town plan must have been abhorrent, and he passes it over in silence. But the architect had not seen Loos's beautiful panorama of the Seraglio Point with the Topkapi Palace, surrounded by high cypresses.

23 Westholm 1985. A new publication of the drawings edited by Karin Ådahl is under preparation.
24 Andersson 1859, 162.
25 Josephson 1947, 57–60.

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Figure credits

Fig. 1: Photo Royal Collections.
Fig. 2. 3. 7. 8. 9: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMG 16A/1896 (Fig. 2) NMG 1776/1913 (Fig: 3), NMG 16M/1896 (Fig. 7), NMH THC 5320, detail (Fig. 8), NMH THC 9114 (Fig. 9).
Fig. 4: Royal Library, Stockholm. Photo: Andrea Davis Kronlund.
Fig. 5: Mikael Traung.
Fig. 6: *Studio d'Architettura Civile*, I, 1702, plate 65. Detail.
Fig. 10: Photo author.

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Herbert Karner

Die Wiener Paläste der Habsburger in der Frühen Neuzeit: Kaiserlich – Imperial – Römisch

Carl Gustav Heraeus (1671–1725), Medaillen- und Antiquitäteninspektor am Hof Kaiser Karls VI. (reg. 1711–1740) sowie dessen Programmdenker und Concettist, charakterisierte 1712 in einem Huldigungsgedicht an den neuen Kaiser die Stadt Wien: „Wien, welches so lang eine Kayserl. Wohn=Stadt gewesen, wird mit gleichem Recht Neu=Rom genannt, als vormals Constantinopel“[1].

Vor allem die Stadt Rom, aber auch Konstantinopel, die Roma Nova unter Konstantin dem Großen, waren als Kaiserstädte des Römischen Reichs zwei mythische Orte, die in der Identitätskonstruktion der Habsburger eine zentrale Rolle spielten. Zwei Hauptstädte, zwei Gedächtnisorte des römischen Imperiums, in dessen Tradition die Habsburger als Kaiser des „Römischen Reichs Deutscher Nation“ ihre Residenzstadt Wien gestellt haben. Dort, wo die rechtmäßigen Erben der Cäsaren und Kaiser ihren Wohnort hatten, dort war auch Rom und Konstantinopel.

Bevor die vielfältigen Bezüge zwischen dem Wiener Hof des Kaisers und der Stadt Rom erörtert werden, wird ein kurzer Blick auf die historischen Konnotationen der Stadt Konstantinopel für Wien und das Haus Habsburg in der Frühen Neuzeit geworfen. Vielleicht exemplarisch mag man sie auf dem Frontispiz einer Thesenschrift (Abb. 1) über Militärarchitektur des kaiserlichen Hofkriegsrates Ferdinand Amadée Graf von Harsch und seines Sohnes Ferdinand Philipp aus dem Jahr 1719 ablesen.[2] Zentrale Figur ist Karl VI. als jugendlicher Imperator in Siegerpose auf einem Schild stehend, das – wie die Inschrift am unteren Bildrand zusätzlich informiert – von den Tugenden Pietas, Constantia, Iustitia und der Bellica Virtus getragen wird. Bestrahlt wird der Kaiser vom segenbringenden Kreuz, das vom konstantinischen Motto IN HOC VINCES umgeben ist. An der Horizontlinie im Hintergrund sind vier Städte schemenhaft dargestellt und genannt: Vienna – Temesvarum et Belgradum – Constantinopolis. Damit ist zunächst die historische Erklärung für die Siegespose Karls VI. gegeben: 1716 und 1717 wurden vom kaiserlichen Heer die osmanischen Besatzer aus Temeswar und Belgrad vertrieben, was kriegsstrategisch von zentraler Bedeutung für den erfolgreichen Kriegszug gegen die muslimischen Osmanen im östlichen Mitteleuropa war. Nachhaltig verdeutlicht wird die Siegesgewissheit durch die vom Fuß des Imperators getretene Mondsichel, das Symbol der Muslime. Hinter dieser vordergründigen, auf ein unmittelbar vorangegangenes historisches Kriegsereignis bezogenen Thematik des Kupferstichs steht ein wesentlich weiter zu fassender historischer Kontext mit stark typologischem Charakter. Konstantinopel wird hier nicht als feindliche Gegenfolie Wiens, als Hauptstadt des blutrünstigen und gottlosen Erzfeindes in die Bilderzählung eingebracht. So wie im figuralen Teil Kaiser Constantin der Große und seine Schlacht an der Milvischen Brücke präfigurativ für Karl VI. und seine Siege bei Belgrad und Temeswar angesprochen sind, so ist auch Konstantinopel gewissermaßen die Präfiguration Wiens: zwei Kaiserstädte, feindlich lediglich in der gegenwärtigen kriegerischen Situation. Nicht zufällig sind Belgrad und Temeswar ins enge Feld unmittelbar unter den Kriegsschild des Kaisers gedrängt. Im überhistorischen Sinn hingegen sind die Städte vereint durch die alles überragende Figur des Cäsaren, der gleichermaßen Konstantin und Karl im Lichtkranz des siegreichen Kreuzes ist. Rom war im Vergleich zu Konstantinopel aber jene Stadt, die auf unmittelbare und systematische Weise seit dem 16. Jahrhundert von den Habsburgern mit ihrer eigenen Geschichte in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Mit dem Begriff der Wiener „Romanitas“ lässt sich ein umfassender Pool an Argumentationen charakterisieren, mit dem die Übertragung des römischen Cäsarentums auf die Dynastie der Habsburger glaubhaft gemacht werden konnte. Unter Joseph I. und vor allem unter

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1 Heraeus 1721, 49–55; Polleross 2009.

2 Bekanntgemacht und kurz behandelt ist das Thesenblatt bei Polleross 2009, 104.

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Abb. 1 Frontispiz der Thesenschrift des Grafen von Harsch, Kupferstich von 1719.

Karl VI. wurde die Romanitas Wiens zu einer umfassenden politisch-symbolischen Offensive ausgeweitet. Das Haus Habsburg und seine Berater bedienten sich der römisch-antiken Tradition als ein symbolisches Kapital, das in die Sicherung der universalgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Dynastie investiert wurde. Diese spezifisch habsburgische Hinwendung zu römisch-antiken Formen, das in Wien seit Ferdinand I. zunehmend wachsende Interesse an den antiquarischen Wissenschaften (Archäologie, Numismatik) und am Sammeln antiker Artefakte wie Grabsteine, Münzen oder Skulpturen ist natürlich immer auch vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgeschichtlichen, für ganz Europa gültigen Orientierung an den Maßstäben antiker Kunst und Kultur zu messen. Dieses allgemeine, renaissancezeitliche Phänomen ist der Nährboden, auf dem sich die spezifisch habsburgische, politisch-dynastisch motivierte Antikenrezeption entwickeln konnte.

Für das 18. Jahrhundert wurde diese Instrumentalisierung der Antike als Wiener Romanitas unter Kaiser Karl VI. in einer Reihe von Untersuchungen von Franz Matsche und Friedrich Polleross anschaulich herausgearbeitet. Matsche prägte in seiner grundlegenden Arbeit über die Kunstpolitik Karls VI. den Begriff des „Kaiserstils“ als einen ikonographischen Stil „römisch-caesarisch-imperialen“ Zuschnitts.[3] Polleross zeigt in seinen Detailstudien die vielfältigen Formen der Antikenrezeption im Dienst der dynastischen Repräsentation.[4]

3 Matsche 1981; Matsche 1996.

4 Vorrangig zur ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, aber auch mit materialreichen Rückblicken auf das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert; siehe Polleross 2005; Polleross 2006; Polleross 2009.

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In der Architektur der Kaiserresidenz, der Wiener Hofburg, wurde die Romanitas auf umfassende Weise lediglich im 18. Jahrhundert, namentlich am Bau des sogenannten, 1723–1730 errichteten, Reichskanzleitraktes durch Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach umgesetzt.[5]

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, der in den folgenden Zeilen nachgegangen werden soll, ob in den Innen- und Außenräumen der kaiserlichen Residenzen im Wien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts das Bekenntnis zur Antike und damit die angesprochenen Identitätsstrategien der Dynastie fassbar gemacht werden. Spielt das Bewusstsein der Dynastie, in der legitimen Nachfolge der römischen Cäsaren zu stehen, für die Gestaltung der höfischen Umgebung und für das Repräsentationsverhalten der Habsburger eine Rolle?

Jüngst ist der zweite Band zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg erschienen, der die Zeitspanne zwischen 1521 und 1705, von Ferdinand I. (König ab 1531 bzw. Kaiser ab 1558) bis einschließlich Kaiser Leopold I., behandelt.[6] Er bietet einige Anhaltspunkte, die bei Beantwortung der gestellten Frage hilfreich sein können.

Auf Basis der bekannten Auseinandersetzung Ferdinands I. mit der Rezeption antiker Architektur und seiner Kenntnis von Serlios Architekturtraktat hat Renate Holzschuh-Hofer im Buch über die Hofburg ausführlich die Entstehungsgeschichte des sogenannten Schweizertores analysiert. Sie hat dargelegt, dass dieses nach Kriterien der Renaissancearchitektur entwickelte Hauptportal der alten Kaiserburg von großer symbolischer Bedeutung im Rahmen der strategischen Planung der Übernahme der Kaiserwürde von der spanischen Linie der Habsburger und der dauerhaften Sicherung dieser Würde für die österreichische Linie der Habsburger gewesen ist.[7] Dieses Schweizertor ist aber nur der heute noch sichtbare Ausdruck einer breit angelegten Wertschätzung und Promotion der antiken Kultur, die auch von allen seinen Nachfolgern Maximilian II., Rudolf II. bis hin zu Leopold I. betrieben wurde. Besondere Wertschätzung erfreuten sich dabei Grabsteine und Skulpturen, die von allen Habsburgern im großen Stil gesammelt wurden.[8]

Auf welch selbstverständliche Weise antike Objekte, die bei Ausgrabungen in Italien oder auch in Wien[9] gefunden wurden, in das unmittelbare höfische Umfeld Eingang fanden, dokumentiert ein Reisebericht des Weimarer Kanzlisten Johann Sebastian Müller, der sich im Frühjahr 1660 als Sekretär des Gesandten des Herzogs von Sachsen-Weimar mit diesem anlässlich der Lehensverleihung durch Kaiser Leopold I. in Wien aufhielt. In seinem Reisediarium hielt er sämtliche Besuche und Ausflüge in und um Wien sowie die Besuche in der Kaiserlichen Burg fest.[10]

Bei dem geführten Besuch der alten Burg im Mai 1660 gelangten die Weimarer Gesandten auch in den sogenannten Galerietrakt.[11] Dieser schmale und lange Bau, der parallel zur Kunstkammer und dem angrenzenden Ballhaus im Auftrag Rudolfs II. errichtet worden war und an der Nordecke der Burg andockte, beherbergte im 17. Jahrhundert die kaiserliche Schatzkammer und bildete die bauliche Grenze des Areals des kaiserlichen Lustgartens, der sich auf zwei unterschiedlichen Niveaus bis zum mächtigen Bau des Komödiensaals erstreckte (Abb. 2, Nr. 24). Die Gruppe verließ die Galerie, um den Garten zu durchqueren: „... Ferner durch etliche Gewölber / und schön gemachte Zimmer / unter der Kayserl. Schatz-Cammer in einen Garten geführet worden; im Ein-

5 Siehe vor allem Matsche 2011.

6 Karner 2014a.

7 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014, bes. 111–122.

8 Gschwantler 2000, 158–159.

9 Bekannt sind etwa Funde von römischen Grabsteinen beim Bau der Stallburg. Rund 100 Jahre später, 1660, wurde bei der Fundamentierung des Leopoldinischen Traktes der Hofburg im Jahr 1660 ein römisches Grab entdeckt, das u. a. Urnen und Goldmünzen mit Darstellungen des Kaisers Antoninus Pius enthielt. Dabei handelte es sich um propagandistisch ganz besonders verwertbare Funde, da sie verdeutlichten, dass Wien und die Kaiserburg selbst unmittelbar auf römischem Siedlungsgebiet errichtet wurden. Siehe Dreger 1914, 137; Lhotsky 1941–1945, 186; Polleross 2009, 105.

10 1714 wurde das Diarium erstmals gedruckt und 2005 sorgsam ediert: Keller/Scheutz/Tersch 2005.

11 Siehe ausführlich Karner 2014b, bes. 232–239.

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Abb. 2 Bauphasenplan der Wiener Hofburg, Situation um 1705.

gange des Gartens war ein alt väterisch weiß marmones Grab / 12. Spannen lang / und vier und eine halbe breit / darauf Amazonninen gehauen / und inwendig mit Kupfer gefüttert / soll Lucretia, oder wie andere meinen einer Amazonin Grab / und von Rom auf Augsburg / von anhero nachher Wien gebracht / und darvor dem reichen Fugger 1000. Thlr. gegeben worden seyn."[12]

Mit diesem Marmorgrab wird eines der heute noch bekanntesten Objekte der habsburgischen Antikensammlung angesprochen, als dessen Aufbewahrungsort bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts die Hofburg zu gelten hat. Es handelt sich um den sogenannten Amazonensarkophag, der heute Teil der Antikensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien ist.[13] Der Sarkophag ist nicht römisch, sondern hellenistisch und stammt aus der zweiten Hälfte des vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Er wurde in der antiken Königsstadt Soloi im Jahr 1557 gefunden und nach Venedig verbracht. 1567 kam er in den Besitz der Handelsfamilie Fugger nach Augsburg, von wo er wahrscheinlich von Ferdinand III. (1658?) erworben und in die Hofburg verbracht wurde. Das Thema der Reliefs an den Außenseiten ist eine Amazonomachie.[14]

Um 1735 wurde das Prunkstück gemeinsam mit römischen Schriftsteinen, die in Siebenbürgen und in der Stadt Cilli / Celje ausgegraben worden waren, sowie einigen stadtrömischen Funden in der Antecamera und im Stiegenhaus der neuen kaiserlichen Hofbibliothek ausgestellt. Eine um 1735 angefertigte Zeichnung Salomon Kleiners mit Einblick in diese Antecamera zeigt den Sarkophag in prominenter Position inmitten der anderen Antiken.[15] Die Bedeutung des Sarkophags demonstriert auch seine Aufnahme in das mehrbändige Werk „Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur" des Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, das als Manuskript 1712 fertig gestellt und erst 1721 publiziert wurde (Abb. 3). Die nach Zeichnung des Architekten von Johann Adam Delsenbach

12 Keller/Scheutz/Tersch 2005, 97.
13 Fleischer 1998; Gschwantler 2000, 163–164; Polleross 2005, 22.
14 http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=50832 (letzter Zugriff: 20.05.2015)
15 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Cod. Min. 71, fol. 59r; abgebildet etwa bei Polleross 2009, 108.

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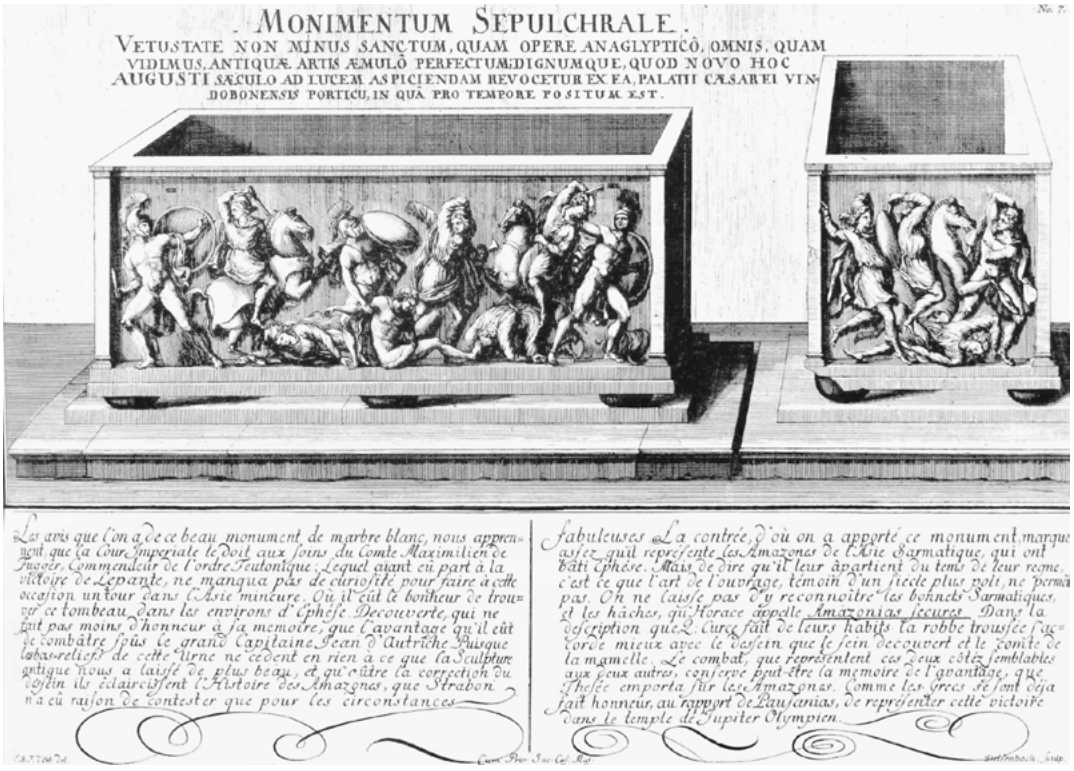

Abb. 3 Sogenannter Amazonensarkophag, Kupferstich von Johann Adam Delsenbach aus Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlachs „Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur“, 1721.

gestochene 7. Tafel des fünften Buches zeigt eine Längs- und eine Schmalseite und gibt an, dass der Sarkophag zu diesem Zeitpunkt, also im frühen 18. Jahrhundert, im „Palatii Caesarei Vindobonensis Porticu“ aufgestellt war, was mit der Ortsangabe in Johann Sebastians Müllers Beschreibung durchaus übereinstimmen könnte.

Der weitere Weg führte Müller und die Weimarer Gruppe „Ferner in einem gewölbten Gange / darinnen an beyden Seiten alte Römische aus Stein abgebildete Angesichter / und zwischen ieder eine Muschel / und halbe Rundung zum Spring-Wasser …“ Dieser gewölbte Korridor, der an beiden Seiten an den Wänden mit antik-römischen Büsten, die sich mit muschelförmigen Wandspringbrunnen abwechselten, ausgestattet war, verlief – am oberen, südöstlichen Ende des Gartens, gegenüber dem Galerietrakt – entlang des Komödiensaaltraktes (Abb. 2, Nr. 11). In dieser Beschreibung ist recht unvermittelt und lapidar der wichtige Hinweis enthalten, wo sich zumindest Teile der vielen gesammelten Büsten und sonstigen antiken Kunstwerke im 17. Jahrhundert befanden: In nicht öffentlichen Räumen und baulichen Anlagen, die der Rekreation der kaiserlichen Familie in unmittelbarer Nähe des Gartens dienten.

Es ist natürlich verlockend anzunehmen, dass es sich bei diesen Büsten um Porträts römischer Imperatoren[16], also um Vorgänger der Habsburger, gehandelt haben könnte. Am Erdgeschoß des Galerietraktes, der diesem Antikengewölbe gegenüber lag, waren in den Jahren nach 1640 enorm aufwändig Sale terrene und Grotten eingebaut und der untere Lustgarten angelegt worden. Zumindest eines der vier Gartenkompartimente war, so zeigt es ein Kupferstich, der in Vogelschau den südlichen Abschnitt Wiens samt der Hofburg im Jahr 1683 anlässlich der Türkenbelagerung

16 Maximilian II. betrieb in Weiterführung der Interessen seines Vaters eine rege Ankaufspolitik über seinen römischen Gesandten, den Grafen Prospero d’Arco; auch erhielt er diesbezügliche Geschenke von den Kardinälen Colonna, Farnese und d’Este wie auch von Papst Pius V. Gerade in Hinblick auf die Beobachtung des Weimarer Kanzlisten kann festgehalten werden, dass der ab 1556 in Wien als Hofantiquarius (und anderen Funktionen tätige) Mantuaner Gelehrte Jacopo Strada für Maximilian II. 12 Imperatorenbüsten erworben hat; siehe zusammenfassend Polleross 2006, 220–223 (dort auch alle weiterführende Literatur).

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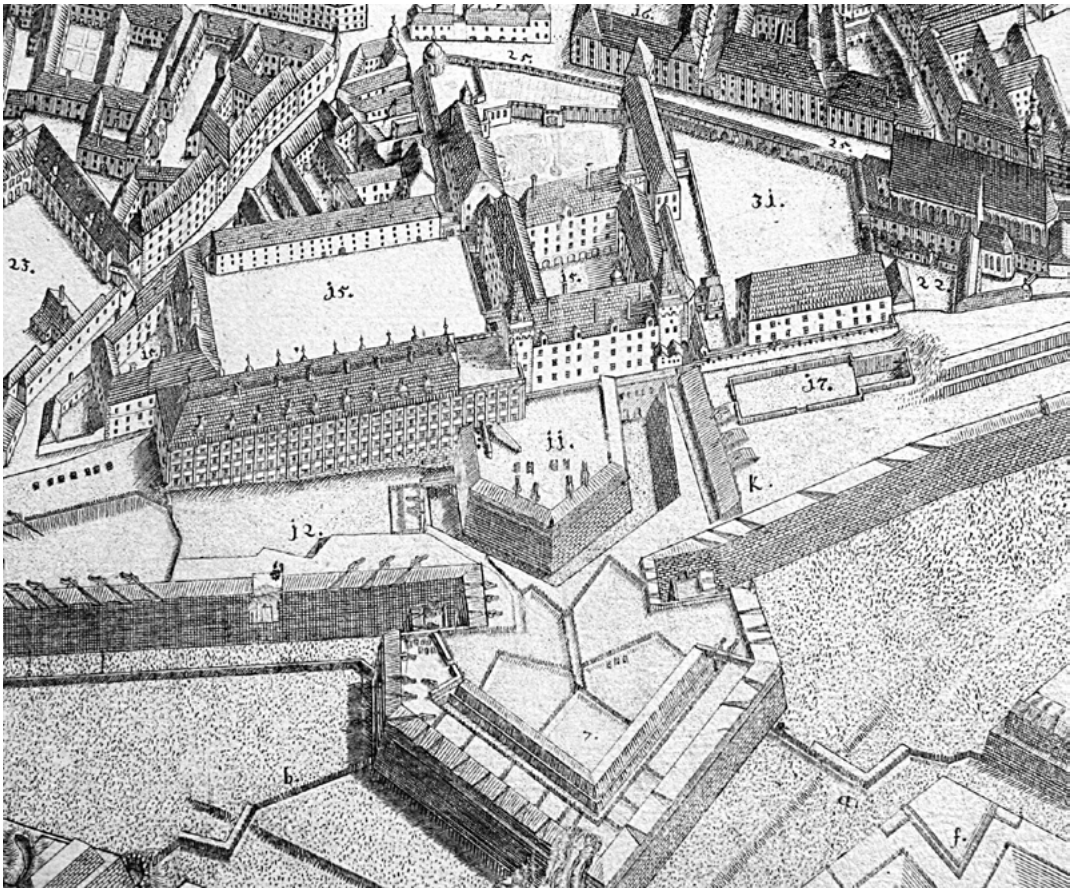

Abb. 4 Türkische Belagerung der Stadt Wien 1683. Ausschnitt mit der Hofburg aus dem Kupferstich von Daniel Suttinger.

darstellt, in Form des kaiserlichen Doppeladlers bepflanzt (Abb. 4). Fasst man diese schriftlichen wie bildlichen Hinweise zusammen, dann sind sie als deutliche Indizien zu werten, dass auch der innerste Nukleus des Hofburgkomplexes, die hermetisch von der Außenwelt abgeschirmte Gartenanlage mit ihren angrenzenden Baulichkeiten, ganz im Sinne dieses kaiserlich-cäsarisch-imperialen Bewusstseins gestaltet war.

In der späten Regierungszeit Kaiser Leopolds I. (reg. 1658–1705) lässt sich eine neue Strategie der Herstellung von Rom-Bezügen erkennen. Anknüpfungspunkte wurden nicht mehr bloß im alten Rom und an antiquarisch bedeutsamen Kunstwerken, sondern mit prominenten Vertretern der Kunstszene des gegenwärtigen Rom gesucht. Die zunehmende Bedeutung einer aktualisierten Verbindung zur ewigen Stadt und ihrer rezenten Kunst zeigte sich schon in der Karriere des Hofarchitekten Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723). Wichtige Voraussetzung für sie war der jahrelange Aufenthalt des Künstlers in Rom und seine Tätigkeit als Architekt im Umfeld von Gianlorenzo Bernini.[17] 1686 in die Heimat zurückgekehrt kam er schnell mit dem Kaiserhof in Verbindung. Er verfügte einerseits über hohes antiquarisches Wissen und war in Besitz des damaligen archäologischen Kenntnisstandes sowie der rezenten Theorien zur antiken Architektur. Und er verstand es andererseits, als produzierender Architekt die aktuelle römische Barockarchitektur (und deren Verankerung in den Regeln der Antike) in kaiserlich-imperiale Architektur auf Wiener Boden zu transformieren. Fischer von Erlach ist ohne Zweifel für das Interesse des Kaiserhofes am römischen Bau- und Kunstgeschehen mitverantwortlich.

Es ist deshalb gut möglich, dass er in die Kontaktaufnahme des Kaiserhofes mit dem römischen Architekten Carlo Fontana (1634–1714), Nachfolger Berninis und wichtigster Architekt der spät-

17 Sedlmayr 1976, 19–30; Lorenz 1992, 9–14.

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barocken Baukultur Roms, involviert war. In Künstlerbiographien zu Fontana, die im 18. Jahrhundert verfasst wurden, wird nämlich darauf hingewiesen, dass Fontana ein riesiges Hofstallgebäude, bestehend aus Pferdeställen und Kutschenremisen, für Kaiser Leopold I. geplant haben soll.[18] Die italienische Architekturforschung hat in späterer Folge auch vier Pläne, die Teil einer römischen Plansammlung, der Collezione Lanciani in der Bibliothek des Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, sind, dem Wiener Projekt zugeschrieben und sie in den Zeitraum zwischen 1690 und 1705 datiert.[19] Es handelt sich um einen 120 cm langen Faltplan einer riesigen Anlage, die aus Stallungen für 403 Pferde und Remisen für 52 Karossen bestehen sollte, weiter um einen Entwurf zweier Fassadenprospekte einer Wagenremise, einem Blatt mit Grundrissen der beiden Geschoße der Wagenremise (fol. 16r) und einen Teilgrundriss samt Querschnitt eines Pferdestalls (fol. 5v).[20] Allerdings ist es weder möglich, diese Pläne einem konkreten und geeigneten Areal in Wien zuzuordnen, noch Klarheit über die Detaildurchbildung des Stallgebäudes mit riesigem Bauvolumen zu gewinnen. Auch konnte keine einzige Wiener Schriftquelle zu den Planungen bzw. zu etwaigen ersten Umsetzungsschritten gefunden werden. Es gab aber einen enormen Bedarf an einer einheitlichen kaiserlichen Stallanlage, die eine derartige monumentale Planung durchaus sinnvoll machte. Die tatsächliche Unterbringung der Pferde erfolgte nämlich auf sehr unbefriedigende Weise in kaiserlichen und bürgerlichen Quartierstallungen, die über die ganze Stadt aufgeteilt waren. In den Quellen ist demnach schon 1659 ein derartiges Projekt fassbar, das die Errichtung eines riesigen Hofstallgebäudes vorsah, das etwa 300 kaiserliche Reit- und Zugpferde beherbergen sollte.[21]

Zu solchen aus der baulichen Wirklichkeit und den daraus resultierenden Desideraten gezogenen Argumenten, die die Notwendigkeit eines derartigen Projektes plausibel machen, gesellen sich auch nachweisbare konkrete Beziehungen, die Carlo Fontana in Rom und der Kaiserhof in Wien gerade in jenem Zeitraum, der als Entstehungszeit der Pläne (1690–1705) gilt, unterhalten haben. So widmete Fontana 1696 sein Traktat „Utilissimo trattato dell'acque correnti" dem Sohn Leopolds, dem römischen König Joseph I.; 1696 bestellte Fürst Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein über den kaiserlichen Gesandten beim Heiligen Stuhl, Graf Martinitz, bei Fontana Entwürfe für den geplanten Neubau eines Landschlosses im nordböhmischen Landskron (Lanškroun); 1702 wurde Fontana von Leopold I. in den Reichsgrafenstand erhoben und 1705 schließlich entwarf er für die römische Kirche Santa Maria dell'Anima das Trauergerüst für den verstorbenen Kaiser.

Der Auftrag an den Architekten wird wahrscheinlich aus Prestigegründen erfolgt sein, namentlich um die Lebendigkeit der – für die kaiserliche Identität des Hauses Habsburg so wichtigen – Achse Wien-Rom zu dokumentieren. Ob das Kaiserhaus damit tatsächliche Bauabsichten verfolgte oder diese Bestellung der Pläne in der Hauptsache politischer Natur war, kann aus gegenwärtiger Sicht nicht beantwortet werden. Zweifellos war Fontana als führender römischer Architekt und damit als ein Repräsentant Roms für den römisch-deutschen Kaiser und dessen imperiale Repräsentationsabsichten von besonderem Interesse. Schon die Tatsache, dass Fontana sein Traktat dem jungen römischen König Joseph I. gewidmet hat, war wichtiger Teil dieser römisch-kaiserlichen Kommunikation.

Dasselbe „römische Interesse" des Erzhauses wird wahrscheinlich auch dafür mitverantwortlich gewesen sein, dass der berühmte jesuitische Architekt und Maler Andrea Pozzo S. J. seine

18 Siehe ausführlich bei Karner 2014c; Pascoli 1736, 547–548: „Inventò trattanto un disegno per la cattedrale di Fulda, e gli su poi dal vescovo, cui molto piacque, commesso il modello. Altro mandò per certe rimesse, e stalle molto prima all' imperador Leopoldo e gli alzò quando morì il catafalco nella chiesa dell' Anima." Ähnlich auch Milizia 1785, 217: „Mandò a Fulda un modello per la Cattedrale, ed altri modelli a Vienna per le Stalle e Rimesse della Corte."

19 Donati 1942, 282: „Per costruzioni fuori di Roma il Fontana fornì parecchi disegni: ricorderemo quelli per le scuderie imperiali di Vienna, du cui abbiamo rinvenuto disegni nella collezioni Lanciani; i piani per il Palazzo Liechtenstein a Vienna, per la cattedrale di Fulda".

20 Rom, Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (INASA), Manoscritto Lanciani 101, fol. 1r, 4v, 5v, 16r.

21 Erstmals genannt bei Haupt 1984.

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Abb. 5 Wiener Hoftheater, Kupferstich vor 1716, von Johann Andreas Pfeffel und Christian Engelbrecht nach dem Entwurf von Francesco Galli Bibiena.

letzten Lebensjahre in Wien verbracht hat, wo er einer Reihe bedeutender Aufträge nachgekommen ist. Es war ein kaiserliches Interessensbündel aus realpolitischen wie religionspolitischen Gründen, das den Jesuiten veranlasst haben wird, noch im Alter über die Alpen in die Kaiserstadt zu reisen.[22] Neben der architektonischen Neugestaltung und Ausmalung der Wiener Jesuitenkirche und der Ausmalung des Festsaales des Wiener Gartenpalais der Fürsten Liechtenstein dürfte Pozzo – jedenfalls überzeugenden jüngeren Forschungen zufolge[23] – auch die Ausmalung des großen Hoftheaters anvertraut worden sein, das in den ersten Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts noch im Auftrag Leopolds von Francesco Galli Bibiena in den alten Theatertrakt der Wiener Hofburg eingebaut wurde (Abb. 5).

Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang entscheidend, dass mit Andrea Pozzo ein weiterer Repräsentant der römischen Hochkunst am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts – in diesem Fall sogar mit persönlicher Präsenz – in die Wiener Geschehnisse am Hof eingebunden wurde.

22 Siehe dazu zuletzt Karner 2007 sowie Karner 2012.

23 Lenzi/Bentini 2000, 309; Frank 2004, 207.

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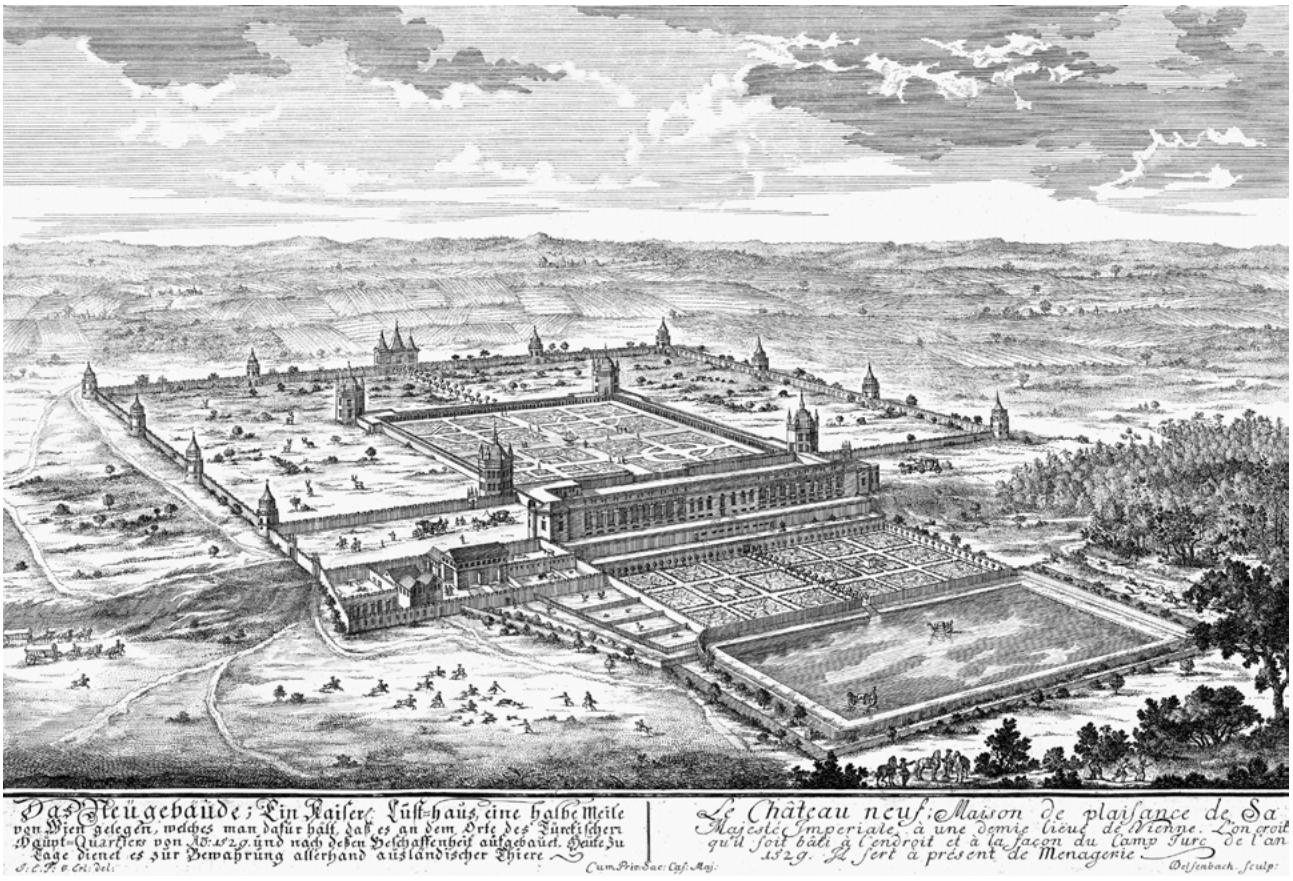

Abb. 6 Schloss Neugebäude bei Wien. Kupferstich von Johann Adam Delsenbach, 1719.

Von der Architektur der Wiener Hofburg kann lediglich der sogenannte „Reichskanzleitrakt" als ein römisches Manifest genannt werden, den Karl VI. vom Architekten Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach 1723–1730 errichten ließ[24]. Römisch ist er vor allem auf Grund des dichten ikonographischen Programms an der Fassade mittels Reliefs und plastischer Elemente.

Weiter ausgreifende architektonische Konzepte, die bautypologisch eine Anbindung an römisch-cäsarische Traditionen erkennen lassen, scheinen hingegen nur jene beiden Residenzen zu bestimmen, die außerhalb der Stadt Wien auf suburbanem Gebiet errichtet worden sind. Das sogenannte Neugebäude (Abb. 6) wurde ab 1568 südöstlich von Wien, weit vor den Stadttoren, von Kaiser Maximilian II. erbaut[25]. Es war eine riesige Anlage, bestehend aus Gärten mit unterschiedlichen Niveaus und Bepflanzungen, die von endlos scheinenden, von einer Vielzahl von runden wie oktogonalen Türmen rhythmisierten Mauerzügen eingefasst wurden. Dazu gehört ein monumentales, einflügeliges Gebäude, dessen heute noch begehbare, immense Raumkubatur hinsichtlich ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion (als „villa urbana"?) Anlass für verschiedene Theorien gab. Dieser mächtige Bau, der zwei riesige Säle enthält und von langen und monumentalen Arkadengängen mit turmartigen, massiven Eckpavillons gegliedert war, wurde in einer Studie von Wolfgang Lippmann vor wenigen Jahren in direktem typengeschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit antik-römischen Bauten, wie die Maxentius-Villa an der Via Appia oder den kaiserlichen Palast am Palatin, gebracht. Beide Bauten waren Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts gut bekannt und etwa in den Publikationen des Antiquars Onofrio Panvinio (1565) beschrieben, die wiederum von Jacopo Strada herausgegeben wurden. Strada stand in Wien als Antiquar und Architekt in den Diensten von Maximilian II. und

24 Matsche 2011.

25 Lietzmann 1987; Lippmann 2007; Szűcs 2012.

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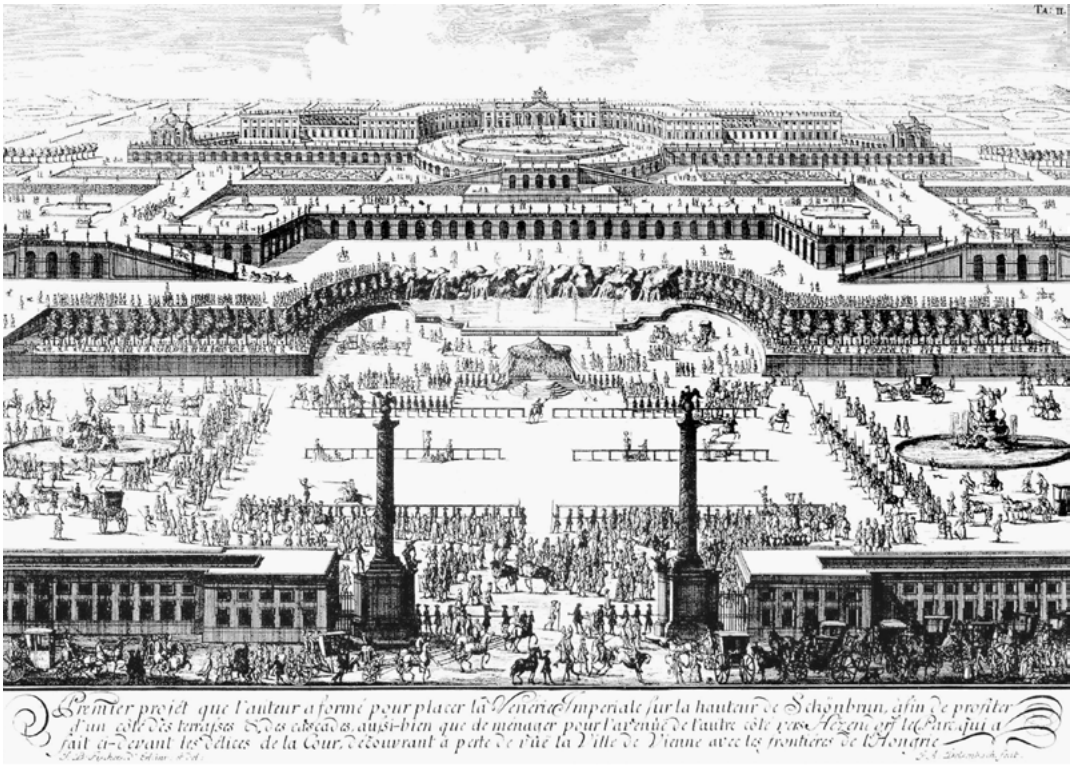

Abb. 7 Erster Entwurf von Schloss Schönbrunn. Kupferstich von Johann Adam Delsenbach nach Entwurf von Johann Bernhard Fischer, Fischer von Erlach, 1719.

dürfte als solcher auch das Neugebäude entworfen haben.[26] Die Rekonstruktion des Cäsarenpalastes am Palatin, wie sie Panvinio vorgenommen hat, zeigt unübersehbare Analogien zum Neugebäude mit langen Loggiengängen, die in der Mitte von einem Gebäude mit Räumen und Terrassen für den Kaiser unterbrochen wurden.

Mit dem Schloss Schönbrunn (Abb. 7), vor allem mit dessen ersten, nicht realisierten (und auch nicht realisierbaren) Projekt, ist ein weiterer Bau der Habsburger angesprochen, dessen typen- und motivgeschichtliche Verortung in hohem Maße mit der Orientierung an Rekonstruktionen einhergeht.[27] Diese von Fischer von Erlach in den 1690er Jahren für den römischen König und späteren Kaiser Josef I. (als Kaiser 1705–1711) entworfene Repräsentationsarchitektur thront als Abschluss einer monumentalen Terrassenanlage auf einem Hügelrücken. Sie ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit als Reaktion auf Versailles, das Schloss des französischen Widersachers der Habsburger, Ludwig XIV. zu begreifen, das mit römisch-imperialen Motiven angereichert und gleichzeitig überformt wird. Fischer selbst hat bekanntlich in seinem 1721 edierten druckgraphischen Werk „Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur“ die großen antiken Kaiserarchitekturen wie die „Domus Aurea“ in Rom oder den Diokletianspalast in Split rekonstruiert und den ersten wie den zweiten, zur Ausführung gelangten Entwurf für Schönbrunn ans Ende dieser Reihe gestellt. Ganz offen und direkt signalisierte er durch eine Reihe offensichtlicher Analogien zu diesen Gebäuden die Verbindlichkeit der antiken Baukunst für seine „historisierende“ Kaiserarchitektur, die er solcherart architekturgeschichtlich auflud und auf höchster hierarchischer Ebene nobilitierte.

Die Möglichkeit einer in der Literatur kurz angedachten Vorbildwirkung der topographischen Positionierung des Neugebäudes für Fischers Entwurf für Schönbrunn wird künftig noch zu diskutieren sein. Auf die Vermutung, dass die architektursprachliche Überhöhung und Überformung der beiden Palast-Architekturen durch das semantische Potential der römisch-imperialen Bau-

26 Zu Jacobo Strada siehe auch Anm. 16.

27 Schmitt 1990, 17–34; Sedlmayr 1976, 52. 221.

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kunst mit dem seit dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert nachweisbar kolportiertem „osmanischen" Kontext des Neugebäudes in Verbindung stehen könnte, soll abschließend noch eingegangen werden. Die Legende des Stiches von 1719 gibt folgende Information: „Ein Kaiserl: Lust-Haus, eine halbe Meile von Wien gelegen, welches man dafür hält, dass es an dem Orte des türkischen Haupt-Quartiers von anno 1529 und nach dessen Beschaffenheit aufgebauet. Heute zu Tage dienet es zur Bewahrung allerhand ausländischer Thiere." Dieser Hinweis nimmt Bezug auf eine Legende, die zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1636, also etwa 60 Jahre nach dem Baubeginn am Neugebäude, nachweisbar ist.[28] An der Stelle, an der das Neugebäude errichtet wurde, soll die Prunkzeltanlage des osmanischen Heerführers Süleyman gestanden haben, der 1529 vergeblich Wien belagert hatte. Bedingt durch einen frühen Wintereinbruch im Oktober des Jahres mussten die osmanischen Truppen übereilt abziehen und unter anderem die Zeltanlage des Heerführers zurücklassen. Aus nicht bekannten Gründen hat sich die Ansicht gebildet, dass dieses Prunkzelt sich exakt an der Stelle des später errichteten Schlosses befunden habe und das Schloss der Zelt- und Gartenanlage des Heerführers Sultan Süleymans nachgebaut worden wäre. Dieses am Neugebäude manifeste „Türken-Gedenken" gewinnt beträchtlich an Komplexität, da auch in der osmanischen Sagenwelt das Gebäude vor den Toren Wiens einen wichtigen Platz einnimmt. Im Jahr 1665 besuchte eine osmanische Großbotschaft den Wiener Hof. Im Gefolge des Großbotschafters befand sich der Reisende Evliyâ Çelebi, dessen vielbändiges, in deutscher Übersetzung „Fährtenbuch" genanntes Werk über seine ausgedehnten Reisen in die europäischen und asiatischen Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches noch heute wichtigen Quellencharakter besitzt. Im 7. Buch, das die Wienreise von 1665 behandelt, widmet er sich ausführlich der Zeltburg Süleymans. Çelebi schreibt: „Sultan Süleymans Zeltburg aber wurde von den Giauren [= den Ungläubigen] abgebrochen und als Siegestrophäe in ihre Schatzkammer gebracht. An der Stelle jedoch, wo die Zeltburg gestanden hatte, errichteten sie dieses schmucke und stattliche Schloss in gigantischer Steinbauweise, das in seiner kunstvollen Anlage und mit seinen entzückenden Formen ein getreues Abbild dieser Zeltburg darstellt. Es soll aber nicht zur Abwehr eines Angriffs in Kriegszeiten dienen, sondern ist als ein großartiges Triumphmal erbaut worden, zur glorreichen Erinnerung daran, dass sie Sultan Süleyman gezwungen hatten, hier vor der Festung sein Prunkzelt zurückzulassen. (...) Dieser herrlichste aller Lustgärten liegt auf einer Anhöhe vor dem Kleinen Deutschen Gebirge, einen guten Kanonenschuss von der Festung Wien entfernt. Dass aber die Giauren diesem Garten so große Ehrerbietung zollen und dort das Schloss mit dem Garten angelegt haben, das geht alles nur darauf hinaus, dass sie sich brüsten wollen: Bis hierher ist Sultan Süleyman, der Herr über ein derart prächtiges Staats- und Thronzelt, gezogen gekommen (...). Aber so Allah der Allerhabene es will, ist all dieses letzten Endes ja doch wieder für uns erbaut worden: Allah gebe es, dass es endlich dem Islam anheim falle".[29]

Die Frage nach den Umständen der offensichtlichen gegenseitigen Beeinflussung Wiener und osmanischer Legendenbildung ist interessant, soll uns hier aber nicht beschäftigen. Wichtig in unserem Zusammenhang ist, dass der angebliche Ort der Zeltanlage des muslimischen „Erbfeindes" des Hauses Habsburg als Verteidiger des christlichen Glaubens mit einer monumentalen, römisch-kaiserlich orientierten Architektur besetzt worden ist – gewissermaßen als steinernes, vom Sieger errichtetes „Tropaion".

Damit schließt sich auch der Kreis zu der eingangs genannten Trias europäischer Städte: Wien, Rom und Konstantinopel. Weil sie Hauptstädte des christlich-römischen Reiches waren, hatten sie auch in der „Mythologie" der Osmanen große Bedeutung. Handelte es sich bei ihnen doch um jene „Goldenen Äpfel", die wichtige Ziele in den Expansionsplänen der osmanischen Dynastie gewesen waren: Das als uneinnehmbar gegolten habende Konstantinopel; Rom als Residenzstadt des Papstes, des Stellvertreters des christlichen Gottes auf Erden; und schließlich Wien, Residenzstadt des römisch-deutschen Kaisers.

28 Siehe ausführlich Karner 2010, bes. 118–121.

29 Übersetzung von Kreutel 1963; zitiert nach Teply 1975, 5.

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Abbildungsnachweis

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Ekaterina Boltunova

Imperial Throne Halls and Discourse of Power in the Topography of Early Modern Russia (late 17th–18th centuries)

The development of the Russian topography of power, that is, monarchical representation in palaces, cathedrals, tombs, administrative buildings etc. was completed by the mid-19th century. It was well thought out, elaborate and thoroughly centred on the tsar/emperor.

Furthermore, what we might call the Russian discourse of power was realised in the topography of both capitals and in some important outlying districts. In the "old" capital, Moscow, the important places are in the Kremlin: the Terem Palace (*Teremnoy Dvorets*), Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*), Great Palace, the tombs of the imperial dynasties, cathedrals) as well as in some country residences (*Kolomenskoe*, *Lefortovo*). Here the representation of supreme power was linked to pre-imperial traditional and ecclesiastical culture. The "new" capital (St Petersburg), on the contrary, was intended to convey the perception of imperial, Europe-centered power. The complex of buildings that represented sovereign power is striking: the Romanovs' *Letny* (Summer) and *Zimny* (Winter) Palaces, the *Anichkov, Mramorny,* and *Tavrichesky* Palaces, the Peter and Paul (*Petropavlovsky*) Fortress, the monastery of St Alexander Nevsky (*Lavra*), as well as numerous state buildings and residences in the outskirts of St Petersburg such as *Peterhoff, Pavlovsk, Garchina, Oranienbaum, Tsarskoe Selo,* and *Strelna*.

Throughout the period of Muscovite Russia (pre-18th century) and in the early period of the Russian Empire (18th century) topographical elements in the various categories of power coexisted in a mutual and interdependent way. However, at the centre were the monarch's palaces and, more precisely, throne halls. The position of the tsar/emperor in such rooms marked the most important power zone and determined the manner of representation. The study of throne hall symbolism will add much to the understanding of the Russian idealistic concept of power.

At present it is common practice in the anthropological and cultural historiography to consider the characteristics of space. Russian studies have contributed greatly to this fast-growing field. The topography of St Petersburg is examined by many scholars who study Russian history of the 18th century (Paul Bushkovich[1], James Cracraft[2], Grigory Kaganov[3], Lindsey Hughes[4], Dmitry Shvidkovsky[5]). Sacred topography is subjected to careful interpretation in research on the Russian church and culture (Andrei Batalov, Leonid Belyaev, Alexei Lidov[6]). Various issues of space are also investigated in the context of imperial representation and ceremonial (Michael Fleier[7], Richard Krautheimer[8], Daniel Rouland[9], Richard Wortman[10]). Over the last decades a number of significant publications have appeared on conventional Russian perceptions of categories such as "east – west", "left – right" (Alexandr Podosinov[11], Boris Uspenskii[12]).

1 Bushkovich 2008.
2 Cracraft 2003; *id*. 2004.
3 Kaganov 1997.
4 Hughes 1998; *id*. 2003.
5 Shvidkovsky 2007; *id*. 1996.
6 Batalov/Lidov 1994; Batalov/Beliaev 1998, Batalov 2003.
7 Flier 2003; Rowland 2008; *id*. 2003.
8 Krautheimer 1983.
9 Dunning/Martin/Rowland 2008.
10 Wortman 1995; *id*. 2004.
11 Podosinov 1999; *id*. 2000.
12 Uspensky 1998; *id*. 2004; id. 2006.

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Fig. 1 Cathedral Square of the Moscow Kremlin, with the Faceted Chamber in the centre. Lithograph copy (1856) of a miniature from the book *The Election of Mikhail Feodorovich to the Throne*, 1672.

The collected data suggests that despite the diversity of monarchical images in the pre-imperial and imperial periods, one can identify certain spatial characteristics and features of the visual display of power topography which were preserved notwithstanding the political and historical change. Some of these features were crucial to the perception of power.

Most important of all, imperial power was viewed and presented as sacred. The construction and functioning of imperial buildings was marked by the four cardinal directions (north, east, south, and west). Throughout the late 17th and 18th century we note the widespread usage of placing the throne on the eastern side of palaces – most often against the eastern wall of the throne hall – so that the monarch sitting on the throne had his back to the east.

This tradition had emerged already in the time of tsardom. Take for example the visual display of the tsar and tsardom in the best known representative space of the Moscow Kremlin, the Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*)[13]. This 15th century seat of the Russian monarchs continued to be used in the imperial period for audiences, embassy receptions, banquets; it held governmental importance during the Soviet period; and it now serves as a part of the official residence of the Russian president.

This oldest surviving secular building of the Kremlin is a remnant of a great palace commissioned by Tsar Ivan III and designed by two Renaissance architects, Marco Ruffalo and Pietro Solario[14]. The building received this name because to its distinctive stonework façade overlooking Cathedral Square (*Sobornaya Ploschad*) (Fig. 1).

When the hall was constructed it was the largest in the country (495 m^2). Inside it was lavishly decorated with murals on biblical themes and scenes from the history of the first Russian ruling dynasty, the *Rurikoviches*.

13 English translation of the name can vary to the Hall of Facets or the Place of Facets.

14 Though the absolute priority was always given to the Faceted Chamber, at the end of the 17th century, there were at least four "tsar's places" used for ceremonial purposes in state and private buildings of the Moscow Kremlin – in the Palace of Facets (*Granovitaia Palata*), the Table (Big) Room of the Quay Chamber (*Stolovaya Izba Naberezhnikh Palat*), Golden Chamber (*Zolotaya Palata*) and Terem Palace (*Teremnoy Dvorets*) (Flier 2003, Uzefovich 1988, 98–99).

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Fig. 2 Banquet in the Faceted Chamber. Lithograph copy (1856) of a miniature from the book *The Election of Mikhail Feodorovich to the Throne*, 1672.

The Chamber is square in plan with a thick rectangular pillar at the centre that carries the high vaults and constitutes a striking feature of the representational space.

In the *Granovitaya Palata* the throne of the tsar/emperor was always placed in the south-eastern corner against the eastern wall (Fig. 2). The connotation here was to the so-called "red corner" (*krasnii ugol*), the particular spot in any traditional Russian dwelling where icons were kept. The tsar sitting on the throne had his back to the east. Those entering the Chamber to meet the ruler, such as members of foreign embassies, were obliged to walk first to the south and then turn and continue towards the east. This motion was customary in the Russian Orthodox church ceremonial whilst moving around a font, a lectern or a church itself. Reproduced here inside the main throne hall, this motion symbolised the sacred nature of the ruler on the throne[15]. The supposition that the south-east location of the throne in the Kremlin Chamber goes back to Byzantine tradition is held generally in the historiography[16].

The discourse of power required certain interdependence in the organisation and structuring of internal and external space. We note also that if one looks outside into Cathedral Square (*Sobornaya Ploschad*) one sees that on the tsar/emperor's left stood the Annunciation Cathedral (*Blagoveschensky sobor*), the ruling dynasty's domestic church, and on his right was the Cathedral of the Dormition (*Uspensky sobor*), the spiritual and cultural centre of the country, the venue of coronations, major church celebrations and other activities of dynastic and governmental importance[17].

An imperial topography of power came into being when the Russian Empire was officially proclaimed by Tsar Peter I in 1721. Throughout the 18th century numerous throne halls were constructed including also thrones in churches, cathedrals, palaces, and administrative buildings, both in Moscow and in the new imperial capital St Petersburg which quickly grew in importance.

The notion of monarchical self-presentation changed significantly. Henceforth the non-central location of the throne was eliminated. In the 18th century, following European tradition, the

15 Pchelov 2006.
16 Uzefovich 1988, 98.
17 Pchelov 2006, 107–109.

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Fig. 3 St George's Hall in the Winter Palace, St Petersburg. Watercolour by Konstantin Ukhtomskij, 1862.

dominant position of the imperial throne in the Romanovs' palaces was in the centre of a wall between windows[18]. Likewise, imperial throne halls became more spacious and no longer had any structural obstacles preventing the view of the emperor. The old indirect ceremonial approach towards the emperor's throne was replaced by a direct one. Nevertheless, throne halls in the era of Absolutism inherited some distinctive features from previous notions of the topography of power, in particular from the Faceted Chamber of the Kremlin.

One of the most actively used throne halls in imperial Russia was that of the Winter Palace (*Zimny Dvorets*) (1754–1762, Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli). The Great Throne Hall, also known as St George's Hall (*Georgievsky zal*), was designed by Giacomo Quarenghi between 1787 and 1795 and was officially opened in 1795, on the day of St George (26 November) (Fig. 3). This great hall (800 m^2) decorated with double Corinthian pink marble columns was located at the eastern end of the Winter Palace. Following old, pre-imperial tradition, a distinctive throne of the empress Catherine II with allegorical figures holding a shield beneath Catherine's monogram stood at the far end of the room, at the eastern wall. The notion of the sacred power of the monarch was further enhanced by the position of St George's Hall beside the Great Church of the Winter Palace. Thereby the emperor's throne was placed in a parallel position to the Great Church's altar, and thus one's approach toward the monarch was in alignment with the Palace's spiritual centre.

Another important issue both in the pre-imperial and imperial period was the demonstration of the continuity of power. In the Faceted Chamber of the Kremlin the throne was arranged for the symbolic justification of power. On the wall behind the throne of the tsar/emperor were murals depicting the first three Russian princes, among them Rurik, founder of the first royal dynasty (Fig. 4). Moreover, the ruler on the throne in the Faceted Chamber had at his back the Cathedral of

18 The off-centre, south-eastern corner location of the throne in the Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*) remained intact until the end of the Russian Empire in 1917 (Boltunova 2011, 151–162).

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Fig. 4 The Faceted Chamber, interior, with murals at the Eastern Wall.

the Archangel Michael (*Arkhangelsky sobor*) containing the tombs of his dynastic ancestors who, giving him, as it were, their support and authority[19].

In front of the monarch was the Chamber itself, and in the wall opposite the throne was an upper window opening onto an adjoining room from which the women and children of the tsar/emperor's family, including the heir, observed the proceedings in secret. The ceremonial in the hall was organised in such a way that whoever approached the ruler could not see any female members of his family. The ruler however could see everything that was happening in front of him. Furthermore, in the broader perspective, across the square from the Chamber, on a higher level, was the

19 Nasibova 1978, 58–59; Pchelov 2006, 107–109.

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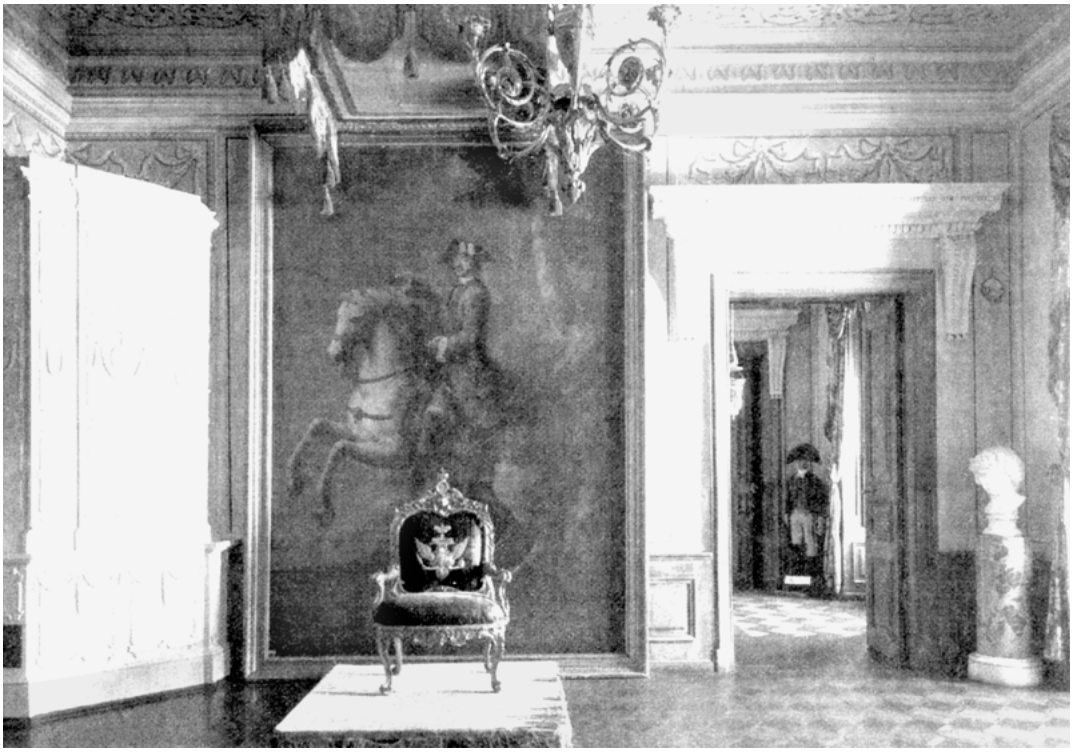

Fig. 5 Lower throne hall of the emperor Paul I, St Petersburg. Photograph taken before 1941.

Terem Palace (*Teremnoy Dvorets*), the sovereign's residence from the late 15th to 17th century. Thus, the space surrounding the tsar/emperor, in which the discourse of power took place, was filled with his predecessors.

Reference to ancestors in zones of imperial power continued to be perceived as necessary in the 18th century. More specifically, we note that in St Petersburg the arrangement of throne halls was conceived in relation to the Cathedral of Sts Peter and Paul (*Petropavlovsky sobor*), the burial place of the Romanovs in the new capital.

The symbolism of St George's Hall (*Georgievskii zal*) in the Winter Palace followed the old pattern. Catherine II's imperial throne here was placed at the eastern wall. On Catherine's right, within the Palace, were the apartments occupied by her grandson, the Grand Duke Alexander, a potential heir to the throne; and outside was the Cathedral of Sts Peter and Paul (*Petropavlovskii Sobor*). The position of the throne represented the ruler's relation to ancestors and descendants alike. And on her left was the Palace Square (*Dvortsovaya Ploschad*), the central space of the capital and of the entire empire, venue for events of military and governmental importance and symbol of imperial state itself. In front of the throne hall stood the Admiralty, signifying the power of the empire at sea – possibly also forward movement. Behind the throne was the Winter House of Peter the Great, founder of the empire.

Interestingly, in the 18th century the dynasty's perception of itself and crucial points of its history were restructured. In the imperial period the key figure of reference was no longer the founder of the Russian state and first prince, Rurik, nor the founder of the Romanov dynasty, tsar Michael Fedorovich, but the absolute ruler and first emperor Peter I, whose image dominated Russian symbolic topography throughout the 18th century[20]. By the end of the century portraits of this emperor who does not seem to have had a clear perception of ceremonial space during his own rule[21] appeared as an integral part of many throne halls. The Lower Throne Hall (*Tronnaia nizhnikh apartamentov*)

20 Boltunova 2006, *ead*. 2008.

21 Boltunova 2008.

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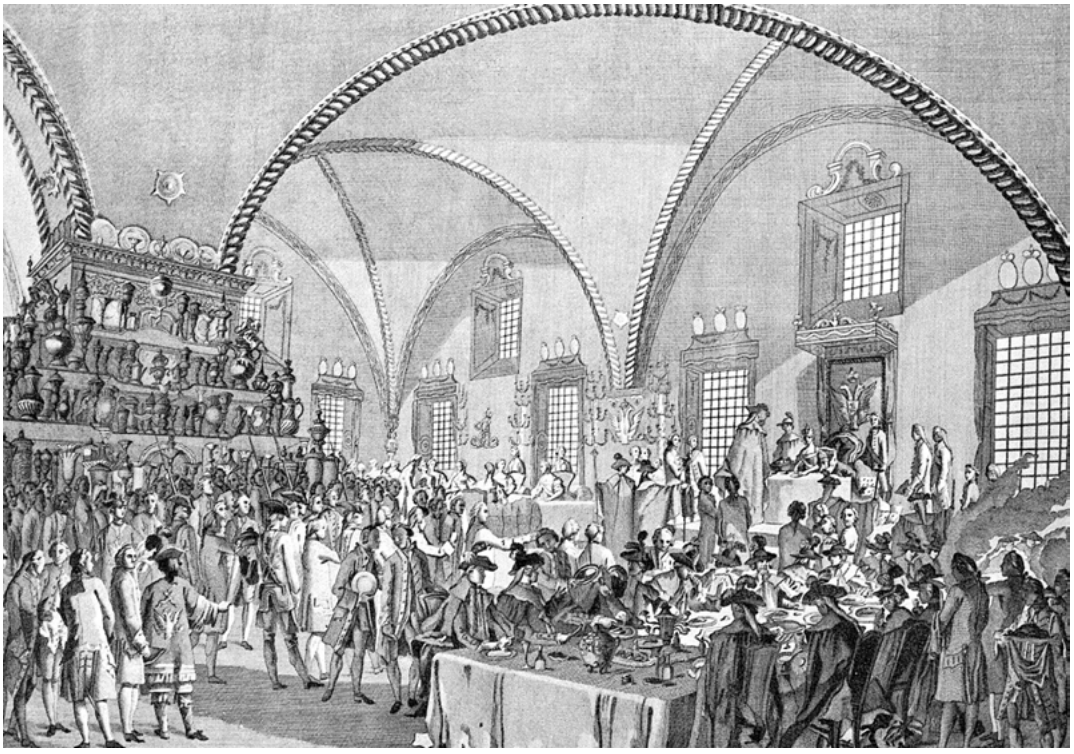

Fig. 6 Coronation banquet in the Faceted Chamber. Engraving after the drawing by Mikhailo Mahkaev, 1767.

in the palace of *Gatchina* of Paul I[22] had a portrait of Peter I directly behind the throne, the place usually taken by the two-headed eagle, the empire's coat of arms (Fig. 5).[23]

Russian throne halls of the 18th–19th centuries were often decorated with a whole series of the Romanovs' portraits, a parallel to the murals of the Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*) portraying not only prophets and evangelists but also the first Muscovite princes. One of the anterooms (*avanzal*) leading to Catherine II' s throne hall, in a southeast risalit of the Winter Palace, was decorated with portraits of the dynasty from Tsar Alexey Mihailovich to Catherine herself[24]. The throne hall in the Great Palace at *Peterhoff* was a kind of imperial gallery. The portraits here were placed between windows and – a selected group (Peter I, Catherine I, Anna and Elizabeth) – over the doors. In addition to invoking the ruler's predecessors as confirmation of legitimate power, this system provided possibilities for self-positioning. Catherine II's thrones were often decorated with portraits of the empress herself. After her death, however, this custom was abandoned.

Also of interest in this period is the reevaluation of the old capital's representational space. Whilst the dynasty's country residences around Moscow were still much frequented, the Kremlin complex was now used mainly for coronations. From the beginning of the 18th century ceremonies in the Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*) became less frequent, reflecting the emerging ideology of empire. Moreover, during the first century of the empire this major throne hall was gradually recoded from a tsarist to an imperial mode. At Catherine I's coronation in 1724 its walls were covered with tapestries; and later it was hung with dark-cherry coloured velvet with golden

22 This throne was placed on the lower level of the residence and was considered to be a secondary to that in the High Throne Hall (*Verhniaia Tronnaia*) and Golden (*Chesmensky*) gallery. We note that it was a tradition of the Muscovite Tsars to arrange ceremonial spaces on the second floor of a building. This practice survived into the time of Peter I and his descendants (Lefortov [*Petrovsky*], Menshikov, Winter Palaces, St Michael's Castle). Throne rooms were also placed on the first floor, but they were few in number and never gained significant importance.

23 Makarov/Petrov 2007, 105.

24 Ageeva 2007, 589.

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Fig. 7 The Holy Antechamber, with painting "Constantine's vision of the Cross" by Fyodor Zavyalov, 1847.

double-headed eagles. The old paintings relating the story of the dynasty in allegory as part of sacred history seemed excessive and thoroughly un-imperial (Fig. 6).

It should also be noted that the Russian topography of power in general, and the throne halls in particular, were arranged with regard to military discourse. This perception was conveyed through the name, functional usage and décor of the ceremonial space of the throne halls. On the way to the Faceted Chamber, the tsars' visitors passed through the Red Porch (*Krasnoe Kriltso*) and then the so-called Holy Antechamber (*Sviatie seni*), a spacious, bright hall that served as waiting room. The historical murals in the Antechamber contained symbolic references to Christianity, the Orthodox tsar's power and Orthodoxy's inevitable victory over its enemies. All this was meant to send a clear message to foreign envoys. One of the paintings placed prominently on the wall opposite the entrance was "The Vision of the Cross seen by the emperor Constantine". This depicted the legend of the first Christian emperor's vision in the sky before the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge (Fig. 7). Tellingly, this composition was restored in 1678 for the reception of a Polish embassy[25].

In the course of the 18th century there was a great proliferation of war symbols in lavish décor of representational space. Major ceremonial halls and also adjoining chambers often bore names with military implications, such as "Field Marshal Hall" (*Feldmarshalskiy zal*) and "Armorial Hall" (*Gerboviy zal*) in the Winter Palace (Fig. 8). Moreover, a tradition developed of naming throne halls in honour of St George, patron of the Russian military and reference to the first emperor-warrior Peter the Great who was always presented in heroic guise. In the early 19th century this practice culminated in the famous Military Gallery which contains still to-day more than three hundred portraits of generals who took part in the victory over Napoleon in 1812–1813 (Fig. 9). This gallery replaced several small rooms in the main block of the Winter Palace and was used as a waiting room. Just a few steps from the throne hall, it can be compared with the Holy Antechamber (*Sviatie seni*) of the Faceted Chamber where wall paintings were likewise intended to evoke the Russian tsar's military power.

25 Zabelin 1990, 217.

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Fig. 8 Armorial Hall in the Winter Palace, St Petersburg. Painting by Adolf Ladurner, 1838.

The collected data show that the topography of power in early modern Russia was conceived not only according to principles of emblematic décor but also hierarchy of colour. Gold and red were seen as colours of the sovereign and dominated in the imperial period (interior décor, ceremonial furniture such as coronation chairs, canopies, dresses, etc). These colours were considered complementary to one another and were often interchanged. The porch leading to the Terem Palace (*Teremnoi Dvorets*) in the Kremlin is called in the sources either the Gold or Red Porch[26].

Notions of solar light were also of particular significance. The place of the throne between windows in the Faceted Chamber (*Granovitaya Palata*) is perhaps the best example. The central pillar prevented the view of a monarch from the opposite side of the Chamber. Thus, those coming toward the tsar could see him only halfway along the ceremonial path, as if then beholding the appearance of the sun. The effect was certainly intentional, as ceremonies in the Faceted Chamber normally took place in the morning, with the sun shining in the windows beside the throne. This solar imagery of the sovereign is elaborated also in the literary sources of the time[27].

We might also remark that the arrangement of the windows meant that the eastern side of the chamber, where the tsar sat, was the best lighted, in comparison to the dimmer western side with the internal window of the Hidden Place (*Tainik),* reserved as "female space". Later, following the great fire of 1684, the damaged Faceted Chamber was restored and the relatively small windows divided by columns on the lower level were considerably widened, providing the Chamber with better illumination[28].

The same tendency is observed in the arrangement of imperial throne halls in St Petersburg. The most important of these were located in the brightest and most spacious galleries, with two sets of large windows, in the upper and lower storeys of the walls on both sides. Further, the European Baroque practice of combining windows and mirrors was applied in order to enlarge the

26 Vueva/Romanenko 2003, 71.
27 Pchelov 2006, 107.
28 Vueva/Romanenko 2003, 53.

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Fig. 9 Military Gallery in the Winter Palace, St Petersburg. Painting by Grigory Chernetsov, 1827.

room visually. In the 18th century red and gold remained the primary colours of the monarch. The first palace in St Petersburg, that of Peter I's wife Catherine I, apparently situated on the place of the present-day Rossi Pavilion in the *Mikhailovsky* garden, was called the Golden Palace (*Zolotie palaty*), though the only golden element of its exterior was a small lantern on the roof[29].

In conclusion, notwithstanding the political changes which stressed or underplayed certain features, the Russian topography of power from the early 17th to the 18th century demonstrated great continuity in the transition from Moscow to St Petersburg, from tsardom to empire. The throne of the Russian sovereign was positioned in a way to exhibit supreme power, on the one hand linked with pre-imperial secular and ecclesiastical tradition and, on the other, strongly bound up with the notions of dynasty and military power.

29 Dubiago 1963, 86–87.

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Fig. 3. 8. 9: Tatiana Sokolova (1982), *Zdania i zali Ermitazha*. Leningrad.
Fig. 5: Makarov/Petrov 2007.

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Katharina Krause

„Vous y verrez l'Ancienne et la Nouvelle Rome“. Versailles als Summe aller Paläste

> Versailles seul suffit pour assurer à jamais à la France la gloire qu'elle a à présent de surpasser tous les autres royaumes dans la science des bâtiments. … C'est dans cette Maison royale et charmante que vous êtes invité à venir, Peuples de la terre, curieux et savants. Vous y verrez l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome; vous y verrez tout ce que le monde a jamais et de beau et de surprenant. Admirez-y l'habilité, le savoir, la conduite et la delicatesse des ouvriers. Admirez-y la grandeur, la somptuosité, la magnificence et la libéralité du prince; et avouez que Versailles efface tous les palais enchantés de l'histoire et la fable.[1]

Als Laurent Morellet 1681 den ersten Führer zu Versailles verfasst und veröffentlicht, steht Ludwig XIV. auf dem Höhepunkt seiner außenpolitischen Erfolge: Mit dem Frieden zu Nimwegen von 1678/79 hat er die Ausdehnung Frankreichs an den Grenzen im Süden und im Westen gesichert. Im selben Jahr werden die Bauarbeiten am Louvre eingestellt. Auf ein angemessenes Stadtschloss in Paris verzichtet die französische Monarchie damit für Jahrhunderte – bis zu Napoléon III. Versailles wird zum Sitz des Hofes erklärt, das bisherige Landhaus wird Residenz – und erstmals in der Geschichte Europas ist ein Landsitz Palast, Herrschersitz einer der Großmächte dieser Epoche (Abb. 1).[2]

Das bestehende Gebäude muss hierfür nicht nur erheblich erweitert und entsprechend neu dekoriert, es muss auch vollkommen neu interpretiert werden. Das kleine Buch von Morellet zeigt die Schwierigkeit dieser Aufgabe an. Denn Versailles entspricht in kaum einem Punkt den Erwartungen, die man an ein „Palais“ stellen kann. Dies ist schon von den Zeitgenossen bemerkt und in der modernen Forschung vielfach erörtert worden. Versailles „versagt“ nach beiden Maßstäben – einem modernen Maßstab, der Fragen einer Bautypologie nach formalen Eigenschaften berücksichtigt, und einem Maßstab der eigenen Epoche, der Bauten nach Funktionen definiert, sie aber vor allem als Fragen der Angemessenheit, des Decorums, betrachtet.

Die neuzeitliche Geschichte des Bautypus „Palast“ kann ich hier nicht nachzeichnen. An einem Beispiel sei statt dessen aufgezeigt, wie ein Palast als Sitz einer Familie von Aristokraten um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts auszusehen hatte. Die markanteste Formulierung für die Fassade fand Gianlorenzo Bernini mit dem Palazzo Chigi an der Piazza Santi Apostoli in Rom: Das Gebäude ist insgesamt dreigeschossig und schließt mit einem monumentalen Kranzgesims, hinter dem das Dach verborgen ist. Das Erdgeschoss bildet eine Art Sockel, auf dem die Kolossalordnung aufruht, die mit Pilastern korinthischer Ordnung die beiden Wohngeschosse zusammenfasst.[3] Unzählige Varianten dieser Fassadengestaltung sollten in Italien, im Reich und in Skandinavien errichtet werden. In Paris sind die Beispiele seltener – und das hat nicht nur mit einer anderen Bautradition, sondern auch mit der Konkurrenz von Italienern und Franzosen um den Königspalast in Paris, den Louvre, zu tun.[4]

Nach der alten, nicht formalen, sondern funktionalen Definition des Palastes hatte Versailles bessere Chancen, zum Modellfall für einen modernen Palast zu werden: Denn danach war ein Palais nichts anderes als der Wohnsitz des Fürsten.[5] Über die Angemessenheit der Fassadengestaltung für den König Frankreichs konnte man jedoch bereits im 17. Jahrhundert trefflich streiten.

1 Combes 1681, 1.

2 Die Literatur zu Versailles ist umfangreich. An dieser Stelle werden nur neuere Werke angeführt, die zur ersten Orientierung dienen können: Berger 1985; Walton 1986; Sabatier 1999; Tiberghien 2002; Arizzoli/Clémentel 2009, Gady 2009; Da Vinha 2009; Gady 2011.

3 Waddy 1990, 313–315, Abb. 200.

4 Krause 1996, 41–42.

5 Furetière 1690 s.v. Palais: „Demeure royale, nom qu'on donne generalement aux maisons des Rois et des Princes.“

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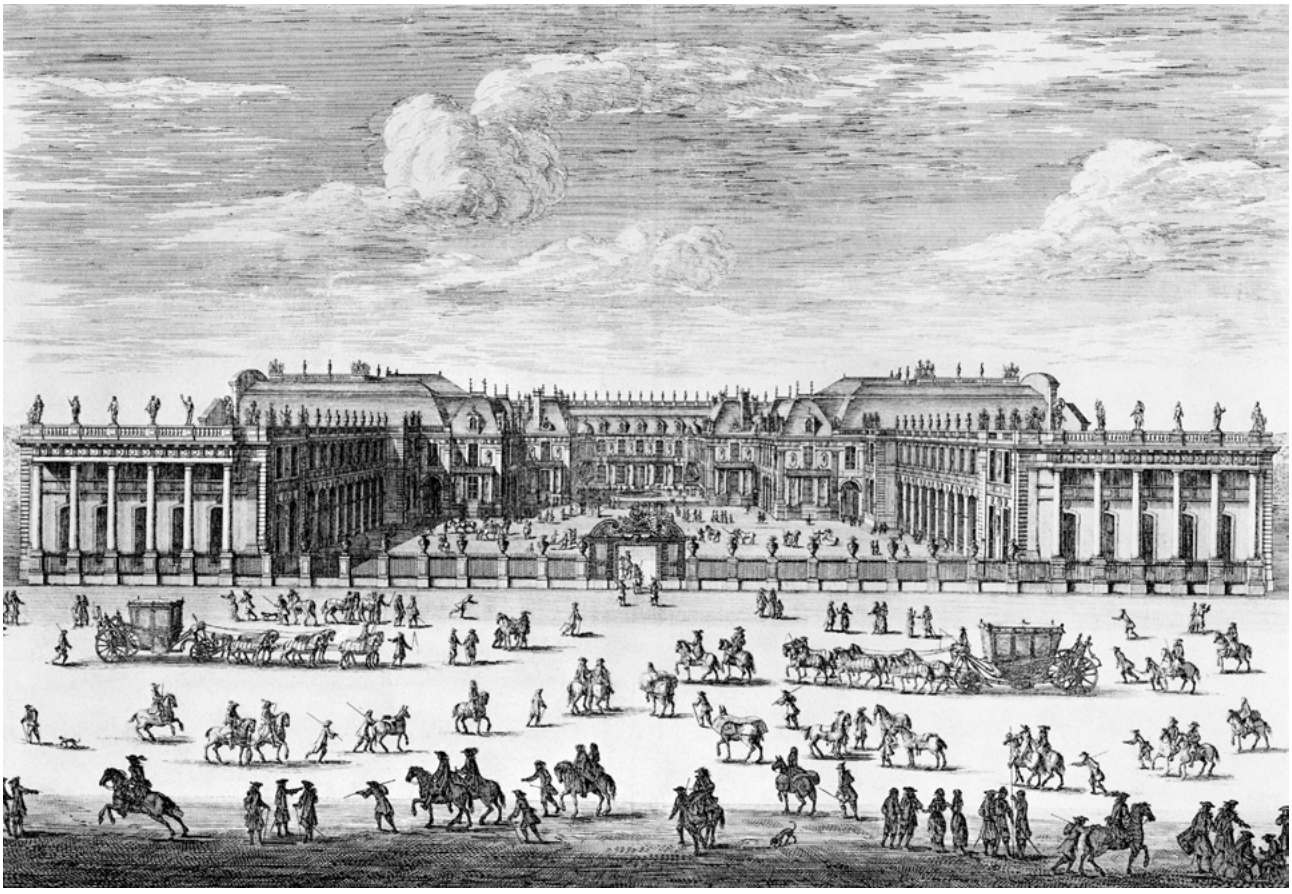

Abb. 1 Das Schloss von Versailles: Ansicht von Osten, Zustand 1674, Radierung von Israël Silvestre.

Allerdings trafen sich die moderne bautyplogische und alte funktionale Definition in einem Aspekt – und dieser traf und trifft auf Versailles nicht zu: Ein Palast ist der Familien- und Herrschersitz in der Stadt. Versailles aber liegt auf dem Land, mehrere Stunden Kutschfahrt von der Hauptstadt Paris entfernt.

Viele Entscheidungen zum Ausbau und zur Ausgestaltung von Versailles in den Jahren bis 1680 wurden aus den wachsenden Anforderungen des Königs und seines Hofs in pragmatischer Weise getroffen. Einige wesentliche Schritte dieser Ausdehnung von Versailles möchte ich vorstellen, wobei mich zwei Aspekte leiten: 1. Die Bemühungen der französischen Künstler, im Auftrag des Königs und seiner Beamten eine nationale Formensprache zu finden. Diese Formensprache entstand in dem Bewusstsein, dass das Frankreich Ludwigs XIV. in einem harten Wettbewerb mit dem antiken wie auch dem modernen Rom stehe. So galt es, neben der kontinuierlichen baukünstlerischen Arbeit an den Aufträgen des Königshauses auch den Führungsanspruch in der Architekturtheorie zu legitimieren und eine neue, französische Säulenordnung zu entwickeln.[6] 2. Das kontrastierende Thema von Kriegführung und Bautätigkeit im Frieden, die einander abwechseln, einander bedingen und gleichermaßen zu den Aufgaben des Fürsten gehören und zu seinem Ruhm beitragen.[7]

1668, am Ende eines aus französischer Sicht erfolgreich verlaufenen Krieges und zu Beginn einer Friedensphase, hatte Ludwig XIV. die Entscheidung getroffen, das Jagdschlösschen seines Vaters zu einer großen Villa auszubauen, die den Hof für mehrere Tage aufnehmen könnte. Damit

6 Pérouse de Montclos 1977.

7 Vgl. Erben 2004, 294–300 sowie zur Herkunft des Konzepts Brink 2000 besonders 120–127.

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wurden wesentliche Merkmale auf Dauer gefestigt, die später vielfach kritisiert wurden: Auf der Hofseite präsentierte sich das Schloss als Abfolge von Höfen, die auf das alte Gebäude aus Ziegel und Haustein mit seinem steilen Schieferdach zuführten. Auf der Gartenseite war dieser Altbau mit einer mehrgeschossigen Fassade aus Stein ummantelt worden. Das Dach schien flach gedeckt zu sein: Das Schloss folgte somit auf dieser Seite dem Bautypus der italienischen Villa, war allerdings mit seiner nahezu hundert Meter breiten Fassade schon zu diesem Zeitpunkt deutlich größer ausgefallen. 1678 wurde diese Schauseite des Schlosses zum Garten hin durch den Einbau der Grande Galerie anstelle der Aussichtsterrasse erheblich verändert; der Ausbau der langen Seitenflügel sollte sich noch bis weit in die 1680er Jahre hinziehen. Mit dem Bau war der Garten gewachsen. Die Hauptterrasse vor dem Corps-de-Logis war Gegenstand vieler planerischer Experimente, bevor sie 1684/85 mit den Wasserspiegeln des Parterre d'Eau ausgestattet werden sollte. Die großen Achsen des Gartens und die Hauptbrunnen waren aber fertiggestellt, der Kanal war gegraben worden und konnte 1680 vollendet werden.

Schloss und Garten sollten zum Schauplatz zahlreicher Ereignisse werden, die propagandistisch begleitet wurden und dabei die Interpretation von Ort und Ereignis miteinander verknüpfen. Dabei bleibt ein Thema durchgehend präsent: Die Gegenüberstellung von Krieg und außenpolitischem Erfolg einerseits, Frieden und Bautätigkeit andererseits. Einige besonders prägnante Beispiele können zeigen, wie der politische und der künstlerischer Wettbewerb miteinander verknüpft wurden. Zeitgeschichte im Modus des Historienbildes und zeitübergreifender Vergleich in der Methode des „Parallèle" gehen dabei eine charakteristische Verbindung ein.[8] Die Kombination dieser Darstellungsverfahren erlaubt es, die Überwindung antiker und moderner Vorbilder am Hof Ludwigs XIV. zu propagieren.

Mein erstes Beispiel ist das große Treppenhaus, das das Ende des Französisch-Niederländischen Krieges und den Friedensschluss zu Nimwegen 1678 feiert (Abb. 2). Der Escalier des Ambassadeurs bildete bis zu seiner Zerstörung unter Louis XV den Hauptzugang zum königlichen Paradeappartement.[9] Wie das Appartement selbst stellte das Prunktreppenhaus mit seinen künstlerischen Mitteln Versailles in den Wettbewerb mit italienischen Bauten. Dies zeigte sich im Umgang mit der Wandgliederung, der Auswahl und Kombination von Materialien wie Marmor und Stuck und schließlich im Illusionismus der Wand- und Deckenbilder. Benutzt wurde eine Mischung aus Historienbildern – den Schlachtenszenen aus dem letzten Krieg – und aus Allegorien, um die historischen Ereignisse und die Leistungen des Königs in die Weltgeschichte einzuordnen und sie zugleich überzeitlich als gleichsam ewig überdauernd aus der Geschichte herauszunehmen. Neu war gegenüber früheren Ansätzen im Appartement du Roi in Versailles nunmehr die Klarheit, mit der im Escalier des Ambassadeurs der globale Herrschaftsanspruch zum Thema gemacht wurde: Die ganze Welt war nicht nur mit den Personifikationen der Erdteile, sondern auch mit Repräsentanten ihrer Völker vertreten, die aus gemalten Loggien dem Zeremoniell auf der Treppe beizuwohnen oder die Bilder im Treppenhaus zu betrachten und darüber zu diskutieren schienen.

> Ces doubles galeries paroissent remplies de figures qui représentent toutes sortes de nations des deux Indes orientales et occidentales, perses, grecs, arméniens, moscovites, allemands, italiens, hollandois, africains, bref, celles qui se peuvent connoitre qui semblent aller et venir dans les appartements du Prince s'entretenant la plupart ensemble et regardant la voûte de ce lieu selon leur génie, ce qui fait une variété naturelle très agréable, et on peut dire que lorsque ce grand Roi descend par cet escalier au milieu et suivi de tous les Princes et Princesses, cela fait un spectacle si grand et si superbe que l'on croiroit que tous ces peuples se rendent en foule dans ce lieu pour honorer son passage et voir la plus belle cour du monde.[10]

8 Vgl. Jauss 1973.

9 Die ausführlichste Darstellung findet sich bei Sabatier 1999, 146191.

10 Nivelon 2004, 295.

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Abb. 2 Versailles. Der Escalier des Ambassadeurs. Stich von Louis de Surugue nach Zeichnung von Jean-Michel Chevotet.

Neu war auch das Ausmaß, in dem Lektüre- und Verhaltensanweisungen in die Dekoration selbst eingebettet wurden. Sämtliche hierzu nötigen künstlerische Mittel waren seit langem vertraut: Das Motiv der Zuschauer selbst, die Kunstfertigkeit, die mit Mitteln der Malerei eine große Bandbreite an Kunstgattungen wie Marmorskulptur, Stuck und Tapisserie vortäuscht, und schließlich die Allegorisierung aller Künste durch die Anwesenheit Apolls und der Musen zum alleinigen Zweck der Memorierung und Überhöhung der königlichen Taten. Sie erreichten aber in ihrem programmatischen Einsatz ein neues Niveau an gedanklicher Durchdringung und – wenn wir den Berichten Glauben schenken – an überzeugender visueller Wirkung.

Der Escalier des Ambassadeurs zeigt besonders deutlich, welchen grundlegenden Wandel der französische Hof mit der Aufgabe des Louvre und dem Umzug nach Versailles vollzogen hatte. Dazu ist ein kurzer Blick auf diesen Stadtpalast des französischen Königs nötig. Seit den frühen 1660er Jahren hatte es vielfältige Anstrengungen gegeben, den Louvre zu vollenden.[11] Hauptthema war die Fertigstellung der Cour Carrée im Osten des großen Komplexes. Unzufrieden mit den Vorschlägen der französischen Baumeister, wandte sich der zuständige Minister Colbert 1664 an die bedeutendsten italienischen Architekten, von denen er 1665 Gianlorenzo Bernini zu einem Aufenthalt in Paris bewegen konnte. Berninis Entwürfe für den Palast beeindruckten den König sehr; dennoch gab man sie auf. Stattdessen wurde in einem kollektiven Planungsprozess französischer Architekten die Kolonnade an der Ostfassade mit ihren Doppelsäulen als eine französische Antwort nicht nur auf die italienischen Vorschläge, sondern auch auf antike Bauten formuliert. Von Claude Perrault, der als der maßgebliche Ideengeber für die Kolonnade und als deren bester Theoretiker gelten darf, stammen zwei Zeichnungen für die Paradetreppe des Louvre, deren architektonische Ideen im Escalier des Ambassadeurs in Versailles neu interpretiert werden sollten (Abb. 3):[12] So findet sich vor allem das Grundkonzept der doppelläufigen Treppe mit umlaufender Loggia in Versailles wieder. Dies gilt auch für die Idee, die Treppe mittels einer großen Voute zu überwölben, in die ein

11 Die Literatur zu dieser Bauphase des Louvre ist umfangreich. Für die hier wichtige Frage der Entwürfe Claude Perraults vgl. Petzet 2000.

12 Petzet 2000, 249–259.

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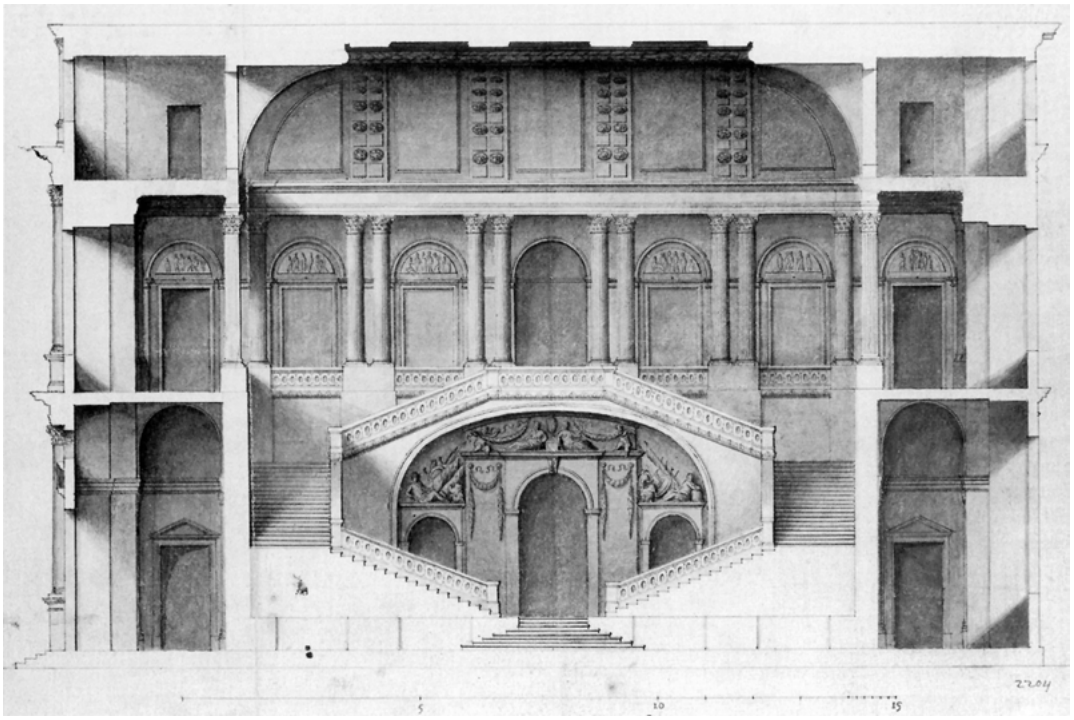

Abb. 3 Paris, Louvre. Entwurf für das Treppenhaus von Claude Perrault.

planer Deckenspiegel eingesetzt ist. In Versailles sollte dort ein Oberlicht eingefügt werden, das der Dekoration an der Decke Licht zuführte. Die Unterschiede zwischen den Konzeptionen von Architektur und Dekoration und beider Einsatz für die Aufgabe des monumentalen Treppenhauses sind aber unübersehbar: Die Treppe des Louvre war nicht nur wesentlich größer geplant. Sie sollte zudem durch ihre Ausmaße und die Mittel der Architektur allein, durch den Kontrast zwischen geschlossenen Wandflächen einerseits, offenen Pilaster- und Säulenstellungen andererseits sowie durch das steinerne Gewölbe sprechen. Der Louvre stand außen wie innen für das Übertreffen der antiken und modernen römischen Architektur mit ihren eigenen architektonischen Mitteln: Folgerichtig konnte Perrault die Louvrekolonnade neben weiteren Projekten der 1660er Jahre auf dem Titelblatt seiner Vitruvübersetzung abbilden, in der er die Theorie zur Kolonnade lieferte.[13] In Versailles wurden dagegen die anderen Künste und eine große Vielfalt an Materialien herangezogen, um die Überlegenheit der französischen Kunst und ihres vornehmsten Gegenstands, des Königs, als Synthese aus den bisherigen Errungenschaften aller Nationen zu beweisen. Man könnte hierin auch eine Niederlage der Architektur im Wettstreit der Künste erkennen.

Es dauerte aufgrund dieser Problemlage lange, bis das Schloss von Versailles unangefochten in die Bildpropaganda zum Thema Krieg und Frieden integriert wurde. Eine noch wenig betrachtete Quelle stellen die großen Wandkalender – die Almanache – aus der Pariser Grafikproduktion dar.[14] Ein Almanach für das Jahr 1677 (Abb. 4)[15] steht ganz im Zeichen des bevorstehenden Friedensschlusses und der Korrespondenz von Ruhm durch Kriegsführung und durch Bauten: Mars und Minerva sitzen zu Füßen des Königs und seiner Berater. Dabei ist durch die Darstellung klar, wem der höhere Rang gebührt; die Feldherren und Mars sind zur Rechten des Königs, die Minister, Künstler und Literaten sowie Minerva zu seiner Linken gezeigt. Minerva repräsentiert

13 Perrault 1673, Frontispiz.

14 Préaud 1995.

15 Einblattdruck: Henri Noblin (Stecher)/Nicolas Langlois (Verleger): L'alliance de Mars et de Minerve, ou la gloire des armes, des sciences, et des arts soubs l'heureux regne de Louis le Grand 14.

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Abb. 4 L'Alliance de Mars et de Minerve. Almanach für das Jahr 1676.

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Abb. 5 Les triomphes de l'église sous le régne de Louis le Grand. Almanach für das Jahr 1686.

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selbstverständlich den Vorrang der französischen Künste vor der Antike, sie stützt ihren Fuß auf ein Kapitell der neu erfundenen französischen Ordnung.

In den Fensterausblicken und in den Medaillons, die unter dem alles überfangenden Vorhang hängen, sind die siegreichen Schlachten und Belagerungen und die künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Errungenschaften zu sehen. Den höchsten Rang nehmen dabei der Palast für die Invaliden und das Observatorium ein. Der Louvre füllt das prominent platzierte mittlere Medaillon, gerahmt von der Manufaktur der Gobelins und der Académie de peinture et de sculpture. Versailles ist nicht zu sehen. Wir wissen nicht, wer das Programm für diesen Almanach erstellte, der von Nicolas Langlois vertrieben wurde. Wir dürfen aber annehmen, dass hiermit eine Sichtweise Ausdruck fand, die in den Kreisen der hohen Beamtenschaft und der Architekten Anklang fand. Bei einem breiten Einverständnis darüber, dass der Frieden die Mutter der Künste sei, dass die Magnifizenz des Fürsten sich in Friedenszeiten durch die Protektion der Künste und entsprechend großartige Werke ausdrücke, gab es im Detail Meinungsverschiedenheiten. Die Monumente der Kunstförderung des Herrschers befanden sich gemäß diesem Almanach in der Hauptstadt: Der Louvre war der Palast des französischen Königs, die Künste blühten in den Akademien, und eben war mit der Erfindung der französischen Säulenordnung, die für den Louvre entwickelt wurde, die Antike nicht nur konsequent fortgesetzt, sondern auch überwunden.

Der Auffassung des Königs selbst sehr viel näher steht daher das rund 10 Jahre später entstandene Blatt mit dem Kalender für das Jahr 1687 (Abb. 5).[16] Gezeigt wird die Audienz der Siamesischen Botschafter in der Grande Galerie von Versailles. Hierfür war der Thron aus dem berühmten Silbermobiliar, der normalerweise im Salon d'Apollon stand, auf einer Estrade in der Galerie platziert worden. Die politisch insgesamt folgenlose Gesandtschaft des Somdet Phra Narai[17] wird in zahlreichen Berichten und Bildern gefeiert. Der Almanach aus dem Hause Langlois zeigt in intelligenter Bildregie die Überlegenheit Ludwigs XIV. über die Welt, über die Alte Welt genauso wie über die eigene Epoche. Umringt von seiner Familie, den eigenen Söhnen genauso wie der Familie seines Bruders, nimmt der König die Huldigung der Botschafter aus dem fernen Thailand entgegen. Prominent ist eines der großen Silbergefäße, die damals stärkster Ausdruck repräsentativen Prunks am Hof von Versailles waren, gezeigt. Die Botschafter werden im Bild nicht nur von ihrem Dolmetscher begleitet: Auch die antike Statue des römischen Senators scheint die Fremden – ihnen und dem König dienend – zu empfehlen.[18] Das zweite Thema des Blatts ist die Ausdehnung des Anspruchs auf das Protektorat des Roi très-chrétien, das innen- und außenpolitisch aufgefächert wird und so den Aspekt der Missionsgebiete im Ausland akzentuiert. Im Inneren geht es um die Verfolgung der Protestanten nach der Aufhebung des Toleranzedikts im Jahr 1685, den außenpolitischen Anspruch vertreten Bilder zu den Türkenkriegen auf dem Balkan mit der Belagerung und Einnahme von Buda durch die alliierten Truppen. Das Blatt macht also deutlich, dass die Weltläufigkeit des Escalier des Ambassadeurs nie als Weltoffenheit zu verstehen war und sich dieses Programm bald zum Anspruch der alleinigen politischen und religiösen Dominanz verhärtet hatte. In einer doppelten Spiegelung zeigt der Almanach die außen- und innenpolitische Kulisse für Versailles, das wiederum die Kulisse für die außen- und innenpolitischen Ereignisse bildet.

Ich habe mich auf einen kleinen Ausschnitt aus der Geschichte und der Rezeption des Schlosses von Versailles beschränkt – vor allem auf jene kurze Phase nach 1678, in der Ludwig XIV. und seine Berater annehmen konnten, der Frieden von Nimwegen festige die Abrundung des französischen Herrschaftsgebiets auf Dauer. In diese Jahre fällt nicht nur der Entschluss, Versailles zum Herrschaftssitz zu machen und den Ausbau des Stadtpalastes, des Louvre, aufzugeben. Vielmehr

16 Einblattdruck. Nicolas Langlois (Verleger): L'audience donnée par le roy aux ambassadeurs du roy de Siam à Versailles le premier septembre 1686. Der Stecher ist nicht angegeben.

17 Cruysse 2002.

18 Die Statuenausstattung der Galerie zu diesem Zeitpunkt überliefert Vetron 1686, 57–60. Vgl. The Hall of Mirrors 2007, 208–210 und Maral 2013.

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Abb. 6 Versailles, Brunnen im Bosquet de l'arc de triomphe.

nehmen damals auch die dezidiert vorgetragenen politischen Äußerungen im Bildprogramm von Schloss und Garten zu.[19] Die Politisierung von Versailles ist unerlässlicher Bestandteil dieser Umwandlung eines Lustschlosses für kurze Aufenthalte des Hofs zur Residenz und damit zum „Palast". Ein letztes Beispiel kann die Politisierung von Versailles besonders nachdrücklich zeigen: Ab 1677 wurde das Bosquet de l'arc de triomphe an der Stelle einer etwas älteren Brunnenanlage gestaltet (Abb. 6).[20] Ein Triumphbogen und vier Obelisken bildeten einen Platz aus, dem gegenüber der Brunnen mit der France triomphante aufgestellt wurde. Auf dem Rücken von zwei Sklaven, die das besiegte Spanien und das besiegte Reich darstellen, thront die France auf einem Triumphwagen. Unübersehbar sind in der gewappneten Figur die Anklänge an die Roma vom Senatorenpalast auf dem Kapitol.[21] Dieser imperiale Anspruch – als ein Anspruch der Herrschaft über mehrere Reiche und Kontinente – zieht sich durch die Bildersprache im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV. und erreicht in der France triomphante einen seiner Höhepunkte: Es geht damit auch um den Vorrang in Europa, um territoriale Ansprüche, aber auch um Rangfragen gegenüber dem Hause Habsburg. Indem sich Ludwig XIV. als Sieger über Spanien und das Reich, die beiden Herrschaftsbereiche der Habsburger, feiern lässt, indem er dies in Gestalt der France-Roma tut, deklariert er Frankreich als die eigentliche, legitime Nachfolgerin Roms.

19 Weber 1985, 165–197.
20 Weber 1985, 291–292.
21 Siebenhüner 1954, 108–109 mit Abb. 69.

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Versailles wurde unter Louis XIII. nicht als Palast begonnen, sondern als Jagdschlösschen auf dem Land, eine halbe Tagesreise von der Hauptstadt Frankreichs entfernt. Noch in den frühen Ausbauphasen unter Ludwig XIV. bildeten eher die lokalen französischen Traditionen und die italienische Villa als die große Tradition der Stadtpaläste die Referenzen für die Maßnahmen des Königs. Denn diese Tradition sollte nicht in Versailles, sondern in den Entwürfen für den Louvre zur vollen Entfaltung kommen und in der Fassade mit ihren Doppelsäulen einen dezidiert moderne, nationale Lösung finden: Auf einem geschlossenen Erdgeschoss als Sockel fasste die Kolossalordnung die Wohngeschosse zusammen; das Dach war hinter einer Brüstung auf dem Kranzgesims verborgen. Die monumentale Ädikula im Zentrum war bautechnisch eine Meisterleistung. Als Grundmotiv für das Zentrum eines großen und bedeutenden Baus war sie hingegen nicht ungewöhnlich, und ihre Ableitung und Übertragung aus antiken Tempeln war seit rund einhundert Jahren in der europäischen Architektur üblich. Den wesentlichen Bezugspunkt stellt hier Andrea Palladio dar, der die Anwendung der Tempelfront auf profane Wohnbauten nicht nur praktiziert, sondern in seinem Traktat auch legitimiert hatte. Palladios „Libri dell'architettura" wurden in der Academie de l'architecture in Paris gelesen.[22]

Nichts davon in Versailles: Das Schloss breitete sich mit einer nach und nach errichteten Struktur von Zufahrten, einer Abfolge von Vorhöfen und Höfen und den langgestreckten Flügeln in der Fläche aus. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Überlieferung antiker Architektur und deren Erforschung fand zu und für Versailles nicht unmittelbar statt. Das war auch nicht nötig. Denn bereits die Baumeister der Hochrenaissance hatten vorgeführt, wie die antiken Modelle der großen szenografischen Anlagen zu Nutzen moderner Bauten umzusetzen waren: Der Fortuna-Tempel von Praeneste / Palestrina hatte nicht nur Bramante im Cortile della Pigna im Vatikan angeregt; vielleicht waren auch die Gartenanlagen des Château Neuf in St. Germain-en-Laye ein Reflex auf die bedeutenden Reste der antiken Anlage.[23] Mit dem Motiv der großen Exedra aus Palestrina konnte man in Frankreich indes nur wenig anfangen, und die Steillage von St. Germain-en-Laye hielt man um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr für attraktiv, wenn es um den Bau eines Schlosses und die Anlage eines Gartens ging.

Nötig war die seriöse antiquarische Befassung mit der antiken Palastarchitektur schließlich nicht, weil die Fülle an bildkünstlerischer Ausstattung und der Reichtum an Materialien über die Mängel in der architektonischen Konzeption von Versailles hinwegsehen ließen. Ziel war schließlich nicht die Imitation, sondern die überbietende Aneignung der Antike. Dieses Ziel wurde von einem vielstimmigen Chor an Meinungsäußerungen begleitet und durch nicht immer zielgerichtete Entscheidungen verfolgt. Das antike und das moderne Rom – das auf antiker Grundlage kulturell strahlende Rom der Päpste – stellten dabei das ästhetische Modell für die Findung einer eigenen, französischen Formensprache dar. Gestützt auf die schriftliche Überlieferung der *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* allein könnte man zu der Auffassung gelangen, ausschließlich die antike Architektur, Skulptur und Literatur seien Maß aller Dinge gewesen. Zeitgleich wurden Akademien gegründet, um in dieser eigenständigen Organisationsform die Ausbildung von Künstlern in allen Sparten und die Grundlegung einer eigenständigen Theorie der Künste und der Wissenschaften vorantreiben zu können. Parallel zu den Anstrengungen um den Erwerb antiker Skulpturen[24] erfolgte aber der Erwerb von Sammlungsgegenständen aller Art wie Manuskripten, Kunstkammerobjekten, Pflanzen und Tieren aus aller Welt.[25]

22 Mignot 2000.

23 Merz 2001, 100–103.

24 Erben 2004, 320–341; Martinez 2012.

25 Krause 1996, 90–95.

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Die Spannung zwischen einem historisch fundierten, auf den Anschluss an die Antike zielenden Kunstverständnis einerseits und dem Bemühen um Universalität der Sammlungen andererseits geht auf ein ähnliches Spannungsverhältnis im politischen Diskurs zurück.[26] Genauso wie im Bereich der Künste alle Register gezogen wurden, um den Vorrang Frankreichs unter Louis XIV zu behaupten, konnte der Anspruch auf Universalität einer Herrschaft über die Welt im Konflikt mit den Habsburgern behauptet werden, indem auf die sichtbare Translatio des antiken Reichs nach Frankreich verwiesen wurde: Paris oder Versailles erschienen hier als die „nouvelle Rome". Ein weiteres Argument stellte die Anwesenheit der *ganzen Welt* in den Versailler und Pariser Sammlungen und im diplomatischen Verkehr dar. Zugleich aber war klar, dass diese Universalität der Herrschaft nur als Hegemonialanspruch realpolitisch umsetzbar sein könnte.

Es ist also nur ein vermeintlicher Widerspruch, wenn in Versailles immer wieder – für alle Sparten der Künste – über diese Konzeption eines kulturell modellhaften, antiken und modernen Rom hinaus die ganze Welt versammelt werden sollte, ohne dass alle Artefakte denselben ästhetischen Geltungsanspruch erhalten konnten. Für die Autoren, die der Welt diese Idee von Versailles vermittelten, lag die Metapher des *Wunders* oder auch der *Verzauberung* nahe:

> Ce n'est pas un Palais, c'est une Ville entière,
> Superbe en sa grandeur, superbe en sa matière;
> Non, c'est plûtôt un monde, où du grand Univers
> Se trouvent rassemblez les miracles divers.[27]

Das Palais von Versailles hat in seinem Anspruch auf Universalität in der europäischen Architektur des Ancien Régime zu mancher Auseinandersetzung angeregt; ein Muster für den Palastbau ist es dadurch jedoch nicht geworden.

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26 Erben, 300–320.
27 Perrault 1687, 16.

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Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Privatbesitz.
Abb. 2. 4. 5. 6: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Abb. 3: Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

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Tülay Artan

The politics of Ottoman imperial palaces: waqfs and architecture from the 16th to the 18th centuries

Very few Ottoman palaces survive in present-day Istanbul and, except for two of them, they are all from the 19th century. Confusing and frustrating though this is, there seems to be a simple explanation. Residential buildings in the Ottoman capital, ranging from modest dwellings to imperial palaces, were mostly constructed of timber. Even if they did not totally perish in the frequent fires or earthquakes, they eventually fell prey to the ravages of time and climate. Repair and rebuilding was going on all the time, together with various extensions, so that palace complexes were constantly re-created and kept growing organically through the addition of kiosks, pavilions and gardens, sometimes even the shifting of outer walls. In most cases it is impossible to fix any definite time of completion or disappearance.

The study of pre 19th century Ottoman imperial palaces is further hindered by a lack of visual documentation.[1] Only a few Ottoman plans, mostly showing just a kiosk or a garden, have survived, and once again mostly from the 19th century. Older miniatures almost always depict only the 16th and the early 17th century Topkapı Palace. From the mid 18th century onwards, however, a sizeable collection of European engravings and oil paintings depict numerous palaces and their gardens on the waterfront of the capital. With written sources the situation is different. There is a wealth of references ranging from archival documents to poetry and chronicles, recording not only construction and repair works, but also public and private festivities and disastrous events that took place at or near palaces.

Here, however, we come up against further problems peculiar to the Ottoman world. It is extremely difficult to isolate, identify, date or locate such palaces as are sporadically mentioned in the sources. The intricacies of the political system shaped the ownership and patronage of these palaces in such a way that working out their exact location is problematic. Even with regard to grand viziers' palaces, pinpointing their sites and tracing the lineage of possession is very complicated. As I shall try to demonstrate, before some of them were consolidated into what came to be called the "Sublime Porte", these ephemeral palaces were part and parcel of the Sultan's Household.

Following the sultans' example, Ottoman grand viziers built palaces suited to their rank and status. In the 16th to the 18th centuries and even later many of these pious statesmen married into the imperial house, and the palaces they and their illustrious wives commissioned (usually from the Chief of the Imperial Corps of Architects) were often endowed to generate income for their philanthropic works. Like all urban freehold properties, houses, hans and hamams, Istanbul's sub-imperial palaces, too, were transferred from the hands of the patron, often immediately upon construction, to a mortmain under the jurisdiction of the administrator of the public institutions (mosques, schools, soup-kitchens, baths, drinking fountains etc) which s/he had founded. Behind this moral imperative of the ruling elite, including viziers and female members of the dynasty, there may have been legal and economic alliances. But in any case, it often led to complex transfers of property rights, further obscuring our view of these palaces.[2]

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1 For Ottoman and European depictions of the Topkapı Palace: Necipoğlu 1991.

2 The struggle between the sultan and the Ottoman "landed aristocracy" over urban private property rights, charitable endowments and power has not been adequately explored. For an introduction: Tuş 2000.

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The Sublime Porte: a court-controlled rotational system versus family endowments

To the grand vizier was assigned a palace as part of his office, and this same was often his residence, or "Porte". Exactly when the "Porte" ceased to be a semi-private residence and finally emerged under the official formula, "the Sublime Porte", is a disputed question.[3] Some historians have suggested very specific dates such as 1654 or 1718–1730, thereby associating the change with one or another grand vizier, here Derviş Mehmed Paşa or Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa respectively. Having a particular, pre-existing palace assigned to them by the sultan in connexion with their office, these two officials are thought by some to have refurbished it with their own money and turned it into a permanent office-residence complex. But another view holds that the grand vizier's residence and household were (re)introduced on the main stage of politics during the tenure of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (1655–1661) who was in fact mostly absent from Istanbul. The palace in question was located across the street from Alay Köşkü, the Kiosk of Processions built on the land walls of the Topkapı Palace, from which the sultans watched the stately parades pass by below.[4]

Some grand viziers had a second or even a third palace which they had either possessed prior to their appointment, establishing there their harem once they were in office, or in which they invested using their privileges of office. The grand viziers' palaces were mostly clustered around the Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia/Hippodrome area, whilst others were located on the Divânyolu, the imperial/ceremonial avenue, and in the Bayezid/Süleymaniye district. Viziers who retired or were temporarily out of office settled in other preferred localities such as Zeyrek or Fatih (further west in the historic peninsula). In the empire's 16th century heyday Ottoman officials often had seaside palaces on the Asian shores of the Bosphorus, especially at Üsküdar. Most of the time, however, we do not know the exact location of these palaces.

This problem arises mainly because the palaces of the ruling elite were not private property. The issue of property rights in the Ottoman world is a highly complicated one. To put it simply, there was a hierarchy of fragmented land rights. At the top was the legal ownership of the land, which however had to coexist with, and allow for, the right of possession below. With regard to the first, the primordial category was the Ottoman version of crown land (*mîrî*). In principle all land was regarded as crown land, i.e. subject to the eminent domain of the sultan.[5] At the bottom end

3 "Paşa Kapısı/Porte" referred to the house and household of the grand vizier, whereas "Bâb-ı 'Âli/The Sublime Porte" later came to refer to the office and official residence of the grand vizier. For modern encyclopedic entries on the Ottoman grand vizier and the Sublime Porte: Süreyya 1996; Hammer-Purgstall 1941; Uzunçarşılı 1988; Tayyip Gökbilgin 1949; Koçu 1958; Koçu 1960; Deny 1960; Deny 1966; İpşirli /Eyice 1992; Tanyeli 1993; Kunt 1995; İpşirli 2008. See also: Doğan 2000. The only existing description of the Sublime Porte, the layout of the palace in the first decade of the 19th century, was published in *Târih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* as part of an article on Alemdar Mustafa Paşa (28 July 1808 to 15 November 1808): Efdalettin (Tekiner) (1929), 1305. The document describing the palace grounds was cited in Uzunçarşılı 1988 [1948], 264. See also: Artan 2012.

4 Although several early 17th century grand viziers are known to have resided across from Alay Köşkü, Köprülü Mehmed's palace has still not been located.

5 According to the Ottoman Land Code (*Arazi Kanunnamesi* of 21 April 1858), there were five main categories, and the first three included urban properties: a. *Mîrî* (crown/state) land, b. *Mülk* (private) land, c. *Mevkuf* (charitable) land, d. *Metruk* (tribal and collective) land, and e. *Mevat* (waste) land. *Mîrî* land was land under sultanic ownership; it could not be alienated, and only its usufruct could be granted to individual members of the military class (in the form of timar fiefs and other allotments). *Mülk* land, however, was the land held in freehold by real or legal persons who received it as gift from the sultan in return for their services to the state. The holders of *mülk* land built houses, gardens, shops or mills on it; arable land in the villages and towns could also be *mülk*. Such immovables were bought and sold, or inherited, exchanged and bequeathed. To avoid complications, these transactions were recorded in the registers of the Islamic courts. *Mevkuf* (or *waqf*) land was dedicated to public works mostly with a religious purpose (such as mosques, schools, hamams, soup kitchens, drinking fountains), and administered or held in trust by a stipulated party. *Metruk* land was allocated for public benefit, therefore no one person could use these lands. They included

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of the social scale, the peasant cultivator or the urban dweller enjoyed a "mere" right of usufruct, which however was both undeniable and even (subject to certain stipulations) inheritable. Hence in agriculture, the Ottoman peasant, like his Medieval European counterpart, clearly enjoyed effective and hereditary possession of his holding. Also as in the western Middle Ages, the sultan distributed part of his crown lands to members of the military class as temporary land-grants (or tax-collection rights), thereby establishing large, medium and small fiefs (has, zeâmet and timar). For the most part, these were given not as gifts, but as strictly conditional upon service. Still, their recipients or holders thereby acquired yet another set of rights intermediate between the sultan and the peasants. But there were also other lands, either with peasants living on them or urban lots, which had likewise been alienated from crown land not as fiefs but as gifts and had thereby come to be held in freehold verging on absolute ownership (*mülk*). These resulted from bequests of the sultan to members of the imperial family or favoured members of the ruling elite who were regarded as worthy of exceptional rewards from the state.[6] Once they had passed into such unconditional freehold, the land and the structures built on them could be further bequeathed to (and become part of) charitable endowments (*waqf*), in which case their revenues would be consigned to the restricted benefit of religious or philanthrophic institutions. Such donations could be designated to sustain certain persons determined by the bequeather, for instance, the employees of specified religious establishments or descendants of the bequeather. In the latter case, this was a family endowment.[7] The founders (the *waqif*) often appointed themselves as salaried administrators *(mütevelli)* and, upon their death, their designated family members managed the properties and capital of the endowment. They might authorise other people as well, as administrators, to preserve the property and to maximise its revenues for the advantage of the beneficiaries. There were also those appointed as administrators of the *waqfs* in the capacity of supervisors and inspectors. Here the important point is that whilst the sultan had the power to reclaim even what he (or his predecessors) had given in freehold, it was much more difficult (if not impossible) to reclaim it if it had been incorporated into a *waqf*. Hence, making one's *mülks* into *waqfs*, and appointing one's own descendants so as to benefit from the waqf in perpetuity was a way of keeping future streams of income in the family – a form of defense by freeholders against the omnipresent possibility of imperial confiscation.[8] Moreover, by appointing family members of their own choice as adminis-

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both roads, public squares, mesires, market and fair grounds, cemetaries or prayer grounds where usufruct rights included all persons, and pastures or animal watering places where usufruct rights belonged to (a) particular village(s) or district(s) only. *Mevat* land comprised swamps, deserts and rocky and clay areas which could not be used in any effective way. In the case of *metruk* and *mevat*, as also *mîrî*, the *rakabe* (paramount ownership) of the land is vested in the hands of the state. Until 1858, wasteland could have been turned into *mülk* by an individual who cultivated it for a given period of time and payed for it.

6 For example, the patron of the waterfront mosque-complex at Üsküdar, Şemsi Ahmed Paşa (d. 1580), who was the confidant of three sultans (Süleyman I, Selim II and Murad III), was descended from Bayezid II. His mother was the daughter of Bayezid II's son Şehzâde Abdullah. His father (also the confidant of three sultans, Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman I) was the governor-general (*mir-mirân*) Mirza Paşa, and his lineage descended from İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey and Kızıl Ahmed, two officials protected and coopted into the Ottoman bureaucracy by Mehmed II. There were further claims in Şemsi Ahmed Paşa's *waqfiyya*, tracing the lineage of his family to one of the companions of the Prophet, Halid bin Velid. Şemsi Ahmed Paşa's waterfront palace in Üsküdar, next to his mosque complex completed in 1580, was probably created on a imperial estate loaned for the use of his family: Necipoğlu 2005. For the *waqf*iyya (Süleymaniye Library, Lala İsmail Efendi, 737/13, n.d.) and his ancestory, see: İnbaşı 2005.

7 This category evolved as a result of the characterisation of the pious endowments according to their beneficiaries. The income of public or charitable (*hayri*) *waqf*s were to be spent exclusively on pious works and the income of *waqf*s "of persons" (*ehli*) were to serve the allowance of certain persons determined by the bequeather. The founder could choose to support his/her family members, in which case the category is that of a family endowment. There is no legal distinction between the two categories of beneficiaries. For disputes regarding family *waqfs*: Akipek, Şebnem/Altaş 1998. See also Doumani 1998.

8 *Mülk* was "land in unrestricted private ownership", for which the *rakabe* was vested in the individual. *Waqf*, the pious donation or endowment, was an object excluded from the circulation of the *rakabe* which, by the time of the

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trators, the founders, male or female, avoided the restrictions laid down by Islamic inheritance law and passed their legacy on to those whom they chose.[9]

Family endowments were an important component of the inheritance system, that is of the way property (in the case of endowments – usufructory rights in property) was in practice transmitted from one generation to the next. Endowing one's property and dividing usufructory rights to the endowment's revenues according to personal inclinations, along with testamentary dispositions and various forms of gifts inter-vivos, were wide-spread practices, and perhaps no less common a way of passing on rights to one's property than by the inheritance laws themselves. However, family endowments could generate cooperation amongst groups of lineal descendants, who in many cases were the exclusive beneficiaries of family endowments, as well as discord and conflict amongst the same and other groups who did not qualify as beneficiaries. This could lead to the partition, abandonement, decay, and disappearance of timber or masonry structures in a very short time, regardless how grand.

Endowment of Palaces

Against this legal background, most land in the capital had come to be either mîrî or *waqf*. The privately held buildings on it could also be endowed, listed in the foundation deed or charter *(waqfiyya)* and "rented out" to generate income for the *waqf* in question. Included were also the palaces bequested as part of charitable endowments, with reference to the current "holding" of a certain palace, preserving it (that is to say, its rent) for the benefit of a certain religious or philanthropic activity, and prohibiting any use or disposition of it outside this specific objective.[10] In such foundation deeds there are repeated references to exchanging one's worldly abode, no matter how

donation, was in full possession of the founder and whose revenues were used for a purpose specified by the donor. The aim of the *waqf* should be pious and charitable and for the public good. When acquired from *mîrî* lands with a *temliknâme/mülknâme*, a certificate of legal appropriation through a gift from the sultan, the *waqf* lands were known as "false" (*gayr-i sahih*) *mülk*. The other type was the "true" (*sahih*) *waqf*, where the donated property had been freehold property of the donor, or a *mülk*: Barkan 1940; Barkan 1944; Berki 1957. The trustees of an endowment were entitled to procedures regarding the transfer of the property rights of the endowed immovables, with the exception of their outright alienation. The property rights on the endowed lands were strictly regulated. There were different rules of inheritance for private property, for Muslims and for non-Muslims and also different periods of prescription. Separate registrations had to be issued for land and trees or buildings standing there on.

9 Köprülü 1942; Bilici 1994; Behrens-Abouseif 1994; Çizakça; Deguilhem 1960; Hoexter 1998. See also various articles in the special issue of: *Islamic Law and Society* 4/3, 1997; *JESHO* 38/3, 1995.

10 In the light of untapped primary sources, *waqfiyya*s in particular, Necipoğlu pointed to several 16th century palaces which were endowed for the pious complexes built by Sinan. Many of these stood next to the socio-religious structures for which they were meant to generate income. The palace of the grand vizier Kara Ahmed Paşa (off. 1553-1555, husband of Fatma Sultan, daughter of Selim I), located at Yenibahçe in the Topkapı quarter, comprising two courtyards and a vast garden with a pool that measured more than 40 jarib (10,000 square feet), was endowed together with other real estate properties (and 3,000, 000 aspers) for the building of his mosque complex (completed in 1565–1571/72). See also Yaltkaya 1942. The vizier and Chief Chancellor Nişancı Mehmed Paşa's palace in the Nişancı quarter near Fatih, not far from his mosque complex, was given in endowment to his pious foundation. The grand admiral Sinan Paşa's (the grand vizier Rüstem's brother) palace built by Sinan with three courtyards was at the Hippodrome. It was amongst the real estate that generated income for his endowments. Only one of his daughters survived and Sinan Paşa entrusted his properties to his sister-in-law Mihrümah, appointing her as the executor of his will. The army judge Molla Çelebi had a winter residence with two courtyards, located in the Kızıltaş quarter, and a summer residence in Fındıklı which comprised a garden with pools and various edifices. Both were given in endowment to his pious foundation. The residence of the chief white eunuch Mahmud Ağa, located in the Nahlbend (İshakpaşa) quarter of Ahırkapı, comprised two courtyards and a garden, and it was included in his endowment of the mosque which it adjoined. See Necipoğlu 2005, 380, 411, 418–419, 481 and 490 respectively. Also see above, footnote 6; and below, footnotes 12, 13, and 46.

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splendid it might be, for a much better one in heaven.[11] But of course, as we have said, the patrons had more worldly expectations. It was usual for the freehold palace of a official or a member of the imperial dynasty to be bequeathed in *waqf* for the benefactors' own use, and, following their death, for the use of their children and grandchildren.[12] Only when the family line became extinct would it be leased out, and the rent sent to the Prophet's mosque in Medina or to the poor there and in Mecca. In some cases it was stipulated that the endowed palace should be used by the manumitted Muslim slaves of the benefactor after the extinction of his/her lineage, or else should be demolished and its grounds distributed to deserving Muslims for the construction of houses and gardens or other structures.[13]

Utmost complication of the operation of a *waqf* occurred when an endowed palace in Istanbul was leased out (in the form of long-term ground rent) and the leaseholders' successors included female members of the imperial house or high-ranking military-bureaucrats. In practice, when such a tenant died the property which he/she had rented would be returned to the *waqf* until it was rented out to another princess or official. State intervention, personal networks and action taken by *waqf* managers in this process appear to have been very intricate and it is difficult to determine allocation and renting practices in juridical terms at the present stage of research. It seems that the judges of Islamic courts, too, intervened when various parties' interests clashed. Moreover, judges often acted as inspectors of imperial *waqfs* and had considerable authority and power in their administration. Ultimately, if the palace placed in *waqf* was not seized by the state upon the death of the founder/leaseholder, the new leaseholder would pay the rent to the administrator(s) of the endowment and would continue to undertake all necessary and voluntary repair, restoration or rebuilding according to his/her taste. Exceptions were very rare.

11 İnbaşı 2006, 260: "*eğer dünya padişahlarını sorsan bu köhne saray-ı zerandûd ve hayme-i bülend kubbe-i bi-amûd içre hezarân hezâr selatîn-i âlişân ve hâvâkîn-i kamutân gelmişdir.*

12 Süleyman I's daughter Mihrümâh had a palace in the vicinity of the Hippodrome, at Kadırga Limanı, built in 1560. Her husband the grand vizier Rüstem had another winter palace at the Serv quarter of Mahmudpaşa (Cağaloğlu), in the densely inhabited neighbourhood where his madrasa was built. The couple's daughter Ayşe Sultan inherited the two palaces together with two other summer palaces that Sinan built for Rüstem and Mihrümah. One of these was outside the city walls and the other in Üsküdar. The former was Mihrümah's garden palace near Yeşilköy and Bakırköy, also known as İskender Çelebi Bahçesi: Sai Mustafa Çelebi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül Bünyan*, fol. 12r. The latter was a vast hilltop estate descending in terraces to the landing place at Salacak in Üsküdar: Necipoğlu 1997. Ayşe Sultan endowed the Hippodrome/Kadırga palace in 1595, and the Cağaloğlu palace in 1612, for her own use. After her death it was to be inherited by her daughter Safiye Hanım and her descendants, and thereafter to be sold to provide alms for the poor in Mecca and Medina. The neighbourhood of this palace came to be known as Cağaloğlu after it passed on to the descendants of Cigalazade Sinan Paşa, who married in succession two daughters of Ayşe Sultan and Ahmed Paşa. In 1596, when it was prepared for the wedding of a granddaughter of Cigalazade Sinan Paşa, it was still called the "late Rüstem Paşa's palace where he resided": İpşirli 198, 561, 571.

13 Conditions stiputated in the founding deeds (*şart-ı vakıf*) varied greatly, ranging from providing basics such as food, shelter and clothing to education or health, sometimes in return for minor menial or religious duties. Below are references, cited by Gülru Necipoğlu, only to palaces endowed for the socio-religious complexes built by Sinan. Before her divorce in 1541, Şah Sultan, sister of Süleyman I, had a palace at Davudpaşa where she lived with her husband, the grand vizier Lutfi Paşa. The palace was next to her mosque complex. She had a waterfront palace in Eyüp which she endowed for her own use until her death. Şah Sultan had only one daughter and it was stipulated that after the cessation of her lienage, the palace was to be dismantled and its grounds distributed to deserving Muslims for the construction of houses. This palace is identified by Ayvansarayî as the Hançerli Sultan Sarayı: Ayvansarayî 2008, 208; after Necipoğlu 2005, 294–295. The grand admiral Kılıç Ali Paşa, too, endowed his waterside palace at Beşiktaş with three courtyards. The palace was endowed for his own use and, following his death, that of his children and grandchildren. Upon the extinction of their progeny it was to be occupied by his manumitted slaves, but only the Muslim men and women amongst them. Thereafter, its rent was to be sent to the Prophet's mosque in Medina. Necipoğlu claims that this might be the palace depicted on a map of the Bosphorus sketched in 1588. The map, however, identifies the palace as that of Uluç Hasan Paşa, a manumitted Venetian-born slave of Kılıç Ali Paşa, who rose to the post of grand admiral (off. 1588–1591): Necipoğlu 2005, 431.

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At the outset, however, we must remember that the palaces of the female members of the imperial family and whichever high-ranking dignitaries happened to be their husbands, were all built on crown or *waqf* land; and they therefore rotated amongst the Ottoman court nobility as part of a dynastically controlled system whose complexities are beyond the scope of this paper. Still, I would like to mention one infuriating problem: in the absence of family names, in referring to the various people associated with one or more palace in a certain locality which was built and rebuilt over decades, there are a great many identical personal names – only ten or fifteen personal names were used, again and again – thus creating great confusion with regard to the patrons' identity at any time.

Moving on to other, more material aspects, such as the interior decoration and furnishings of these palaces which might reflect the tastes of the period and the aspirations of their patrons, we are faced with another set of problems peculiar to the Ottoman house. On the one hand, aristocratic bequest was inhibited in the Ottoman world; but on the other hand, like the dispensation of imperial favour through palace allocations, bestowal of luxury objects such as carpets, textiles, or tiles was also an essential tool of political culture.[14] The acquisition of such luxury goods and the accumulation patterns of the Ottoman ruling elite remained relatively vulnerable to the vagaries of a redistributionist cultural idiom, including mechanisms of imperial intervention from above. The Ottoman archives are bursting with inventories of various types and lengths – such as accounts kept in the course of building and furnishing palaces, for marriage rituals, or at death – recording all sorts of objects (including their materials, colour, decoration, values, origin, or author) that might have been bequeathed to, exchanged between, or inherited from members of the dynasty and the ruling elite. Some of these inventories are so carefully organised as to tell what was found in which room or hall or hallway of a particular palace. However, we know nothing about the plan, sections or façades of these palaces and, without them, the records we have are often not sufficient for any comprehensive architectural reconstruction.

Against this not very promising background, I shall present the sole 16th century vizier's palace in Istanbul that has survived, that of Pargalı İbrahim Paşa (d. 1536), as well as two others now vanished, those of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (d. 1579) and Kanijeli Siyâvuş Paşa (d. 1602). Further, in order to demonstrate varying practices of the transfer, i. e. renting and allocation, of palaces bequeathed in *waqfs*, I shall also discuss the early 18th century patronage of a grand vizier and a princess who had several palaces including one she rented from the *waqf* of a 16th century vizier.

Mention must of course be made of the Topkapı Palace. Example par excellence of Ottoman civil architecture and landscaping, of decoration and furnishings, the Topkapı provides extraordinary evidence for daily life and ceremonies of the Ottoman court, as shown by Gülru Necipoğlu in her study of the palace's evolution over the 15th and 16th centuries.[15]

No other early-modern palaces have survived, neither those of Bursa or Edirne (the two capitals before), nor those of Manisa, Kütahya or Amasya, the three provincial capitals in western Anatolia and the Black Sea. All that remain are references here and there, as well as a few descriptions of the palaces in Edirne, Filibe and Silivri. In Bursa there is a poorly renovated 17th century mansion

14 Artan 2010. For the records of porcelain entering the palace cellars by way of the estates of the deceased: Raby/Yücel 1986, esp. 35, 37, 47. These were then (re)circulated as gifts amongst members of the imperial family or leading dignitaries.

15 Necipoğlu 1991; Necipoğlu 2013.

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said to have been briefly occupied by Mehmed IV in the autumn of 1659[16]; and for the two palaces of Edirne we have a few poorly restored building sections and several later views and a site plan.[17]

For the princely palace of Manisa, where prospective heirs to the throne lived in training with their retinues after the model of Topkapı, we have a double-page miniature in Talikîzâde's work of 1595 entitled Şemâilnâme-i Âl-i Osman (Book of Fine Features of the House of Osman).[18] It resembles both the ground plans of Topkapı as shown in a series of 16th century miniatures[19] and the Edirne Palace as recorded in the early 19th century. Organised around three or four successive courtyards, the Ottoman palace was divided into three basic sections: the *birun* (exterior), comprising the service and administrative complexes; the *enderun* (interior), which was residential and recreational, and the harem. Organised in hierarchical structure resembling Ottoman power, its individual apartments might be remodelled indefinitely to accomodate changes in fashion, but its structure remained relatively constant.[20]

Grand viziers and their palaces: private property returning to the sultans

İbrahim Paşa's Palace at the Hippodrome/Atmeydanı

As we have said, of the vizirs' many palaces in early-modern Istanbul only that of İbrahim Paşa still stands, though not in its entirety. In close proximity to the Topkapı Palace, we know that it once comprised four or five courtyards of varying size and elevation, three of which were alligned with the western side of the Hippodrome.[21] In this it reflected a new urban aesthetic, by opening into a public square, very different from the fortified and totally introverted imperial palace. With the Hippodrome crowds in mind, it was both to be looked at, and to be looked out from.

İbrahim Paşa was a favourite of Süleyman I. He came to the Ottoman capital when Süleyman was enthroned in 1520. Even before he was elevated from the sultan's immediate retinue to grand vizier in 1523, Süleyman gave him the Hippodrome palace as a gift. The early history of the palace

16 Bertrandon de la Broquiere wrote in 1432: "*On a low mountain at the western end of the city is a fine, large castle. There are about a thousand houses inside. This is the lord's very beautiful residence. It is also a pleasure house for the Grand Turk, with fifty of his wives. There is a garden and a very nice little pool where the lord takes his ease, when he pleases, with his wives, in a small boat…All this is hearsay, for I saw only the exterior.*" Bertrandon de la Broquiere, *The "Voyage d'Outremer" by Bertrandon de la Broquiere*, tr. and ed. by Galen Kline, New York and Bern, 1988, 85.

17 It is possible that the plan in question was produced during the 1802 repairs undertaken by Ahmed Nuri Efendi and Agop Kalfa. It was (re)drawn by Avadis Benliyan in 1905 and copied by Dr. Rıfat Osman in 1909: Osman 1957; Kazancıgil 1999; Özer 2014; Özer, 2014b. See also: Arslantürk/Kocaaslan 2011; Arslantürk/Kocaaslan 2014.

18 Talikîzâde, *Şemailname-i Âl-i Osman*, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul, A. 3592, 10b-11a. The artist was Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, an eminent dignitary at Mehmed III's court who has provided us with a full account of its organisation and main sections. See also Uluçay 1941.

19 Especially those in the first volume of the *Hünernâme*, a manuscript by Nakkaş Osman, the chief of the Imperial Painting Workshop who played a crucial role in the development of Ottoman visual language: Hünernâme I (ca. 1584–1585), Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1523, fols. 15b (first courtyard); fols. 18b–19a (second courtyard); fols. 231b–232a (harem and the third courtyard). For the plans of the Topkapı Palace: Şehinşehnâme (1582–1583), İstanbul Üniversitesi Library, F. 1404, fol. 58a; Hünernâme I, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1523, 158b–159a. See also Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Library T. 5964, fols. 8b–9a.

20 Artan, 64.

21 The vizier's palace, said by a number of contemporary travellers to be grander in scale than the imperial palace of Topkapı, extended along the western side of the Roman Hippodrome (Atmeydanı). Monographs on the palace are few and outdated: Çetintaş 1939; Schneider 1941; Konyalı 1942; Atasoy 1972.

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has not yet been established, but İbrahim's ownership and patronage is indisputable. A document dated 1521, showing that the sultan had the palace repaired for İbrahim Ağa, includes one of the earliest descriptions of an Ottoman vizir's palace as well as references to the neighbouring structures and streets.[22] İbrahim was married there in 1524, but until very recently his bride was mistakenly identified.[23] The myth that he was married to a princess is no longer tenable; however, as the period historian Gelibolulu Mustafā 'Âli (d. 1600) remarked, his palace was a showcase for the quasi-imperial privileges he enjoyed: Until that time, it was not customary to cover the roofs of viziers' palaces with lead, the law *(kanun)* being that only the private pavilions of imperial women in the palaces of viziers who had married into the dynasty could be covered with lead; yet it was deemed proper for İbrahim Paşa to build [his residence] in the manner of the sultan's imperial palace.[24]

When İbrahim abruptly fell out of favour and was executed in 1536, all his assets, together with the palace, reverted to the imperial treasury. The Hippodrome palace was not amongst the properties he had endowed for the upkeep of various pious projects he had undertaken in the capital and beyond. Over the next centuries, however, İbrahim's name stuck to the palace (and still does) though parts of the building were later allocated to various viziers with their imperial wives and other dignitaries.

In 1547, the Safavid prince Elkas (Alqas) Mirza, Shah Tahmasp's brother who had fled to Istanbul, was accommodated in İbrahim's palace.[25] In 1566 the palace was temporarily assigned as the Headquarters of the Commander in Chief *(serasker-i sultan)*, Lala Mustafa Paşa (who was once the head of İbrahim's Privy Chamber).[26] In 1567, Selim II allocated the palace to his daughter Şah Sultan and her husband Zal Mahmud Paşa, who had just risen to the rank of vizier; the couple died there in 1577, two weeks apart.[27] Once more it immediately reverted to the state and in 1584 it was allocated to the grand vizier Bosnalı İbrahim Paşa and his imperial wife Ayşe Sultan, a daughter of Murad III.[28] Ayşe seems to have played a role in the subsequent allocation of the palace to another grand vizier, Yemişçi Hasan (d. 1603), whom she married following the death of her first husband in 1601.[29] When Ayşe and her third husband (married in 1604) Güzelce Mahmud Paşa both died in 1605, the palace underwent restoration and rebuilding under the supervision of the chief of the Imperial Corps of the Architects Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa.[30] In 1611, it was allocated to the grand admiral Mehmed Paşa; but it was another grand admiral, Topal Recep Paşa, who occupied the palace for an extended period previous to his promotion as grand vizier for a few months before he was executed in 1632. This exceptionally long-term occupancy led the historian Na'îmâ to designate both İbrahim Paşa and Receb Paşa simultaneously as the patrons of the palace.[31] Na'îmâ mentions

22 TSM Archives D. 9621 (B 927/June 1521). Another important document recording that the money for the restoration was borrowed from the office of the Privy Purse: TSM Archives E. 7624 (n.d.) after Orgun 1939. Atasoy 2012 included the facsimiles: 24–25.

23 Turan 2009. See also: Hakkı Uzunçarşılı 1965. For İbrahim Paşa: Tayyib Gökbilgin 1952; Emecen 2000. See also: Turan 2007; Turan, 2007b.

24 Mustafā "Âli, *Künhü'l-ahbâr*, İstanbul Üniversitesi T.5959, fol. 577v; after Necipoğlu 2005, 117 (and footnote 204). See also Tietze 1982.

25 Dernschwam 1923; Tanındı 2000.

26 Curiously, it is a mid-19th century source which mentions Lala Mustafa's brief residence at İbrahim's palace: Hayrullah Efendi, *Hayrullah Efendi Târihi* (*Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye Târihi*) XII, İstanbul, 1273–1292 (1853–1865), p.24, after Atasoy 2012, p. 56. He is said to have been married to a granddaughter of Süleyman I, Hümâşah, a daughter of Şehzade Mehmed.

27 *Tarih-i Selânikî I*, 58–59. See also Necipoğlu 2005, 370. No other imperial couple was associated with İbrahim's palace. Like Selim I's daughters, Süleyman I's one and only daughter Mihrümah, and also her husband, had palaces elsewhere in the city.

28 *Tarih-i Selânikî I*, 161.

29 Yemişçi Hasan took over Bosnalı İbrahim's not only wife and palace, but also his campaign equipment: İpşirli 2007, 179.

30 TSM Archives D. 205 and D.4411, after Orgun 1939.

31 *Târih-i Na'îmâ* II, 639, 711, 824: (1635, *Silahdar Mustafa Paşa için At Meydanı'nda vâki' Receb Paşa Sarayı ki, aslında*

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three boon-companions of the two sultans, Mustafa (of Murad IV), Yusuf and Fazlı (of İbrahim), as the next occupants of the Hippodrome Palace. The latter two were linked to the palace also by marrying Sultan İbrahim's daughter Fatma successively, in 1645 and 1648 respectively.[32] On the occasion of the grand vizier Ahmed Paşa's marriage in March 1648 to Beyhan Sultan, another of İbrahim's daughters, the palace was donated by the sultan to his eighth consort, Hümâşah (also known as Telli Haseki), and its reception hall overlooking the Hippodrome, reserved for the sultan to watch the festivities, was refurbished with heavy textiles and furs.[33]

Following the court's move to Edirne in 1658, the Hippodrome Palace fell victim to a number of uprisings and fires, in 1652, 1660, 1666; and finally in 1675, upon the order of Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed, it was sealed off.[34] In this period İbrahim and Fazlı were alternatingly referred to as the patron of the palace; and curiously it was also known as the Sultan's Palace *(padişah sarayı)*. An 18th century treatise on Istanbul mentions only one palace in addition to the three imperial palaces, that of Fazlı Paşa, noted for its size.[35] Sections of the palace were used for a variety of purposes: a weaving mill and dyehouse, stables, barracks for the military band, the offices of the imperial registry, a storehouse for the state archives, a military warehouse, an asylum, a prison, and even a menagerie. In 1700, the Polish envoy was stationed at the Hippodrome Palace, renowned for its commanding view of the Marmara Sea. Curiously, throughout the 18th century, İbrahim's palace seems to have been excluded from the court's rotational system of palaces and was never allocated to any princess or official. In a visual document from the first decade of the 18th century by Cornelius Loos, we see a monumental wooden palace depicted to the north of İbrahim's palace, on a higher level. The rendering of the palace here matches various later depictions, though some details are open to discussion.[36] A contemporary depiction of a marriage procession through the Hippodrome which

İbrahim Paşa sarayı derler); *Târih-i Na'imâ* III, 1071: (1645, *Yusuf Paşa Sarayı ki, İbrahim Paşa sarayıdır, silahdarlıktan çıkan Fazlı Paşa'ya verilip*).

32 When Fazlı Paşa was sent away from İstanbul in November 1648 he had to vacate "Recep Paşa's palace" and his wife was moved to the palace of Cinci Hoca: *Târih-i Na'imâ* III, 1198. It seems that Fazlı and Fatma occupied one section of the palace, possibly the part over the Byzantine underground cistern of Binbir Direk. An architectural plan indicates that in the 18th century textile dyers were working in this part of the palace still associated with Fazlı Paşa: TSM Archives E. 6342. See Öz 1950, 57, pl. XI; Necipoğlu 1986; Necipoğlu, 1990, 49. For the depictions of Fazlı Paşa's palace in Tıflî's stories, examplary of a genre of prose fiction, see "Meşhur Binbir Direk Fazlî Paşa Batakhâne Hikâyesi'/Tayyârzâde Hikâyesi": Sayers 2013, 211, 216, 218, 220, 226, 230–32, 241, 244, 246, 247. For references to Fazlı's palace: Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmaîl Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i Râşid* ve Zeyli I *(1071–1114 / 1660–1703)*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, A. Zeki İzgöer, İstanbul: Klâsik Yayınları 2013, 184, 232, 280, 281, 355, 357, 543, 675.

33 *Târih-i Na'imâ* III, 1129–1130 : *Ve At Meydanı'nda olan İbrahim Paşa Sarayın padişah hazretleri kendi menkûhası olan sekizinci hasekiye verip mezkure ile ol makâm-ı âliyeyi ârâm-gâh etmek murad etmeğin ber-vech-i isti 'câl döşemesi için defterdar paşa tayin olundu. Ba'zı hayr-hâhlar sevkiyle sarayın tamamen ferşinden ferâgat olunup ancak meydana nâzır bir kubbeli odayı hass-ı padişahî i'tibârı ile döşemeye karar verildi. Sûr-ı sürûr için ve kâşâne-i merkumenin ferşine lâzım olan bisât ve zerdûz akmişe-i Hindiye-i tılâ-fürûz ve sâ'ir tuhaf ve nevâdir makûlesi esvâb ve eşy3a tahsîli için gecelerde bedestânlar ve mahzenler ve hanlar açılıp sâhibinin izni var ise hoş, [265] yoğ ise hâh u nâ-hâh dükkânı ve mekânı basılıp padişaha yarar ol makûle emti 'a-i nefise alâ mehl mîrîden akçeleri verilmek üzre cebren ve kahren alınıp sûr u sürûr levâzımına sarf ve ol sarayın kâşâne-i ma'hûdesinin ferş ü tezyini için telef olup vezîria 'zam ve defterdar Halıcı-zâde hezâr zahmet ü meşakket ve halktan gasb u eziyyet ile tedarük ettikleri envâ '-ı dîbâ vü zîbâ ve samur ve vaşak ile pür revnâk etmişler iken ba 'de'tekmîl padişah hazretleri saray-ı ma'hûda gelip ferş ü tezyîni kabûle karîn vâki ' olmayıp defterdar paşayı azl ve bostancıbaşı habsine gönderilip defterdarlığı pâye-i vezâretle Defter Emini Köse İsmail Efendi'ye tevcih ettiler.*

34 "*Ol vakit padişah sarayı idi 1086'da Köprülü kapadı*", *Vekâyinâme*, H. 1468: Karatay 1961, 273–274, after Atasoy 2012, 71–72.

35 Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Yazma Eserler 4277, fol.153b. It was written by a non-İstanbullu, and the marginalia includes dates 1702–1703, 1705–1706, 1728–1729, 1729–1730. The three imperial palaces listed were the old and the new palaces, namely the Saray-ı Âtik and Sarây-ı Cedid (Topkapı), and the Davud Paşa Palace.

36 Westholm 1985. At the end of the century, İbrahim Paşa's palace was illustrated together with the adjoining palaces again by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire (1753–1822) and by Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831). See, respectively, Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822; Melling 1809–1819.

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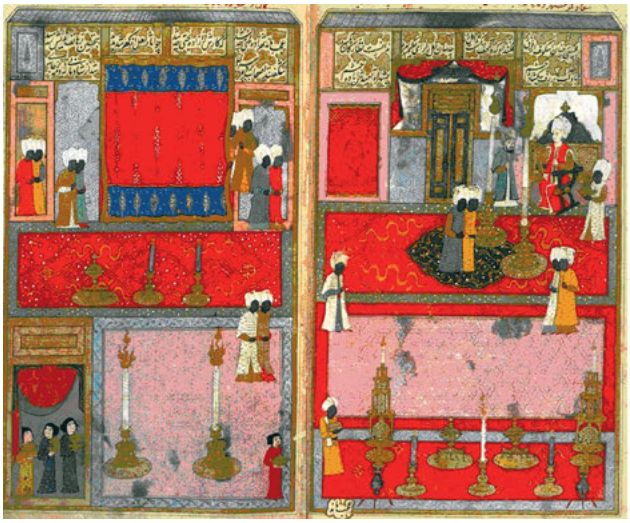

Fig. 1 The Audience Hall of İbrahim Paşa's Palace at the Hippodrome.

Fig. 2 The Audience Hall and a Chamber overlooking the Hippodrome at İbrahim Paşa's Palace.

was included in Aubrey de la Mottraye's book of travels (1724) shows a castle-like palatial structure with two projecting kiosks, commanding a splendid view of the only urban square in the Ottoman capital.[37] Despite the annex with triple arches, reminiscent of a monumental gate, and the terraced façade apparently hiding a garden-courtyard, neither of which can be immediately associated with İbrahim's palace, this building reflects some typical features of the 16th century vizier's palace as depicted by contemporary artists (Fig. 5).[38] Taken together with the later 18th century depictions, however, the western side of the Hippodrome deserves further research.

The Hippodrome Palace was also used as a venue for imperial celebrations, including the circumcision festivities of 1524, 1530, 1582 and the inaguration of the Sultan Ahmed mosque in 1616. Hence the facade of the palace and the imperial kiosk, projecting from the divanhâne of the palace, was repeatedly depicted by Ottoman artists.[39] A miniature painting depicting Prince Mehmed, son of Murad III, conversing with Cerrah Mehmed Paşa, the palace surgeon, in the company of black eunuchs during the imperial circumcision celebration in 1582 is an exceptionally rare visual document. It delineates a monumental interior decorated with tiles, stained-glass windows, carpets

37 Aubry de La Mottraye, *Travels throughout Europe, Asia and into Part of Africa with proper cutts and maps. Containing a great variety of geographical, topographical, and political observations on those parts of the world; especially on Italy, Turky, Greece, Crimea and Noghaian Tartaries, Circassia, Sweden, and Lapland*... vol. I, London: printed for the author, 1724, plate 15. See also: *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Motraye en Europe*, Asie *et Afrique*, 2 vol., La Haye: T. Johnson et J. Van Duren, 1727.

38 Included in the copies of David Ungnad's *Türkenbuch* (more below) is a wedding procession of an Ottoman princess and a official which depicts a mansion, their destination. The mansion, possibly the residence of the bridegroom, has a two-storey entrance gate that leads to what appears to be an open courtyard : Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Inventar-Nr.: Mscr.Dresd.J.2.a, Blatt 1 (by Zacharias Wehme, 1582); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindobonensis 8615, fol. 81v (by Johannes Löwenklau ?, 1585). For a reproduction of the bridal parade: Atıl 1993. Also made by an artists in Ungnad's retinue, is a depiction of the Hippodrome which features the facade of a vizirial palace, marked with two gates. This could have been either İbrahim Paşa's palace (positioned to the east of the Hippodrome rather than it is in reality) or Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's palace shortly before the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque: Freshfield Album (named after its last owner), Cambridge Trinity College, MS.0.17.2, Bl. 20 (attributed to Lambert de Vos, 1574). See: Freshfield 1921/22; Freshfield, 1929/30; Westbrook 2011. For an Ottoman depiction of the İbrahim Paşa's Palace: Denny 1970.

39 Turan remarked that İbrahim Paşa's 1524 wedding was the first of the grand-scale dynastic festivities to be organized at the Hippodrome : Turan 2007, 152–155. For views from the Hippodrome during the 1530 festivities depicted 60 years later: *Hünernâme II* (1588), TSM Library H. 1524, 103b–104a; 119b–120a; 122b–123a; for numerous depictions of the palace during the 1582 festivities which have been widely published: *Sûrnâme*, TSM Library H. 1344; *Şehinşahnâme*, TSM Library B. 200. The palace continued to host the sultans, including Murad IV. See footnote 33 above.

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Fig. 3 The Audience Hall (with its projecting balcony) of İbrahim Paşa's Palace at the Hippodrome and the three bronze statues of Hercules, Artemis and Apollo which İbrahim had brought from Buda in 1526.

and curtains, as well as gargantuan candle-holders, insense burners and other golden vessels. In another double-folio, the Audience Hall and a chamber overlooking the palace entrance, now both devoid of furnishings, can be seen.[40] (Fig. 1, 2) Seated in the projecting balcony of this imperial kiosk, the sultans had an exceptional view of the processions and celebrations taking place in the Hippodrome. Likewise, the inhabitants of Istanbul had the opportunity to see the sultan in proper decorum for the occasion. In a small group of many miniatures depicting the Hippodrome with the palace in the background are shown the three bronze statues of Hercules, Artemis and Apollo which İbrahim had brought from Buda and put on display in 1526.[41] This caused much offence, expressed by the contemporary poet Figâni in a couplet in Persian which accused İbrahim of idolatry: "Two İbrahims came to this world, one [the Prophet Abraham] destroyed idols, and the other [the grand vizier] erected them" (Fig. 3).

İbrahim's irreligious attitude, demonstrated in the public exhibition of the statues in 1526, together with his arrogance seems to have caused his ruin. His untimely death in 1536 might have prevented his palace from becoming part of his *waqfs*.[42] It is also possible that Süleyman, who did

40 *Şehinşahnâme*, TSM Library B. 200, 82b–83a, after Atasoy 2012, 64–65. The inscription says: "*saadetlü şehzâde-i civanbaht tâli bekânın hedemât –ı hitanların ve vezir Mehmed Paşa kulları/kemâl-i âdâb ile varub edâ olunduğudur*". For another miniature depicting the interior of the Audience Hall, devoid of furniture see: *Hünernâme II*, TSM Library H. 1524, 122b-123a. For vivid descriptions of its successive refurbishments: *Târih-i Na'îmâ* II, p. 824 (in 1634, for Silahdar Mustafa Paşa), p. 1028 (in 1645, for the imperial marriage of Silahdar Yusuf Paşa to Fatma Sultan); *Târih-i Na'îmâ* III, 1129–1130 (in 1648, for the imperial marriage of Silahdar Ahmed Paşa to Beyhan Sultan). See footnotes 31 and 33 above.

41 Historian Peçevi (1574–1650?) records that, "amongst the objects of art, there were three bronze sculptures that were strange (*garip*) and bizarre (*acaip*) erected outside the entrance to the fortress of Budin. I think the big one was the statue of a king who governed over all the infidels and the others, smaller in size but similar in form, were the sculptures of the sons of this king who reigned after him. Since they were so strange and so bizarre they were transported to Istanbul by boat. Each was erected on a stone pedestal at the Hippodrome for the public to see and those who saw them found them admirable. See: Yenişehirlioğlu 2008; after Baykal 1981, 76–77.The statues which were originally commissioned by King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1458–1490) from Giovanni Dalmata, an Italian sculptor, remained in the Hippodrome for almost a decade and must have been removed immediately after İbrahim's assassination. For visual depictions of the statues in the Hippodrome: Coeck 1990, 286, fig. 311; *Hünernâme* II (1588), TSM Library H. 1524, fols. 122b–123a, 119b–120a, 112b–113a ; published in: And 1982, fig. 21. One of these three men, dressed in Hungarian military costume and helmet, is standing; the other two are by his knees and the one on his right is a black figure. However, neither Peçevî's, nor the miniature artists of the *Hünernâme* manuscript, description of the statues agrees with the mythological description of these figures. There were either two groups of statues, or they had been transformed into that of a king and his two slaves.

42 Secondary literature lists mosques of various capacities, schools of different levels, hostels, baths and fountains

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not chose to marry İbrahim to one of his female relations, did not grant him the possession of the land or the palace, but simply granted him the privilege of having his office and household in an old imperial building.[43] Hence when he was murdered after dining and entertaining himself with the sultan at the Topkapı Palace as he was accustomed to do, his vast wealth and property reverted to the imperial coffers. However, whereas the nearby palaces of the prominent statesmen of Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman I, all of them *waqfs* intended to exist for eternity, gradually disappeared, İbrahim's name and the quintessential Hippodrome Palace has resisted time and competition.[44]

The palaces of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and his imperial wife İsmihan

Mimar Sinan, the sultan's chief architect during half of the 16th century, claims in his autobiography that he built some thirty palaces or mansions, mostly located in the Hippodrome/Hagia Sophia area, and that several were patronised by the grand viziers of his time.[45] Gülru Necipoğlu, in her meticulous study on Mimar Sinan, has pointed to a number of palaces which were built by him to provide for mosque complexes and other pious works which he constructed for various officials.[46] Using hitherto unstudied endowment deeds *(waqfiyyas)*, Necipoğlu has corrected many mistakes in the secondary literature. Future research based on *waqfiyyas* will undoubtedly shed more light

that İbrahim Paşa built in İstanbul and beyond (Mecca, Selanik, Hezergrad and Kavala) and the *waqf*s he established for their upkeep: Gökbilgin, 1952. Following his murder his estate, including some jewelry, was confiscated. For the sale of his freehold properties, houses and shops around the Hippodrome, Ayasofya, Gedikpaşa, and gardens and çiftliks at Eyüp, Silivri (Kulkallı köyü) and elsewhere (starting from 22 March to 19 April 1536, continuing until 1539), see: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD), nr. 187. In his 19th century chronicle *Atâ* Bey claimed that İbrahim Paşa's gardens at Sütlüce continued to be called after him: Atâ 2010. For the transfer of these gardens at Südlüce to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's son İbrahim Hanzâde in 1609/1619 and some of his *waqf* properties in the area see footnotes 49 and 50 below.

43 Turan claimed that İbrahim, who swiftly rose to power as a result of Süleyman's attachment to him, was not in need of additional favour: "his whole being was, after all, the embodiment of it": Turan 2009, 32. For a discussion of Süleyman I's need "to communicate with the larger urban setting of Istanbul", and how he used the palace "to have a broader public presence, visibility and personal authority in the city", see Turan 2007, 155. It is highly probable that another sultan before Süleyman, most plausibly Bayezid II, intended to have a dynastic building there which seems to have remained unfinished or destroyed (during the 1509 earthquake ?). Previous studies have noted that the earliest documents pertaining to the palace use the terms such as "repair and renovation" at least for some of its structures (TSM Archives D.9621 and E.7624): Atasoy 2012, 14; and Turan 2007, 166–167. It should be remembered that the palace of Firuz Ağa, the keeper of the treasury, an eminent statesman of Bayezid II, was nearby and some of its parts might have been incorporated into the new complex.

44 Kafescioğlu noted that Firuz Ağa's palace (*dâr*), built near his mescid in 1490, had a double courtyard. A number of ground and upper-story rooms and ante-rooms (sufaf), a bath, stables, and a garden in the inner courtyard, and two gardens within the outer courtyard were listed in his endowment deed. Situated above the Philoxenos/Binbirdirek cistern, the inner courtyard used the Byzantine structure both as a foundation and as a means of elevating the new building and lending it more prominence within the urban fabric. It it followed the boundaries of the cistern beneath, it was a spacious enclosure sixty-four meters in length and fifty-six in width. See, Kafescioğlu 2009, 201. For the wakfiyya of Firuz Ağa, dated 897/1491-92: TSM Archives D. 6931. For archaeological findings in the area: Bardill 1997.

45 Crane/Akın 2006; for a list of Sinan's palaces, see Appendix I, 365–366. Amongst those listed in the Hippodrome area were the palace of the grand vizier Semiz Ali Paşa in the Ishak Paşa quarter, the palace with three courtyards of Rüstem's brother, the grand admiral Sinan Paşa, and the palace of the grand vizier Koca Sinan Paşa. For all this see Necipoğlu 2005, 385, 418–419, 506.

46 Gülru Necipoğlu also noted the palaces built by Sinan for lesser statesmen, some of which are not listed in his autobiographies. Amongst these is the Vefa palace of Pertev Mehmed Paşa, janissary aga and vizier, with whom the chief architect had a convivial relationship. For Ferruh Kethüda, the steward of Semiz Ali Paşa, Sinan also built a mosque and a convent at Balat (1562–1563), and shore residences for his family outside the Balat Gate. Necipoğlu 2005, 396. 487–488 respectively.

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on Sinan's palace planning principles. He was surely creative and experimental in his mosque plans; but was there any diversity in his plans for palaces?

Three of Mimar Sinan's palaces on which I have focused in two studies nearly twenty years apart are richly documented in rare visual and archival evidence. One is Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's (1565–1579) "new house of felicity" which once flanked the eastern side of the Hippodrome.[47] It was just opposite İbrahim's palace, and was known as Mehmed Paşa's Hippodrome (Atmeydanı/Ayasofya) Palace. In Sinan's autobiographies, the Tuhfetü'l-mi'mârîn and Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye, it was recorded as a newly built palace *(sarây-ı Mehmed Paşa der Ahurqapusı/Ayâ Sofya qurbinde Mehemmed Paşa sarây[ı])*.[48]

A major source pertaining to Sokollu's Hippodrome palace is an excerpt from a sales record (dated 30 August 1609).[49] It is a title-deed indicating that Sokollu's heir İbrahim Han *(zâde)* sold the palace to Sultan Ahmed I for 60 *kises* of florins *(sikke-i hasene)*.[50] This appears to have been done to clear space for the Sultan Ahmed Mosque built 1606–1617, and the deed describes in detail the various parts and buildings of the palace which had stood "next to the tomb of İskender Paşa in the neighbourhood of Kabasakal Sinan Paşa".[51] A 17th century chronicler and a relative of Sokollu, Peçevî (d. 1650), claims that Sokollu's much younger imperial wife İsmihan, another of Selim II's daughters, was given 100,000 gold coins (6,000,000 *akçes/aspers*) by the sultan to build a "new palace" on the Hippodrome, but that Sokollu returned this money to his wife as a present and used his own wealth to build the palace.[52] The couple, married in 1562, had an older palace at Kadırga

47 The palace in the Kabasakal Sinan Ağa quarter near the Hagia Sophia was listed as the new palace in the 1574 *waqf*iyya (darüs-sa'âde-i cedîde) together with the old palace (darüs-sa'âde-i 'atîka): Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Defter 572, 31–32, after Necipoğlu 2005, 332. Sokollu Mehmed Paşa: Refik 1924; Veinstein 2008; Veinstein 2009.

48 Crane/Akın 2006, 72, 83, 98, 110.

49 Compiled in a voluminous register, TSM Archives D. 10748 (29 CA–29 Z 1026/04 June–28 December 1617), together with the sale documents of several palaces purchased by Ahmed I to make room for his mosque complex at the Hippodrome, is the document recording the sale of Mehmed Paşa's palace by his descendant. Published first by Refik and then by Eldem, the sale deed is dated 29 CA 1018/30 August 1609, and records the finalization of the sale of the palace which involved the transfer of the gardens at Südlüce, previously belonging to Pargalı (Makbûl/Maktûl) İbrahim Paşa, to Mehmed Paşa's descendant: Refik 1924, 305. For a reproduction and transcription of the document: Eldem 1979, 22–27.

50 Artan 1994. For Sokollu's heirs see footnote 53. Necipoğlu has shed new light on the couple's architectural patronage: Necipoğlu 2005, 331–368. For their palaces in particular: Necipoğlu 2005, 41, 332–333, 335, 348, 355, 514. The sale document in question (dated 29 CA 1018, compiled in: TSM Archives D. 10748) records that Ibrahim Hanzade received 30, 000 filorins in cash at the time of the sale (in 1609), and the the remaing 30,000 filorins was paid by the transfer of gardens at Südlüce: "...*merhum İbrahim Paşa bahçesi demekle maruf olup bir cânibi Handan Ağa Bahçesi ile derya ve bir cânibi merhume Ayşe Sultan hazretlerinin vakfettikleri bahçe ile camiye gidecek tarikk-i amm ve bir tarafı merhum İbrahim Paşa'nın vakfettiği şem'hane ve bakkal dükkanı ve berber dükkanı ve kahvehane ve bir tarafı tarik-i amm ile mahdûde olup ve yine hadikâ-i mezbure civarında merhum İbrahim Paşa'nın Hazinedarı Hadikâsı demekle meşhure olup hariciye ve dahiliye buyût-ı adideyi muhteviye-i mahûtîni haviye olup bir tarafı merhum Ebussuud Efendi bahçesi ve bir tarafı derya ve iki tarafı tarik-i amm ile mahdûde olup...*".

51 Also in 1609, Mihrümah and Rüstem's Hippodrome palace, which had already passed on to their daughter Ayşe Hümâşah and her husband Semiz Ahmed Paşa, was sold for 30,000 filorins. It, too, was to be demolished to create space for Ahmed I's mosque complex (TSM Archives D. 10748, 29 CA 1026). Sale of four other lots, all dated 1609, are recorded in the same register.

52 Artan 1993; Artan 1994; Artan 1995. Peçevî, a relative of Sokollu who locates the new palace near the new mosque of Sultan Ahmed, inquires about the financial sources of the grand vizier and asks his steward and treasurer: "You say that the late grand vizier did not take bribes and that his fiefs did not yield more than 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 aspers. Then what was the source for the expenditures of his two palaces [Kadırgalimanı and Hippodrome], worth 100,000,000 aspers ?", after Necipoğlu, 2005, 332, 345: İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih* I, 1281–1283 (1864–1867), 11. In my earlier publications on this subject I have called Sokollu's wife "Esmahan" as was commonly accepted in the secondary literature at the time. Whilst some scholars, following the study of her *waqfiyyas* and other primary sources, opted for "İsmihan", Pal Fodor, noting that the 16th century Hungarian romance *Icon vicissitudinis humanae vitae* called the princess Azma Zultàn, and a 1586 document (BOA D.BŞM. 40821/2) has *medda* over the first *elif* (pronounced as Asma Han), proposed "Esma Han Sultan" (elif, sin, mim, ye, he, elif, nun). See: Sudar/Fodor 2006.

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(see below). In late 1576, on the basis of what he had heard from M. Oswald Kayser (a former clockmaker and kitchen attendant at Sokollu's palace), Stephan Gerlach, who spent five years in Istanbul as a priest in the retinue of David Ungnad (the Habsburg ambassador to Istanbul 1573–1578), also reported that Selim II had donated 70,000 thalers toward the construction of Sokollu's and İsmihan's "new palace". He added that the painting of the walls, not to mention the costs of stone, timber, lime and other contruction materials, had eventually amounted to 150,000 thalers.[53]

This Hippodrome/Ayasofya palace seems to have been the grand vizier's official residence, i. e. "Porte" where Sokollu held public audience, the *ikindi divanı*, and conducted state affairs.[54] On the other hand, it is possible to deduce from the aforementioned sale record of 1609/1617 that the palace sold to Ahmed I did not include a full-fledged harem quarter even though it was organised around two sections, an inner one *(dahiliye)* and an outer one *(hariciye)*, in order to house the inner *(enderun)* and the outer *(birun)* spheres of his household respectively.[55] But of course, there may also have been a third courtyard with the Harem apartments around it, opening through the *"sultan kapusu"* mentioned at the entrance to the inner part *(dahiliye)*, and that this section was not part of the transaction at the time of its purchase by the sultan.

Construction seems to have continued until the grand vizier's assassination in his audience hall in 1579. In 1578 the Venetian bailo promised to lend the services of a young painter residing in the Venetian embassy for work on a building which Sokollu was having constructed inside his palace grounds.[56] In addition, the 1578–80 *waqf* register includes four entries which show that Sokollu had embarked upon a complicated process of offering exchanges *(istibdâl)* for various endowed properties in the Ayasofya district and relocating them elsewhere in order to expropriate the sites legally.[57] We have no clue whatsoever about how and when İsmihan or Sokollu Mehmed came into possession of the land, whether it was a donation of the sultan or purchased from owners.

The Hippodrome/Ayasofya palace, however, was Sokollu's private property. It was endowed in 1574.[58] The couple's son İbrahim Han(zâde) inherited their properties, including the palaces and the administration of their *waqfs*.[59] It was İbrahim who sold the Hippodrome/Hagia Sophia palace to the sultan in 1609, and completed the transaction in 1617 when he was the governor general of Bosnia. At the time, whilst İbrahim Han(zâde) was represented by the Darüssaade ağası Elhac Mustafa Ağa ibn Abdülmübîn, the representative of the sultan was Ali bin Abdurrauf (d. 1624), an eminent scholar who soon afterwards became the judge of Istanbul (26 August 1620). After listing all parts of the palace, İbrahim writes: "...this was the extent and entirety of the palace I inherited legally from my father, the late Mehmed Paşa..." *(babam merhum-ı mezbûr Mehmed Paşa'dan*

53 Since Gerlach noted in November 1576 that this money was donated by Selim II (d. 15 December 1574), the palace in question must be the couple's new palace: Gerlach 1674, 267, after Necipoğlu 2005, 332. (For comparison: Gerlach noted that ambassador Ungnad had one hall at the embassy whitewashed and its windows furnished with glass panes, and that this cost him 200 thalers.) In January 1576 Gerlach noted that four daughters and four sons of the couple were buried in a tomb that Sokollu built at Eyüb: Gerlach 2006, 331. In November 1576 Gerlach added that nowadays the vizier had moved out of his old palace because of his children's subsequents deaths there, believing that it was hounted: Gerlach 2006, 459. For the children of the couple and their tombs: Bacque-Grammont/Laqueur/Vatin 1990. Necipoğlu interpreted Gerlach's note about the donation of 70,000 thalers as pertaining to the construction of the Hippodrome palace, and argued that "the old palace, not far removed from the new one, seems to have been abandoned around the time the couple's mosque complex was completed in 1574." Sokollu's endowment deed, registered in April 1574, refers to both palaces: "the old house of felicity at Kadırgalimanı" and "the new house of felicity". For Sokollu's palaces see also: Stichel 1996.

54 I have already noted the difficulties with this interpretation: Artan 1994, 90–91; Artan, 2012.

55 For the Hippodrome palace not including the harem quarters: Artan, 89–90. For a discussion of the harem quarters at the Hippodrome palace see: Stichel, 1996, 211–212.

56 ASV Senato Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 12, dispatch of Niccolò Barbarigo, dated 3 August 1578, fol. 167r, after Necipoğlu 2005, 332.

57 Tapu Tahrir Defteri 670, 5, 70, 71, 374, 924, after Artan 1994, 93.

58 VGM Defter 572, 31–32, 33. After Necipoğlu 2005, 332–333.

59 For the couple's *waqf*s and their consolidation after their death, see Necipoğlu 2005, 346–347.

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irs-i şer'î ile intikâl edüp...), and declared that he turned over all the legal rights of his "inherited property" to the sultan *(mülk-ı mevrûsumu ... padişah hazretlerine ... bey'-i bât-ı sahîh-i şer'î ile bey' vekil-i mumaileyhe teslim ...)*.[60] This process is of great interest and reveals much about the *waqf* institution and the complexities of the transfer of property rights. It is understood that, by customary practice, as a palace built on crown land and bequeathed as a *waqf*, it could be returned to the state and allocated to a new generation of princesses or dignitaries who could lease it, and who should therefore pay whatever rent it entailed to the trustees of the İsmihan and Sokollu endowments.

Sultan Ahmet I faced severe criticism and opposition when he embarked on purchasing private properties in the area with the aim of demolishing them to clear space for his ambitious project.[61] For the construction of a new mosque, the young sultan had to withdraw the funds from the public treasury because he had not won any victories to enrich himself with the spoils of Holy War. This provoked the anger of the Ottoman ulema. The demolition of the official mansions and two quasi-imperial palaces on the site and the legal problems concerning their *waqf*s must have also caused consternation. It was perhaps in seeking justification for the construction of the mosque, that the biographer of Mehmed Ağa, the architect of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque wrote:

> In the city of Istanbul, there were many old palaces.
> There were none, neither man nor jinn, dwelling in those houses[62].

This, of course, could not have been true of Sokollu's new palace. However, in November 1576 Gerlach noted that because the couple believed their castle-like old palace at Kadırga Limanı was haunted by evil spirits, causing their children to die one by one, they moved to the new palace at the Hippodrome – already in 1574 when they waqfed it.[63]

Now the "old house of felicity", which Sokollu's imperial wife İsmihan had had built and which she had moved into with her own retinue, was also in the broader vicinity of the Hippodrome – at the Byzantine harbour-arsenal complex called Kadırga Limanı, down the slope beyond the wall of the Sphendone.[64] It was rebuilt by Mimar Sinan. Necipoğlu has observed that in one of Sinan's autobiographies, the Tuhfetü'l-mi'mârîn, "the palace of Mehmed Paşa at Kadırga Limanı" was recorded as a pre-existing structure extensively remodelled by the chief architect *(sarây-ı Mehmed Paşa der Kadırgalimanı, tecdîd olınmışdur)*.[65] Necipoğlu also noted the attendence of the Venetian bailo, Marcantonio Barbaro, at an audience in August 1569, at the Kadırga Palace and the comments of a gentleman in the retinue of the French ambassador in March-June 1573. Philippe du Fresne-Canaye remarked that he was thoroughly unimpressed by the humble edifice of the paşa's quarters, where

60 Refik 2005, 305; Eldem 1986, 22–27: "*...Padişah..hazretlerinin silk-i mülklerinde münharit ve semt-i yedlerinde münzabıt olan hadikalarını saadetlü padişah-ı din-penâh hazretleri otuz bin sikke-i haseneye bana bey' ve teslim ettikten sonra semeni olan otuz bin sikke-i filori zimmetimde deyn olmuş idi [.] saray-ı sâlifü'l-beyân semeninden bâkî kalan otuz bin sikke-i filori ile takas eyledik ... badel yevm zikr olunan hadikalar benim mülküm olup saray-ı merkum saadetlü padişah hazretlerinin mülk-i müşterâlarıdır...*".

61 For the structures demolished for the Ahmed I's socio-religious complex: Gökyay 1975, 158–161. Also see TSM Archives D. 10748, cited above, for a detailed description of the palatial structures before demolition.

62 "*Var idi şehr-i Sitanbulda niçe köhne saray/Ins ü Cinden yoğ idi kimse deyyâr*": Necipoğlu 2005, 514–515. For the ulema's reaction to Ahmed I's decision to build a monumental complex in this location: Crane 1991.

63 Necipoğlu, too, noted that "according to Reinhold Lubenau (1586–1588) Sokollu had filled in the remaining basin of "Caderga Limani" because of the stench that affected his nearby palace", suggesting that the couple moved to the Hippodrome palace: Lubenau 1914, 181–182 (*Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi. Osmanlı Ülkesinde 1587–1589*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012, 181). Elsewhere (354), he notes that he had visited the palaces of the grand vizier and İbrahim Paşa several times, but mentions only the marble fountains with waterjets and beautiful vases of flowers decorating the rooms which, he says, were otherwise plain and simple.

64 Artan 1995; Artan 1993; Artan 1994.

65 Necipoğlu 2005, 333. Crane/Akın 2006, 72, 83, 98. Back in 1993, I overlooked this note and claimed that Sinan built a new palace for the couple: Artan 1994, 90.

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the grand vizier daily held public and private audience, for its roof was not covered with lead as the other palaces of the capital. The interior was also unassuming: the reception hall was painted in the "Turkish style"; with the lack of marble or any other decoration, a bench going around the hall, covered with fine carpets, was the only furnishing that caught his attention. He was, however, impressed with the stables and the horses. He also added that he was told that the princess's quarters were truly magnificent.[66] This palace is not identified by Fresne-Canaye, but it is likely that in 1573 they were still at Kadırga. However, considering Fresne-Canaye's reference to public and private audiences, one could also posit that this was a third palace, on the other side of the Alay Köşkü *(kurb-i kasr-ı Alay)*, mentioned by Evliyâ Çelebi and associated with Sokollu Mehmed Paşa.[67]

It would appear that Sokollu and İsmihan abandoned the Kadırga Palace around the time their mosque complex was completed in 1574 and settled at their new Hippodrome palace[68], although as the various documents cited above indicate, construction was still under way in the new palace until at least 1578. The Kadırga Palace, too, was endowed in 1574. It is a pity that Gerlach, who noted on 21 August 1575 that they visited the grand vizier in a spacious and charming reception hall of his palace "overlooking Chalcedon", did not specify whether this was the old or the new palace.[69] Chalcedon/Kadıköy would have been visible from both. I would be tempted to suggest that they were still at Kadırga at the time; otherwise, Gerlach, who had been to the grand vizier's (Kadırga) palace several times since his arrival in 1573 and mentions the sultan's cash gift for a new palace in November 1576, would have made special mention of the new palace of Mehmed Paşa.

In April 1576, Gerlach describes the ceremonies which followed the regular *divân* meetings at the Topkapı Palace, and he notes that after working non-stop at the Imperial Council Hall for seven or eight hours, from early morning until afternoon prayers, the grand vizier would return to his palace where he would listen to petitioners waiting for him in his audience hall *(ikindi divânı)*. This would take another two hours; and only then would he eat, retreat to the apartments of his wife, go to bed, and sleep for half an hour.[70] On another occasion, Gerlach mentions that the grand vizier visited his wife's apartments only when she summoned him through a eunuch. Gerlach's accounts point to the presence of a harem quarter in the palace to which Sokollu retired after the Topkapı *divân*. Is he referring here to some pre-1574 practice? Did Sokollu visit the Kadırga Palace only when his wife wished to see him? Or was this in his "new palace" in the Hippodrome? If the harem quarters in the new palace were completed before Sokollu's death, was it only a partial sale that took place in 1609? This is highly possible, and as suggested above, parts of the harem quarters could have been excluded from this sale.

When Sokollu died in late 1579 the Kadırga Palace remained in the family, but was often used by the state for temporary housing of dignitaries and foreign envoys visiting the capital. Thus when

66 Necipoğlu quoted Fresne-Canaye who added that it was Sokollu's "cautious sense of decorum and fear of arousing envy which had caused him to construct his own quarters in such a modest fashion": Necipoğlu 2005, 333. See Fresne-Canaye 1986, 55–56 (*Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, İstanbul, 2009, 50–51). For Marcantonio Barbaro's visit to the palace, see Necipoğlu 2005, 335.

67 Gökyay 1995, 133 (93b). Sokollu's residence in this palace perhaps predated his marriage to İsmihan in 1562. Fresne-Canaye also mentioned that the ambassador left with his horse, and was accompanied to his barge by the dragoman of the sultan: Fresne-Canaye 1986, 55–56.

68 Necipoğlu 2005, 332.

69 Gerlach 2006, 216. Ungnad's retinue waited for the grand vizier to return from the Imperial Council meeting at the Topkapı Palace in the public audience hall; then Sokollu Mehmed received the ambassador in his (private ?) room. With reference to this note of Gerlach, that the audience hall was overlooking the Chalcedon, Stichel agreed that the location of the palace in Kadırga fits this description; nevertheless, a building located in the Hippodrome, he said, would be in a better position to have a view of the opposite shore. It is therefore likely, he concluded, that the palace captured in Ungnad 's illustrated Türkenbuch was the grand vizier's new palace. Unfortunately, neither Gerlach, who is the most informative amongst those in the retinue of Ungnad, nor the others do not tell us which Sokollu palace the ambassador visited at different times during his five-year residence in İstanbul.

70 Gerlach 2006, 329–330.

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Kalaylıkoz Ali Paşa (governor general of Budin and a member of Sokollu's household) arrived in Istanbul in the summer (20 August) of 1584 with the prospect of marrying İsmihan, he was lodged in Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's palace.[71] Again, it is not clear which palace of Sokollu this was. Since the palace or "mansion" at Kadırga had just been vacated by the envoy from Qoms and Kashan (8 August), it is highly possible that it was immediately allocated (or rented out?) to İsmihan's second husband Ali Paşa.[72] They were married in October, and the following August, two days after giving birth to a son, İsmihan died of sepsis.[73] Where they lived in the meantime is not recorded. Ali returned to Buda in the early summer of 1586 and the Kadırga palace reverted to the Sokollu-İsmihan line, the so-called İbrahimhanzâdes.[74]

We might also ask where İsmihan lived at the time of Ali Paşa's arrival in 1584. If the royal widow did not chose to stay in the Hippodrome palace following Sokollu's assassination, possible places of residence for her would be the couple's Üsküdar or Halkalı palaces, at least until her second marriage. On the other hand, Sokollu's new palace, then the seat of the private and official public audiences, could have been allocated to the grand vizier who followed him in office. This was Semiz Ahmed Paşa (1579–1580), married to the daughter of Rüstem and Mihrümah, Ayşe Hümâşah. The fact that this royal couple, too, had another palace in the area which was also sold in 1609 and demolished in preparation for the construction of Ahmed I's mosque suggests that this was probably not the case.[75] It seems that İsmihan stayed there with the couple's surviving children.

In 1593, we find another Safavid envoy in the Kadırga Palace: Prince Haydar Mirza, held hostage in İstanbul, was circumcised at the Kadırga Palace.[76] In early 1606, the grand vizier Lala Mehmed Paşa, son of Sokollu's uncle, who on his return from a long and successful campaign in Hungary was at Belgrade with the army at the time was recalled and accomodated at the Kadırga Palace upon his arrival to the capital.[77]

The heir of Sokollu Mehmed and İsmihan, İbrahim, died in 1622. In the course of the 17th century, the İbrahimzâde Palace at Kadırga seems to have been damaged by successive fires – the fires of 1645, 1652 and 1660 were especially disastrous throughout the quarter.[78] Beside the Fifth Gate (Kumkapu) on the sea walls, says Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan (d. 1695), was a large mansion known as the konak

71 Selânikî does not clarify the palace in question: "*Mehmed Paşa sarâyında konup…*": *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, 147; Artan 1994, 72–73.

72 Selânikî mentions that the ambassador İbrahim Han from Qom and Kashan, who had stayed at the Kadırga "mansion" of the late Mehmed Paşa for two-and-a half years, had vacated it on 8 August (*…Kadırga limanında merhûm Mehmed Paşa evlerinde…*": *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, 146–1447; Artan 1994, 72–73.

73 The baby died shortly after: *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, 155–156.

74 For İsmihan's second marriage, based on a 16th century Hungarian romance, *Icon vicissitudinis humanae vitae*, see: Sudar/Fodor 2006, 963–1000. Kalaylıkoz Ali died in February 1587. For the İbrahimhanzâde family see: Artan 1994, 80–84; Emecen 2001. See also: Necipoğlu 2005, 332–333; and the Venetian ambassador Gianfrancesco Morosini's account of 1585: Alberi 1855.

75 Furthermore, until 1609 the office was rotated amongst a few, such as Koca Sinan, Kanijeli Siyavuş, Ferhat and İbrahim Paşas, who came to serve multiple times in the course of a decade or so and all these officials happened to have their own freehold and endowed palaces at other places in the capital. See footnote 78 below.

76 *Tarih-i Selânikî*, I, 313. There were other vizirial palaces in the area. In *Risâletü'l-Mi'mâriyye* (Treatise on Architecture) Rüstem's palace was also located at Kadırga Limanı (72) whilst *Tuhfetü'l-Mi'mârîn* (Choice Gift of the Architects) and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* (Record of Buildings) cite no location. Na'îmâ mentions two vizireal palaces at Kadırga, those of Siyavuş Paşa (also known as Ahmed Paşa's palace) and Derviş Mehmed Paşa (more below).

77 This also shows that Sokollu's Hippodrome palace was not established as the office of the grand vizerate upon his death. See footnote 76 above.

78 Artan 1994, 78–84; "In his History, Na'îmâ (1655–1716) remarks that the fire of 1645 (H.1055) stopped upon reaching a cluster of lumber-houses and gypsies' shacks in the vicinity of the neighbourhoods just inside Kumkapı (the Fifth Gate) and the wine-houses and other palaces immediatrely outside, on terrain probably claimed from the sea. The non-Muslim neighbourhoods as well as the Greek and Armenian churches of the district were all burned down in this disastrous fire, of which according to the *Tarih-i Na'îmâ*, there had been no equal in the previous thirty years', after Artan 1994, 70.

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of İbrahim Han *ocağı* (the house of İbrahim Han).[79] Eremya Çelebi mentions the family's move from the "castle-like old palace" to the mansion. The Kadırga palace was, however, restored to the court's rotational system by the early 18th century, whilst the descendants of İbrahim, İbrahimhanzâdes, continued to be a prominent family until the end of the century.[80] Without any official title attached to his name, İbrahim's grand son Ali Bey was a very wealthy man and a prominent figure in the capital. He was probably making his living by simply collecting rents from real estate in the form of family *waqf*s. Following his death in 1715, we find references to repair work at the Kadırga Palace in 1724 and 1728 as the palace was allocated to a princess.[81] In the aftermath of a fire at the Sublime Porte in 1755, the grand vizier's office was temporarily located at the Kadırga Palace. At that time another princess was in residence at Kadırga, and in 1758 she was to be married to Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa, who would be promoted to the grand vizirate twice in the next decade. There seems to be a link between the İbrahimzâdes and Muhsinzâdes which can only be explained through careful study of decades of *waqf* transactions, involving long-term leasings (more below).[82] Finally, there are two account books dated 1767 pertaining to the repairs undertaken after an earthquake and the subsequent fire at Kadırga Harbour[83], as well as two plans of the palace, dated 1803, attached to an inventory register of repairs undertaken for the upcoming marriage and allocation to yet another princess.[84]

Visualising Sokollu's 16th century palaces

Taken together, the 18th century documentation not only gives evidence of the transfer of Sokollu's palaces to the state, but also indicates their location on the map, revealing architectural continuity over time. For it appears that both were organised around successive courtyards: the *birun* (exterior) and *enderun* (interior), with the customary progression from public through semi-public to private quarters culminating in the harem. It appears that both palaces had a commanding view of the Anatolian shores of the city. Such kiosks or pavilions with vistas opening out to cityscapes or nature became typical of Ottoman palaces.[85]

79 Kömürcüyan 1988, 3–4, 88 (footnote 31)

80 İbrahim Han's (1565–1622) son Mehmed (d. 1666) and grandson İbrahim Hanzâde Ali Bey (d. 1715) were prominent figures in their life time. Earlier, I suggested that Sokollu's Kadırga Palace probably changed hands after the death of İsmail Bey who succeeded his father İbrahim Hanzâde Ali Bey: Artan 1994, 83.

81 In 1724 Ahmed III's daughter Ümmügülsüm (1708–1737) was married to Nevşehirli Ali Paşa, and the couple was assigned the Kadırga Palace: Artan 1994, 71–72, footnote 52; Artan 2011, 365–366, 376. They might have vacated the palace in 1728, when the royal bridegroom he was sent to Aleppo as the governor. He was dismissed in 1730, and died shorly afterwards. There are several documents indicating that Ümmügülsüm's property was confiscated in November 1732: TSM Archives D. 2808; D. 2214. Esma Sultan the Elder, another daughter of Ahmed III married Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa in 1743, and the couple was settled at the Kadırga Palace.

82 Mehmed Süreyya writes that the two families were related when Mustafa, the son of the grand vizier Muhsinzâde Mehmed's cousin Ahmed (son of his uncle Mehmed) marrried his daughter (no name given) to Halil (d. 1222/1807) of İbrahimhanzâde family, a *mütevelli* of their family *waqf*s: Süreyya 1996, vol.1, 183; vol.2, 571; Öztuna 2005, 783, 857. There could have been an even earlier relation between the families.

83 TSM Archives D. 10718–3, D. 10718–4; see also: BOA Cevdet Saray 8725 and Cevdet Saray 984.

84 These documents were put together for the restoration work in preparation of the upcoming marriage of a princess (Hibetullah Sultan) who inherited the possessions of another princess who died at the palace (Esma Sultan the Elder, the wife of Muhzinzâde Mehmed Paşa): TSM Archives D. 9437–1, D. 9437-2; and D. 2223; see also E. 9103. For a study of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's mid-16th century Kadırga palace, see Artan 1995; Artan 1993. See also Ünsal 1963; Erdenen 1965; Eldem 1986, 30–35.

85 According to the 1767 account books, there was a similar crystal pavilion crowned by a cupola and with fountains inside, together with a bath, in the private garden of the post-Sokollu palace which before and after the 1767 repairs continued to exist at Kadırga Limanı: Artan 1993, 209. I am grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu who has brought these images to my attention back in 1990 and H.W. Stitchel who has shared with me his conclusions that were going to be published in his 1996 article.

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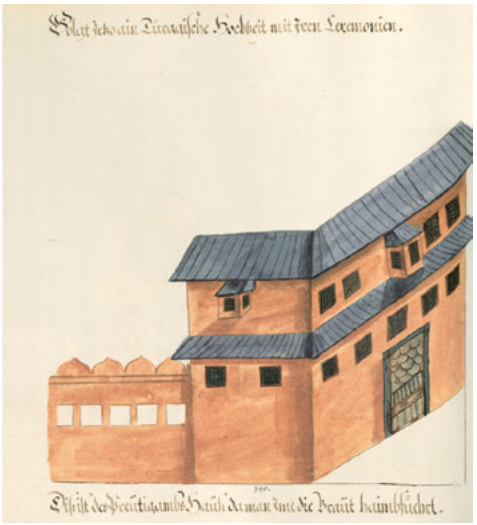

Fig. 4 The entrance Façade of Sokullu Mehmed Paşa's Palace by Zacharias Wehme.

Fig. 5 The entrance to a vizieral palace by Johannes Lowenklau.

In addition to the continuity of the ground plans, what is equally impressive in this corpus of documents is the glimpse we get of the interior furnishings of the grand vizier's official apartments in the mid-16th century. There appears to have been an original set of paintings made for David Ungnad, mentioned above, the Habsburg ambassador to Istanbul in 1573–1578.[86] The artist Zacharias Wehme (1558–1606) copied Ungnad's now lost Türkenbuch in 1582; and the paintings were also reproduced by an anonymous artist, perhaps the humanist scholar Johannes Löwenklau (1541–1594), in an album in 1586.[87] Although Löwenklau (unlike Wehme) had visited İstanbul in 1584 as part of Heinrich von Liechtenstein's embassy, he reproduced Ungnad's Türkenbuch upon his return.[88] Amongst these exceptional depictions, identified in the legends as the Palace of Mehmed Paşa, we see the entrance (Fig. 4)[89], the courtyard[90] and two audience halls (see below, Fig. 6 and Fig. 7)[91].

86 David Ungnad, the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire between 1573–1578, had returned with a collection of drawings done by various artists in his retinue, now lost. He had, however, lent his illustrated Türkenbuch to be copied in 1582 at the court of Auguste, Prince-Elector of Saxony. Hence Zacharias Wehme's (Dresden) and Johannes Löwenklau's (Vienna) watercolours depicting various parades in the Ottoman capital. The latter visited İstanbul in 1584-85. A group of half a dozen albums that date to circa 1580–1590, all generating from Ungnad's embassy and share some striking iconographic similarities, have survived. See footnote below.

87 The latter volume, now in the Nationalbibliothek Vienna, was commissioned by Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf. David Ungnad's travel book, which mentions receptions at the grand vizier's palace on 20 June, 3 July and 4 August 1572 does not describe the palace: *Beschreibung einer Legation und Reise von Wien aus Ostereich auff Constantinopel, durch den wolgebornen herrn, herrn David Ungnaden, Freyherrn zu Sonneck und Pfansherrn auff Bleyburgk, auß römischer keyserlichen Majestät befehlig und abforderung an den türckischen Keyser. Darinn die Geschenk so S.G. den Türcken, seinen Rätten und Befehlichhabern selbst Uberantwortet, und sonstern viel schöner Historien, Antiquitaten und Geschichte, gar lustig zu lesen, beschrieben und verfasset seyn, vormals nie ausgangen. Itz und aber in Druck verfertiget durch M. Franciscum Omichium,* Güstrow, 1582. Yerasimos 1991, 292–293; Ferus 2007, 124–125, 147–148. There are three more illustrated volumes originating from Ungnad's embassy, and two of them were by Lambert de Vos, a Flemish artist : Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Codex Ms. or. 9 (facsimile : Stichel 1991); Athens, The Gennadius Library, MS A986q, dated 1573; Compare with: Dryden Album (MS R.14.23), also Cambridge, UK, The Wren Library at Trinity College; and Kassel University Library, Ms. Hist 31. Both are of inferior artistry.

88 Ács 2011; For Wehme's and Löwenklau's depictions of Mehmed Paşa's palace: see Artan 1994, 94–101; Stichel 1996.

89 Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Inv. Ca. 170/S.013, Blatt 3 (Torgebaude des palastes); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 8615, fol. 137r. For the entrance facade of a palace, the final destination of a bridal procession: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 8615, fol. 81v.

90 Dresden, Landesbibliothek, Ms. J 2 a, Rolle 8; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 8615, fol.137v, 138r, 138v. For the illustrations see Artan 1994, plates X–XII and XV.

91 Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Inv. Ca. 170/S.010, Blatt 4 (Audienzzimmer des Palastes); Inv. Ca. 170/S.016, Blatt 5 (Große Rasthalle des Palastes).

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In all interior accounts, the glass panes of the windows (coloured discs set in plaster, forming arched panels), the carpets, the brushwork of the ceilings, the fine carpentry of window shutters (and of course the costumes of the dignitaries) were very realistically represented. Moreover, there is a strikingly close correspondence between these Habsburg depictions and Jérome Maurand's 1544 account of Sofu Bosnalı Mehmed Paşa's palace (at Hocapaşa). At the time, this vizier was serving as lieutenant governor of Istanbul whilst the sultan's court was visiting in Bursa.[92] It was also built by Mimar Sinan.[93] Maurand remarks that the hall was 50 by 25 paces in size[94]:

> "there were benches all around covered with carpets [compare with the interior view of the public audience hall: Wehme Ca 170/S.016; Löwenklau, fol. 139r]; on one side there were vaults or open arcade work supported by the most beautiful columns, with their architraves painted a very fine and very bright red [compare with the courtyard façade of the public audience hall: Wehme Ms I 2a, Rolle8; Löwenklau fols. 137v, 138r, 138v]. The flat ceiling was embellished with many well-executed carvings and painted in the same red colour [compare with: Wehme Ca 170/S.016; Löwenklau fol. 139r]; from the middle of the ceiling there hung a gilded globe of two and a half handspans in circumference, with its pendant made of crimson silk and gold wire, its length a handspan and a half. The pavement of this hall was of very fine square red brick tiles [compare with the public and private audience halls: Ca 170/S.010 and Ca 170/S.016; Löwenklau fols. 139v and 139r]; at each corner or angle of the hall there was a doorway made of solid oriental marble, divided into black and white squares of equal dimension, the white squares entirely white and the black squares with black and white waves: a rare thing most beautiful to see, rivalling the most wonderful creations of nature. On the other side, the enclosed end of the hall, were four windows decorated with figures, and all around, there were certain niches in which were affixed enamel panels of different colours painted with lifelike trees and animals. Amongst others, I noticed one at the foot of which were two peacocks, whilst from the top descended a parakeet hanging by its beak from the branches of a tree. To be sure, the trees, the peacocks and the parakeet all looked very natural."[95]

The golden globe hanging from the ceiling was an Ottoman symbol of justice. Apart from this, all other features described above can be observed (with the help of the legends) in the visual representations of Sokollu Mehmed's audience halls made by Austrian artists in the retinue of David Ungnad.

In the public audience hall, the grand vizier is shown seated on a bench covered with a carpet bearing a *çintemani* pattern; he is surrounded by a crowd of gatekeepers and sergeants-at-court (çavuş), some also seated on the bench next to the paşa as their chief reads out the petitions[96] (Fig. 6).

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92 Na'îmâ locates Sofu Mehmed Paşa's palace near the Şehzade mosque (*kurbunda*): *Târih-i Na'imâ* III, p. 1156. Earlier references to this palace are misleading: Meriç, with reference to the *Tuhfetü'l-mi'mârîn* located "the palace of Sofu Mehmed Paşa" inside the city and the "palace of the Bosnian Mehmed Paşa" outside the city walls: *Meriç* 1965, 41. Kuran, too, mistook the palace of Sofu Mehmed Paşa with that of Sokollu: Kuran 1987, 384 (no. 384). In 1994, I did not identify Mehmed Paşa in question: Artan 1994, 88, 101–102. At the time of Maurand's visit, Hadım Süleyman Paşa was grand vizier (April 1541–28 November 1544), and Sofu Mehmed Paşa was the representative of the grand vizier, namely a *kaymakam*, who was "standing in [his] place'. In 1544, Vizier Sofu (Bosnalı) Mehmed Paşa's palace was described by Jérôme Maurand, a French priest in the retinue of Captain Polin, who accompanied Barbarossa's fleet on a diplomatic mission to Süleyman I: Maurand 1901, 189–197.

93 Sarây-ı Sofî Mehmed Paşa: Crane/Akın 2006, 84; Sofî Mehmed Paşa sarây[ı] Hâce Paşada,"op.cit.,'*Teẕkiretü'l-Ebniye*", 110.

94 A pace (or double-pace or *passus*) was a measure of distance in Ancient Rome. In modern terminology it is usually taken as a single step which measures around 76 cm.

95 The Franco-Ottoman fleet arrived in the Ottoman capital on 10 August 1544 to meet with Süleyman I and give him an account of the joint campaign. Polin and Maurand left Constantinople on 9 September 1544. Maurand 1901, 190. 193–195.

96 For a depiction of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's audience hall seen from the courtyard see Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, I 2a, Rolle 8; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. Vindobonensis* 8615, fols. 137v–139r. Compare with the sultan's audience hall in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. Vindobonensis* 8626, published in And 1993, 142. It was made by an unknown artist in the retinue of Bartolemeo von Pezzen, 1586 to 1591. And has pioneered in the study of the albums originating from Ungnad's Türkenbuch, but has misled his readers by erasing the captions from the Dresden watercolour depicting the courtyard of Mehmed Paşa's palace and claimed that it was a depiction of the Topkapı Palace; see also: And 1993, 114–115.

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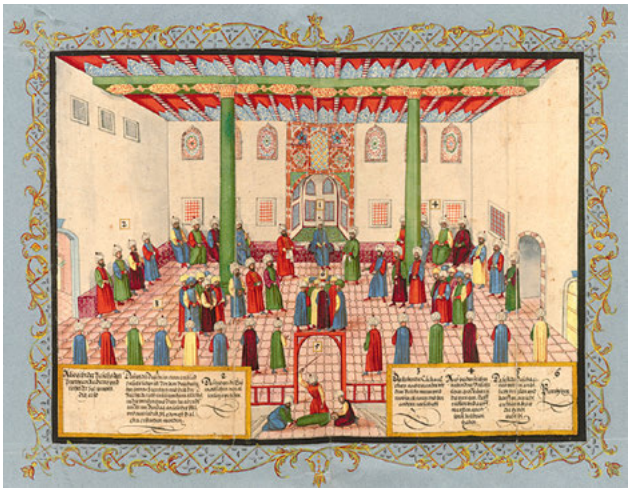

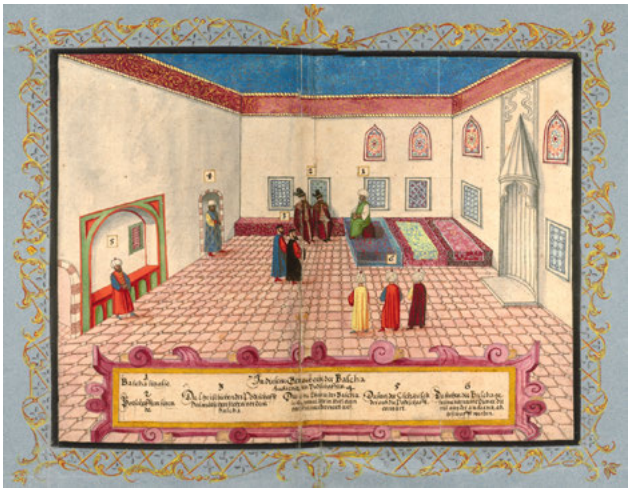

Fig. 6 The public audience hall at Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's Palace by Zacharias Wehme.

Fig. 7 The private audience hall at Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's Palace by Zacharias Wehme.

At the entrance, a man (who appears to have presented an unnecessarily long appeal) is being bastinadoed. Especially noteworthy are: the ceiling's vividly coloured brushwork decorations, the stained glass mixed with coloured glass panes in the upper row windows and the perforated alcove embellished with more glass panes (probably Venetian).

In Sokollu's palace, the entrance to the second room, the grand vizier's private audience hall, appears to be through two doors at two corners flanking a niche, and thus corresponds to Maurand's description of Sofu Mehmed Paşa's audience hall (Fig. 7). A black eunuch is shown standing by one of these doors. Across from the niche, in front of which stands the grand vizier's secretary, is a fireplace. To one side of the fireplace is a platform covered with three fine carpets, one of which bears a çintemani pattern. The upper part of the wall is perforated with windows featuring (stained glass mixed with coloured) glass panes. This wall is marked by the artist/observer as looking into the Garden House. The paşa is shown seated on a low bench on the platform at this point, conversing with two members of an embassy also seated on a bench covered with a carpet and two dragomans standing. The other people in the room are local paşas, the chief secret agent and the master of the grand vizier's stables. The flat ceiling and the wide border decorations feature kalemişi, painting on plaster or wood, perhaps also employing gold leaf. *Saz* motifs in gilt, called hatayî, too, decorate wooden panels. Both the public and the private audience halls appear to have been paved with octagonal tiles of red brick and lit by windows with rounded Venetian (?) glass panes. Maurand for his part does not mention windows or glass panes in the palace of Sofu Mehmed Paşa. In contrast, the wealth of windows depicted in Sokollu's audience halls suggests that the grand vizier must have acquired all this special high-quality glass through his good relations with the Venetians.[97] What is missing in these depictions are polychrome tile revetments which might have featured figures, trees or animals like those that Maurand had seen some decades earlier. Though such decorative schemes were never part of wall revetments in mosques, they were quite common in palace interiors. Early as it is, Maurand's description is also reminiscent of the interior decoration of Murad III's chamber in the Topkapı Palace, and especially the tile panels featuring fantastic creatures which once decorated the Privy Chamber of Süleyman I.[98]

97 Between 1569 and 1572, Sokollu and İsmihan sent orders for large quantities of window panes and glass lamps for the mosque at Kadırga Limanı. Carboni 2007, 117–118. For the drawings of the 900 Murano oil lamps that he ordered see Carboni 1989.

98 Curiously, the 1609 document also lists some decorative features of the Hippodrome Palace. There were several rooms decorated with (İznik) tiles. The wooden window shutters, cupboards and doors of some rooms were also described. A group of shutters and cupboards, identified as *sedefkârî*, were made by interlocking small geometric pieces together without using nails or glue. In this decorative method, also known as *kundekarî*, each piece would

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Fresne-Canaye, who notes the modesty of the Kadırga Palace, remarks that in March 1573 the grand vizier received the French ambassador François de Noailles first in a small room, devoid of carpets or any other luxury furnishing. Then, together, they moved to his public audience hall which was large and surrounded by benches covered with carpets. It was painted in the "Turkish style" (in red ?), but no marbles or any other decorative elements could be seen. He mentions a small courtyard with a fountain in the centre and states that the stables and horses were the only princely features of this palace.[99]

In the centre of the courtyard depicted by Wehme and Löwenklau there is also a marble fountain, a large, lobed basin with a water jet. It is flanked by a row of trees on both sides. Beyond this is a two-storeyed structure. The facade of the ground level is solid, apart from a row of slit windows and a central arched entrance. The upper level, reached by a double stairway, has an arcade to which a row of windows and doors (at both ends) open. The timber posts, pointed arches and balustrades of the arcade, all painted in red, characterise this building. At the centre of the upper level is the reception hall – a large vaulted chamber entered through a large arch. Inside, a centrally placed fountain and two tiers of windows can be seen. On either side of this structure, apparently the audience building, are symmetrically built two-storeyed units with arcades below and chambers above. In both, timber posts and braces are left unpainted. The unit on the left has a staircase leading to the upper floor from the courtyard and continues to another level.

Together with the above, we should also consider three miniatures by the court painter Nakkaş Osman, included in copies of two Ottoman *shahnames* (Books of Kings), Şehnâme-i Selim Han and Şehinşehnâme, which again show Sokollu in his audience hall.[100] These almost identical depictions show that the court artists shared a common repertoire. The lotus and cloud motifs seen on the border and the base of the carpet spread over the bench on which the grand vizier is sitting are quite faithful to period production. But which palace was this, the one at the Kadırga Limanı or the other on the eastern side of the Hippodrome? I am increasingly convinced that this question cannot be answered decisively on the basis of the primary sources explored in the present study.[101]

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have carving, inlaying or latticework enriched with the addition of tortoise shell, ivory and mother-of-pearl. In some other rooms, windows were referred as *arabî pencere*. Other cupboards and doors were decorated with gilt decorations (*halkarî musandıra*, *halkarî kapı*). A kiosk with a lead-covered dome, listed in the sale document, recalls the aforementioned imperial privilege that Sokollu and also his wife enjoyed.

99 For Sokollu Mehmed's *divân* see also: Pierre Lescalopier, *Voyage fait par moy, Pierre Lescalopier l'an 1574 à Venice à Constantinople par mer jusques à Ragusa et le reste par terre et le retour par Thrace, Bulgarie, Walach, Translyvanie ou Dace, Hongrie, Allemagne, Friul et marche Trevisane jusques à Venice*, Ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, no. H.385, p. 40. After Yerasimos 1991, 308–309. It was published in an abridged version by Cléray 1921.

100 *Şehnâme-i Selim Han*, Topkapı Palace Library A. 3595, fol. 27r; *Şehinşehnâme*, İÜ Library F.1404, 13v. For a third view of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's audience hall, see Şehnāme-i *Sel ī m* Hān, Istanbul, ca.1571 (British Library Ms.Or.7043, fol.15a.).

101 Based on captions indicating the harem quarters, I have identified Wehme and Löwenklau illustrations as depicting the couple's Kadırga Palace, and argued that the palace had taken shape at the time of Ungnad's term in 1573–1578, overlapping with the construction of the Kadırga socio-religious complex. Amongst other things, the absence of an harem section in Sokollu's new Hippodrome palace (as revealed by the 1609 sale document) was crucial in my argument. I have also speculated that some parts of the 16th centuryKadırga Palace can be detected on its 1803 site plan and the accompanying inventory register. See Artan 1995, 93–101; Artan 1994 56–57; 95–101. In contrast, Rudolf H.W. Stichel, focusing on the European accounts only, argued that the imperial ambassador was received in the grand vizier's Hippodrome Palace, and depictions in Ungnad's Türkenbuch were from the Hippodrome Palace of Mehmed Paşa. I still find this argument highly speculative.

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Descriptions of Sokollu's palaces elsewhere confirm what we may deduce from this documentation. According to their separate *waqfiyyas*, the couple also had two summer palaces at Üsküdar and Halkalı.[102] Fresne-Canaye has provided a remarkable description of the Sokollu palace at Üsküdar (İstavroz/Beylerbeyi), saying that it was more magnificent than their palace at Kadırga Limanı:

> We saw the chamber of the sultana with its walls covered by porcelain and mother-of-pearl inlaid window shutters whose value was inestimable. The palace is very well painted and gilded, and has a fountain, as is customary. In the garden is a fishpond and a domed chamber made in the form of a lantern, entirely of glass. When the sultana stands there, she can see the whole garden without being seen by anyone. She has her bath in a corner of the garden where she diverts herself with her slaves whenever she wishes and has herself rubbed and massaged at her leisure.[103]

We also have the account of the Venetian ambassador Paolo Contarini who visited Sokollu Mehmet's Edirne palace in 1580.[104] He noted that, upon entrance, to the left was the place where the vizier's slaves were housed. He said that before this place, which was much worse than a horse stable, was the chamber of the scribe who kept account of them, and this was followed by the rooms for necessities and the rooms of the guards. He mentioned that these rooms, which were used to house 800 men, were very dark. Despite his fearful comments about the paşa's slaves, it is apparent that he did not see any of them.[105] He then found himself in a fairly large courtyard in the middle of which, going up some steps, was a hall, almost square, supported by two columns and surrounded all around with benches for seating. This place, he said, was the public audience hall of the paşa; and to the right of it was a beautiful room – the private audience hall. Contarini tells that rooms were coated with fine ceramics and woodwork with gold inlay, textiles and tassels, and beautiful cabinets made of white lime which looked like marble. From the rooms of the paşa, altogether a hall and eight rooms, one reached to the private rooms of the princess each of which had its own fireplace and its own bathroom. He listed also the kitchen garden, and the rooms of the paşa's young attendants, writers, musicians and others including the princess's bridesmaids, eunuchs, teacher, maidens and the rest of the paşa's court; also the stables with the workshops of saddles and horse trappings etc.

102 Sinan's autobiographies list four palaces built for Sokollu: Kadırga Limanı, Ayasofya (Ahırkapı), Üsküdar (İstavroz) and Halkalı, after Necipoğlu 2005, 332.

103 For the palace at Üsküdar see Necipoğlu 1997, 40. See also *Fresne-Canaye 1986*, 64.

104 Lazari 1856, 33–34. Evliya Çelebi, who visited Edirne in November 1652, mentions that Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's palace was amongst the 340 vizireal palaces in the city. It was located behind the Üç Şerefeli Mosque. For the Edirne palace see: Lambert Wyts, *Iter factum e Belgio-Gallice. Voyages de Lambert Wyts en Turquie.1572*, Ms. Vienne, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 3325.

105 For cells for the slaves: Gerlach 2006, 105. He mentions the rumors that Mehmed had 800 young men who were trained as were the recruits in the sultan's palace (reading and writing, playing musical instruments): Gerlach 2006, II, 660. Elsewhere he mentions that these 800 slaves were located in Edirne, Üsküdar, Galata and several places in Anatolia, *ibid*. I, 459.

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Changing conditions of *waqf* property: catastrophic fires and long-term leasing

Whilst the Sokollu/İsmihan line seems to have retained their right of use/occupation *(hakk-ı tasarruf)* of the site at least until the death of İbrahim Hanzade's grandson (occasionally leasing it for short periods of time in exchange for the payment of a ground rent to the *waqf*), the Kadırga Palace appears to have reverted to the rotational system of the state immediately after his death in 1715. Nowhere have I been able to find the terms of this transfer. Nevertheless, given the multifarious structure of property rights and the 16th century changes regarding *waqf* property which allowed long-term leasing, the post-1585 transfers of the Kadırga Palace must have been quite complicated and the volume of its documentation enormous.

Originally, no sale or leasing of *waqf* property for more than three years was allowed.[106] But short-term rentals were not useful for the upkeep of the properties especially in the aftermath of natural disasters. Although imperial *waqf*s, founded by members of the sultan's family or by dignitaries, often provided assets for reconstruction and repairs, in the course of time many *waqf* properties were ruined or totally destroyed by fire or earthquake. It might often be case that an urban real estate *waqf* did not have the means to renew its assets. First, the rent-yielding urban property (residential buildings, shops, bath houses etc.) could have become unusable. Second, if the *waqf* lacked sufficient funds for new construction, the leaseholder would not be willing to invest his/her own capital for the restoration, seeing that the lease of *waqf*-owned property was limited from one to three years.[107] Therefore, in the interest of speeding up recovery, struggling *waqf*s sought partnerships with other sources of funding, both private and public. One of the Ottoman innovations in the legal interpretation of the *waqf* property was the introduction of long-term leasing and double-rent on *waqf* immovables.

Long-term leasing, legalised from the 1530s onwards on the basis of necessity to restore fire-damaged property, involved double-rent paid for immovable *waqf* assets and was operated through two applications known as icâreteyn and mukataa.[108] *İcâreteyn*, one form of leasing a *waqf*-owned land on long-term basis, literally means double-rent – two different kinds of rent which had to be agreed upon in writing by the leaseholder and the manager of the *waqf* in question. The first, called the *icâre-i muaccele* (the immediate rent), was a base rent in the form of a downpayment. It was an amount equivalent to the value of lands or buildings (which had been destroyed) and it was paid only once, when the incoming leaseholder took over the endowed prop-

106 *Waqf*s whose revenue-yielding properties were being rented for a short term by the management of the foundation (*icâre-i vahideli*) were divided into two: the right of occupation in roofed properties (*müsakkafât*, houses and shops), were rented out for three years; and non-roofed properties (*müstagallât*, gardens and agricultural lands) were rented out for a year. The contract was annulled after the death of the leaseholder, no transfers (*ferâğ* or *intikâl*) were allowed.

107 Barnes points to devastating fires in İstanbul which destroyed also the sources of *waqf* revenues: "For the most part, religious endowments did not have the requisite capital necessary to repair and reconstruct these damaged buildings. At first, the area of the destroyed property was rented to individuals by means of *icâre-i vahide*, or single rent, for the purpose of covering the cost of repairs and recovering lost income to the *waqf*. The difficulty was that *evkaf* property that was leased by *icâre-i vahide* single rent conformed to the rule that the immovable estates of a pious foundation could only be rented on a short-term lease, usually not extending a period of three years. It was not in the personal or financial interest of the leaseholder to agree to the condition of renting *waqf* property for a periof of fixed and brief duration; for, under this arrangement, the only beneficiary of the agreement would have been the religious foundation": Barnes, 51. There were insurmountable juridical obstacles in front of the immobilisation of the *waqf* capital and its re-investment: Ivanova 2003.

108 Frequent fires or devastating earth quakes constituted a serious danger for urban real estate *waqf*s. When that happened, and the corpus of the *waqf* was destroyed, the *waqf* simply failed to function. The solution found was the long-term lease, or double rent. Bülent Köprülü argued for a post-1534 development. Akgündüz 2000, 389–390; after Köprülü 1952, 218. See: İpşirli 1989b; Beyaztaş 2001. See also footnote 113.

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erty. The second kind of rent, an additional, relatively smaller sum which was paid to the *waqf* at the end of each year, was called the *icâre-i müeccele* (the postponed rent). This amount was paid from the time the contract with the leaseholder was made, on a daily, monthly or yearly basis. The other form of long-term rent, *mukataa*, also involved *muaccele* and *müeccele*, but it differed from *icâreteyn* regarding the status of the properties on endowed lands. On *waqf* lands rented through *mukataa*, buildings (re)built or trees (re)planted became the freehold property of the leaseholder-investor, and only the *raqaba* (dominium eminens) of the land itself remained in the possession of the *waqf* (whereas in the *icâreteyn* system roofed properties, trees, vines and the land continued to be the property of the *waqf*). In other words, there was double ownership in *mukataa waqf*s. This allowed the leaseholders (*mukataa*-holders) to build anything or plant trees and vines which would be regarded as his/her property as long as he/she paid the monthly/annual rent, receive revenues from these properties by renting them in perpetuity, transfer as donation or inheritance (*ferâğ* and *intikâl*)[109] and transfer in return for payment (*devir* and *tefviz*). With special permission, he/she could even sell, bequeath his/her usufruct to his/her heirs, provided they continued to pay the rent, and establish it as their own endowment. Thus, whilst the *raqaba* of the land belonged to the *waqf*, the usufruct belonged to the leaseholder-investor. The investor obtains the right to use the property which he/she builds on *waqf* land in return for the rent he/she pays. All this to guarantee re-investment in the *waqf* property.

After a disastrous fire or an earthquake in Istanbul various rights on a *waqf* palace, starting with the right of use/occupation that was stipulated by the founder of the endowment, became quite complex, especially when a long-term, double-rent contract was in question. Numerous cases recorded in the registers of Islamic law courts *(sicils)* and collected in *fatwa* compilations (i.e. legal opinions expressed by Muslim jurists in response to real-life situations), illustrate that the *waqf* of destroyed buildings, to whom the usufruct belonged, was given the right to rebuild as long as it continued to pay the rent on the land. For example, when a fire ruined the *waqf* house or palatial complex completely, and the *waqf* lacked sufficient funds for renewal, long-term leasing allowed its leaseholder to pay for repair, restoration and rebuilding and, consequently, he/she would qualify for the usufractory right (*tasarruf* and *intifa*) of the palatial complex which he/she had (re)built on *waqf* land for an unlimited time period, in return for the ground rent he/she paid. When there was no one willing to take on the repairs, the administrators would resort to the change of status of the *waqf* – from *icâreteyn* to *mukataa* – despite the disadvantages, and the palace building would then be the freehold property of the investor for as long as he/she paid the ground rent. On the other hand, leaseholders of *waqf* properties with a double rent who did not have the means to undertake restoration might transfer their right to use, with the permission of the *mütevelli*, to a third party in return for payment. There were also the possibilities of subcontracting or exchange *(istiblâl)*.[110] In the case of the Kadırga Palace the transactions may have been even more complicated, for it seems to have involved division/separation of assets and usage rights of the *waqf* property which

109 The inheritence (*intikâl*) of usufructory rights over *waqf*s run by *icâreteyn:* in the case of non-existence of children, the *waqf* asset in question reverted to the *waqf* as escheat. The *intikâl* of usage rights over *waqf*s run through *mukataa* seems more complex, to the fact that buildings (or trees) on *waqf* lands rented with *mukataa* were deemed *mülk*, thus they were subjected to another set of inheritence laws. *Mülk* properties on *waqf* lands were subjected to Islamic succession rules, and the *waqf* did not have the right to intervene in freehold properties. For instance, if the leaseholder of a *waqf* land, on which she/he had *mülk*, died without children only the wafq land reverted to the *waqf* as escheat, but not the *mülk* property of the leaseholder. Yet it should be noted that *waqf* lands run with *mukataa* did not necessarily include mülk property. A *mülk* building on a piece of *waqf* land could also be endowed, thus there could be two or more different *waqf*s on the same property.

110 A leaseholder could rent out a *waqf* asset that he/she rented before to a second leaseholder; and even the second leaseholder could rent out the same asset to a third person. On the other hand, the trustee of a *waqf* could exchange a *waqf* asset with a freehold property if the conditions were met, and the transactions proved to be advantageous for the *waqf*. Then the freehold became *waqf* and the *waqf* asset turned into freehold property.

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was rented out on a long-term lease *(ifrâz)*. Thus, an endowment asset could be rented by more than one person, and each person could transfer /separate his/her share without the reverted to approval of others. It could also include material divisibility. The palace, like a house or a shop or a cellar, could be legally divided so long as it was capable of producing profit for the *waqf*.

The expense of rebuilding a palace was usually covered through the pre-paid *muaccele*, i.e. downpayment of approximately the worth of the rental in question; or, in the absence or insufficiency of such funds, the leaseholder invested his/her capital in the (re)building. Although one might expect that the contract between the *waqf* and the leaseholder would have been annulled when the *waqf* house or palace ceased to exist, it appears that as long as the *waqf* continued to profit, the long-term contract between the administrator of the *waqf* and its leaseholder could be renewed.[111] The leaseholder had to continue to pay the monthly or annual rent, *müeccele*, in order to secure the renewal of the contract. This was necessary because the annual renewal of the contract guaranteed that the building or the land continued to belong to the *waqf* in question and thus prevented false claims of ownership. At the same time, this legitimised long-term leasing in terms of the Hanafite law.

Siyâvuş Paşa's Süleymaniye Palace. A new location for the "Porte"?

The third palace of a grand vizier for which I have been able to find exceptional documentation is that of Siyâvuş Paşa, also built by Sinan, which was located near the Süleymaniye complex (Küçük Pazar quarter).[112] Siyâvuş (d. 1601) was grand vizier three times in the last quarter of the 16th century (in 1582–1584, 1586–1589, and 1592–1593).[113] He was married to Fatma Sultan (d. 1590), another of Selim II's daughters, and his Süleymaniye palace was built in the early 1580s during his first tenure as grand vizier. In addition, he had two palaces in Üsküdar, as well as a kiosk near the Barracks of Davud Paşa which still stands.[114]

A (draft?) *waqf* document dated May 1650 attests that Siyâvuş Paşa's grand Süleymaniye palace was bought from his descendants by the then grand vizier [Kara] [Dev] Murad Paşa.[115] The judge who prepared the *waqfiyya* was Seyyid Mehmed Emîn bin Sun'î (d. 1665), the judge of Istanbul who had jurisdiction over the areas within the city walls. The witnesses included the grand admiral, the former and the current Yeniçeri ağas, and several other high-ranking dignitaries of the sultan's and the grand vizier's households. Once constituted, an endowment was irrevocable and unalterable, except according to conditions laid down in the foundation charter. Now, before an endowed palace could be put up for sale, it ought to have been in ruins and beyond repair, or else the

111 For a study on *waqf* property and their reconstruction after fires: Yıldız 2012, 93–160. See also: Güçlü 2009, 37–43; Murphey 2001.

112 Schmidt 1997. For the construction of Fatma Sultan's madrasa next to their palace see, *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, 222.

113 A vacant lot below the twin madrasas beside a monumental complex of residential (?) buildings can be seen in the panorama dated to 1566–1582: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Rés. B. 10, after Yerasimos 1990.

114 Together with his two Üsküdar palaces, Siyavuş Paşa's Süleymaniye palace is listed in Sinan autobiographies. The madrasa adjoining the palace, dedicated to Fatma Sultan, was built by Sinan's successor Davud Ağa. For his kiosk outside city walls see Gündoğdu 2009.

115 Artan 2012. The document in question (dated 1 R 1060/23 April–1 May, which was sent off to the Finance Bureau [*Defterhâne*] on 1 June to be registered) reveals that during the initial tenure of [Kara][Dev] Murad Paşa (twice in office, May 1649–August 1650 and May–August 1655), certain officials of the Imperial Council had already moved out of the Topkapı Palace to join the grand vizier's household. These were three key dignitaries who had become agents of the grand vizier, namely "his" steward (*kethudâ beg*), the chief sergeant-at-arms (*çavuşbaşı*), and the chief of the chancellery clerks (*re'îs [ü'l-küttâb]*). These dignitaries had their own quarters in Murad Paşa's palace.

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line of its beneficiaries extinct. The document in question, however, reveals that the palace was well preserved (as it was the case with the Hippodrome Palace of Sokollu). Moreover, the male line of Siyâvuş's descendants had not come to an end. Siyâvuş had two sons and a daughter with Fatma Sultan. One of his sons had died in 1599, and his second son, Mustafa, who was a governor-general, died just before the sale of the palace in 1650.[116] The *waqf* document reveals that Murad Paşa bought the palace from the heirs of Siyâvuş Paşa-zâde Mustafa Paşa, but does not identify those who were involved in the sale. Mustafa's son, Mehmed, is mentioned only in passing in Sicill-i Osmanî.[117] The other male relative of Siyavûş was his brother Dişlenk Hüseyin, also a governor-general (d. 1626). In accord with established procedure, the manager could have sold or leased out Mustafa's usufructuary interest, but it seems that soon after Siyâvuş Paşa's death, his *waqf* was dissolved through some intervention. We learn this from Nâ'imâ, writing half a century later, who says that although its original (Siyâvuş Paşa's) endowment deed had been found, the grand vizier Murad Paşa did not respect it; nor did he have the intention of recording the palace in the register of pious foundations under his name. "He became the proprietor (occupant)", no strings attached, says Nâ'imâ, "and moved to the palace *(... vakfiyyesi bulunduktan sonra mukayyed olmayup yine mutasarrıf olup ana nakl ...)*".[118] Indeed, in the *waqfiyya* Kara Murad declared that in his lifetime he would reside there himself, be a proprietor (occupant) as it please him and hold the right to alteration again and again *(kendüm sakin ve dilediğüm gibi mutasarrıf olup tebdîl ve tağyîri merraten ba'de uhrâ yedimde ola)*. The grand vizier called the palace his freehold property *(mülk sarayum)*, which he possessed with a true, correct, valid and clear, explicit, evident contract through a sale in accord with the Islamic Law and a purchase in accord with the statutes *(şirâ'-i şer'î ve ibtiyâ'-i mer'î ile dahil-i mülk-i sahîh ve hakk-ı sarîhüm olup)*, and he undertook the building a number of new buildings and repairing and restoring of several other already existing structures *(niçe büyût ve ebniye ihdâsı ile ihyâ ve ta'mîr eylediğüm)*. Curiously, Nâ'imâ claims that the grand vizier only bought the usufructuary rights of the endowed property; and he appears to have disapproved that Murad Paşa did not intend to have it re-registered as an endowment. However, the document in question reveals that Murad Paşa was indeed in the process of endowing the palace in his family's name and was planning to register it in the imperial land registry (*Defterhâne'de hıfz olunup mûcibiyle 'amel olunmak buyurıldı* – 1 June 1650). But he had to resign as vizier in early August 1650. We do not know his motives at the present stage of research, but his departure for Budin may explain why the document in question was later bound in the *Waqf* Tahrir Register of 1600.[119] Murad Paşa died in 1655 during his second term in office.

The 1649–1650 sale and legal preparation for the endowment is significant because Murad Paşa came to office twice (May 1649 – August 1650 and May – August 1655), shortly before and after Derviş Mehmed Paşa, who is credited with turning one of the palaces across from Alay Köşkü assigned to grand viziers by the sultan into a permanent residence-office complex. However, the

116 Süreyya 1996, vol. 5, 1517. For Mustafa Paşa, see Süreyya 1996, vol. 4, 1183. Siyâvuş's brother, Dişlenk Hüseyin and his nephew Mustafa (d. 1626) were also military bureaucrats.

117 Süreyya 1996, vol. 5, 1517.

118 *Târih-i Na'imâ IV*, 1258.

119 Özcan 1999. I am grateful to the late Stephane Yerasimos for bringing this *waqf* document to my attention. I have originally identified it as a loose document possibly misplaced in the *Waqf* Tahrir register dated 1600 (H.1009): Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Arşivi TKG.KK.TTd.395 (previously nr. 329/ 542. For the register: Canatar 2004. Canatar located the document in question in the first volume of this register, *Defter-i Evkâf-ı İstanbul el-Cildü'l-evvel*: TKG.KK.TTd.395 (catalogued previously under nr. 328/543). He noted that it is in the first six unnumbered folios, following the *tuğra*): Canatar 2004b. Canatar did not provide an explanation to why a deed dated 1650 was binded in the 1600 register. A possible explanation is provided in a review article: İpşirli 2005. İpşirli remarked that since this was the last *waqf* register of İstanbul, in the following centuries some exerpts or copies of *waqf*s, known as *visâle*/*vassâle*, were appended to the volume, by inserting notes concerning various changes that the nişancı or reisülküttab had confirmed. It should be noted that the catalogue of the archives dates the register to H. 1089 (1678/79): Işık/Kadıoğlu/Yıldırır 2012, 158.

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document in question proves that the strategic bureaux of the grand vizier were already part of the palace in 1650 and therefore casts doubt on the dating of the creation of the Sublime Porte to no earlier than 1654.[120] Furthermore, Murad Paşa stipulated in his *waqfiyya* that his manager should give priority to future grand viziers if any of them should be interested in renting the Süleymaniye Palace. Hence, he indicated his interest in turning the palace into a stable residence for those at the top of the Ottoman state apparatus.[121]

The document sets out all parts of this extensive residential structure, extending horizontally across the slopes below the twin madrasas and the hamam of the Süleymaniye complex.[122] Whatever had been there previously was taken over by Siyâvuş in the early 1580s and the new palace was built by Mimar Sinan.[123] The description in the document shows that the plan of this wooden palace, also organised around three courtyards, was comparable to the plans available for the other 16th century grand viziers' palaces mentioned above and may thus plausibly be reconstructed.

Siyâvuş's palace is seen in an anonymous panorama of 1590,[124] and we find praises of it in some of the most famous 17th century Ottoman authors. Thus Evliyâ Çelebi mentions the palace several times and lists 300 rooms, some of which were grand and had balconies overlooking the Golden Horn, as well as seven hammams and fifty shops; he further remarks that its kitchen and stables surpassed those of the sultan at the Topkapı Palace.[125] Mehmed Halife was a witness to Murad Paşa's purchase of the palace in 1649–1650. He, too, praises Siyâvuş's palace by comparing its magnificence to one (near) Hagia Sophia, that is, İbrahim Paşa's Hippodrome Palace as it stood at the time.[126] The windows and balconies of the Süleymaniye Palace are numbered in the hundreds. This might have been because the palace had a commanding view of Galata, from where it was in full view. This is probably the only grand vizier's palace in the peninsula where Sinan experimented with this sort of urban scheme – a political statement of the vizier's importance.

120 Artan 2012.

121 A certain Budak-zâde Mehmed Ağa, who witnessed the purchase and received (on Kara Murad Paşa's behalf) the palace after it was vacated, was assigned as the trustee of the *waqf* and was assigned to give priority to future grand viziers if any one of them should be interested in renting Kara Murad Paşa's palace: "…. *Budak-zâde mezbûr Mehmed Ağa yevmî on akça vazîfe ile mütevellî olub saray-ı mezkûri vüzerâ-i 'izâmdan eğer vezîr-i 'azâm olanlar murâd iderse* (4b) *itmezse sâirlerinden tâlib olanlara [ücre]t-i mü'eccele-i misli ile icâr idüb [hâsı]l olan* ücreti…" The rent was going to be distributed amongstKara Murad Paşa's children, children of children, and their children as inheritance, and after their extinction (*ba'de'l-inkırâz*) his brother and sister will be the owner (*mutasarrıf*) of the palace, and after them their children and succession of their children will be entitled to possession. In all cases, a male descendant was stipulated to receive the shares of two females when when they became extinct it should be sent to the poor of Medina.

122 For description of its planning and parts see Artan 2012.

123 "Sarây-ı Siyâvuş Paşa der İstanbul": Crane/Akın 2006, "*Tuḥfetü'l-Miʿmārīn*", 83; "İstanbulda Siyâvuş Paşa sarây[ı]", *op.cit*., "*Teẕkiretü'l-Ebniye*", 110.

124 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. Vindobonensis* 8626. See Artan 2012, Fig. 4.

125 Canatar mistook the palace as the Ağa Kapısı, namely the Palace of the Yeniçeri Ağası which was just next doors. For Ağa Kapısı Palace see: Artan (forthcoming). Gökyay 1995, 32b (Old Palace :*…hâlâ Yeniçeri Ağası sarâyı ve Siyâvuş Paşa sarâyı zemîni mezkûr Sarây-ı Atîk yerinde idi*), 45b (Süleymaniye Mosque : *…temelini ibtidâ tâ Tahta'l-kal 'a üstündeki sedden ve Siyâvuş Pala sarâyı seddinden ve Yeniçeri Ağası seddinden ve Küçükbazar sarnıcı seddinden ve ağa mektebinden ve tevhâne ve imâret ve kurşunhâne ve bimârhâne tarafları sedlerinden…*) and 93b (Siyâvuş Sarayı : *üçyüz kâ'a-i 'azîmli ve şâhnîşinli müte'aadid hücreleri vardır ve yedi hammâmı ve elli esnâf dükkanları vardır. Cümle derya zîri pâda nümâyândır ve matbahı ve ıstâblı pâdişâh sarâyında yoktur*.) I understand '*zîr-i bâda*', as being open to the sea in the leeward direction.

126 Mehmed Halife also noted that the palace was reputed to comprise more than 300 rooms, 1200 windows, 15 hamams, three bakeries and many shops: Oral 2000, 77 (fol.59): *Ol zikr itdüğümüz sarayların ednâsı At meydanı'nda olan İbrahim Paşa sarayıdır ve sarayların a'lâsı Süleymaniye Cami'nin altında Sultan Süleyman vüzerâsından Siyavuş Paşa sarayıdır. Şol mertebe saray idi ki Ayasofya ândan numûne ve nişân olur. Zamanımızda veziriazam olan Arnavud Murad Paşa tasarrufuna mâlik oldukta eski saray olmağla ta'mirine mübaşeret olundukta sarayın pencerelerin bin ikiyüz saymışlar ve üç yüz odadan mütecâviz ve onbeş hamam ve üç etmekçi dükkanı içinde mevcud idi*.

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The palace's post-1655 history is unclear. It seems to have been destroyed beyond repair in the 1660 fire. The madrasa, too, was destroyed (together with many palaces in the vicinity) in the 1688 fire, but it was rebuilt in 1693–1697. As we have seen in the case of the Kadırga Palace, natural disasters constituted a serious danger for urban real estate *waqfs*. When this occurred, and the corpus of the *waqf* was destroyed, the *waqf* ceased to function. It is highly probable that Kara Murad came to possess the palace through a *waqf muqata'a* as this was the last resort for a *waqf* to rescue its asset (land). It may have been offered for rent on long-term lease as the cost of rebuilding either exceeded the means of the *waqf*, or the line of Siyavûş Paşa's heirs were about to become extinct. The advantages of a *waqf muqata'a* are clear: when tenants built upon it, the *waqf* (re) gained new and valuable assets; when the tenant's descendants became extinct, assets reverted back to the *waqf*. There were also disadvantages; such long term leases diluted the property rights of the *waqf*. If the lease contract did not clearly state the condition of *"ecr-i misl"*, that is to say, the market value, rent quickly became insignificant. In this particular case, Kara Murad's heirs were not able to keep possession of the palace, perhaps due to yet another fire, that of 1660, which devastated two-thirds of Istanbul, including the Süleymaniye area. According to Mehmed Halife, an eyewitness, the spires of the four minarets of the Süleymaniye mosque burned like candles.[127] In the aftermath of the disaster thousands died of the plague as rats feasted on unburied corpses and spread disease. This time the recovery of the palaces in the area took decades.

Cornelius Loos's 1710 panorama still shows a palatial complex together with (several?) other palaces in this neighbourhood, and confirms accounts of its earlier magnificence. There no longer any mention of Siyavuş's or Murad's palace. Later, towards the mid-18th century, we find references to female members of the Ottoman house settling in the area, in particular on the site of the former palace of Siyavuş/Kara Murad.[128]

Center away from the center: Grand viziers' waterfront palaces on the Bosphorus

In a recent article where I attempted to locate the Sublime Porte opposite the Alay Köşkü, I traced the history of the palaces of the grand viziers in the vicinity of the Topkapı Palace from the 1630s to the 1730s. Historians have heretofore utilised passing references in late 17th and early18th century chronicles to this end. By complementing these with accounts of the various state processions in the first quarter of the 18th century, I have been able to identify the streets, squares and buildings which served as landmarks for the palaces in the vicinity of Alay Köşkü.[129]

It is possible that grand viziers lived in this location already in the early 16th century. Evliyâ Çelebi's association, mentioned above, of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa with the palace of a grand vizier near Alay Köşkü, in addition to the fact that one of the small gates on the land walls is named after Sokollu, suggests the presence of an official seat in this location. However, Evliyâ Çelebi's information is not verified by any other documentation, and it is certain that Sokollu's executive power was centred on his Hippodrome Palace when he died, whereas the palace at Kadırga Limanı was the residence of his harem – his imperial wife İsmihan Sultan and her household – at least before 1574.

Problems posed by the elusive origins of grand viziers' palaces controlled by the state are further complicated by the frequent rotation amongst viziers of exceptionally short tenure in the troubled first half of the 17th century. This makes it even more difficult to trace the history of the

127 Baer 2004, after Halife 1924, 67.

128 For the mid-18th century palace of a princess which stood next to Ağa Kapısı Palace, therefore readily identifiable as built on the site of the earlier palaces of Siyavûş and Kara Murad, see: Artan (forthcoming).

129 Artan 2010. Seven main sites or urban lots over which these palaces of the grand viziers had spread were identified.

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palaces opposite Alay Köşkü. In little more than half a century, from the thrice-appointed vizier Siyâvuş (whose last tenure ended in 1592) to Derviş Paşa (in office from March 1653 to October 1654), including all those to whom the making of the permanent office is attributed, forty-two grand viziers took office, the majority serving for only a few months. Soon after Köprülü Mehmed became grand vizier in 1656, he persuaded the young sultan to move the court to Edirne in order to avoid fires and rebels. His presence and patronage in the capital, together with the members of his family who followed him in office, is a subject that requires further research. A related point is the following. During the long absence of the court from 1658 to 1703, it seems fairly clear that the grand viziers continued to keep private palaces in various neighbourhoods of the capital. A case in point is Kara İbrahim Paşa, who followed Kara Mustafa in office in December 1683. His Istanbul palace, located in the Molla Kestel and Yakup Ağa neighbourhoods of the Vefa district, not far from Siyavûş's/Kara Murad's Süleymaniye Palace, was extensive.[130] It was private, however, and did not include any sections where he could have conducted state affairs. But, typically, he too endowed his palace as a family *waqf* in July 1685, shortly before he was dismissed from office.

Also in the second half of the 17th century, many of the viziers' palaces built by Sinan disappeared in the fires which destroyed large sections of the city, for the most part through arson facilitated by the court's absence from the capital. In fact, these fires often began in palaces of the grand viziers. Rebellious janissaries, gathering around the Porte wherever it might happen to be at the time, frequently began their depredations by setting fire. Whenever they succeeded in overthrowing and sometimes also murdering the grand vizier, his successor would settle in another palace in the vicinity whilst the damaged palace awaited restoration through allocaton to some other dignitary.

The court's sojourn in Edirne from 1658 to 1703 was interrupted only a few times. In the aftermath of the Karlowitz Peace Treaty of 1699, in Spring and Summer of 1700, the sultan, Mustafa II, had to be in Istanbul together with the grand vizier Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa, a member of the Köprülü family, to meet with the victors' ambassadors concerning the treaty's implementation. The grand vizier seems to have hastily built a residence-office-reception hall, apparently completed just before the envoys arrived in Istanbul.[131] It is interesting to note that the meetings were not planned for the "Porte" opposite the Topkapı Palace, or for any palace in the Ayasofya-Hippodrome area or elsewhere in the historical peninsula, but for a waterfront palace at a rather distant location, near Anadolu Hisarı on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. Many reasons might be posited for this. Long neglected, the capital itself may have been in a state of decay and also relatively unsafe, whilst the grand vizier's palace probably could not be repaired in such a short time.[132]

Once the diplomatic talks were over, Mustafa II returned immediately to Edirne and retreated to court life. The grand vizier, seriously ill and frustrated by the intrigues of the sultan's close circle after five years in office, resigned in September 1702 and went to live on his farm at Silivri, a day's travel from the capital on the road to Edirne. There he died before the end of the month. At the time of his death, in addition to his Silivri farm Amcazâde also had a mansion *(konak)* in the Molla Gürani neighbourhood of Fatih, as well as an estate with kiosks and gardens at Eyüb.[133] Both prop-

130 Özger 2008.

131 Egli 1941; Eldem 1942; Eldem/Ünver 1970; Eldem 1974; Eldem 1986, 190-191; Eldem 1994. See also Arel 1982, 140–151. More recently: Tamer 2001; Birol 2005; Yıldız. 2011; Yıldız, 2011b, 190–192, 430.

132 However, since Reyhman noted that in 1700 the Polish ambassador stayed at the Hippodrome Palace, some other motifs could be at work: Reyhman 1964–1965.

133 After the ambassadors were received at the Imperial Council Hall in the Topkapı Palace, they were entertained at various waterfront palaces on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The grand vizier entertained the Austrian ambassador at his palace in Eyüb and its gardens in the Spring of 1700. Then there was a reception also at Anadolu Hisari: Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât. Tahlil ve Metin* II (1066–1116/1656–1704), ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Ankara, 1995, 686; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi* (1099–1116/1688–1704), ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Ankara, 138–139; Uşşâkizâde es-Seyyid İbrâhîm Hasîb Efendi, *Uşşakizâde Tarihi* I, ed. Raşit Gündoğdu, İstanbul, 2005, 413; Silâhdâr Fındıklılı

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erties were endowed in 1702 (20–29 January). When he left his post and died later that year, his farm, donated by the sultan just two weeks earlier as a gift for his retirement, was immediately confiscated by the state.[134]

Together with his mansion, kiosk and gardens in the peninsula, Amcazâde's summer palace at Anadolu Hisarı was also confiscated. As in the case of all 16th century viziers' palaces known to me, this complex on the Bosphorus had been built on freehold land and subsequently incorporated into an endowment in early 1702 in order to generate income for the upkeep of Amcazâde's many – too many – charitable religious foundations.[135] Again, in accordance with long-standing practice, the waterfront palace itself was endowed for Amcazâde's own use and, upon his death, for that of his children and their children *(evlâd-ı evlâda meşrût)*. The land, however, had earlier been given in freehold by the sultan to Amcazâde's cousin, Fâzıl Ahmed, son of Köprülü Mehmed and also a grand vizier, who had died in 1676.[136] How it was passed on to Amcazâde remains unknown.

For centuries the palace at Anadolu Hisarı, a prominent location on the Bosporus, was – and still is – known as the "meşrûta yalı". Again, *meşrût(a)* is an estate or trust in mortmain limited by the founder with regard to the nomination of the trustee and dispersal of the revenues; thus, certain heirs might be excluded. As we have seen, according to the Hanafi school of Islamic law, a person might create a *waqf* for himself or herself and for his/her children and grandchildren and their children. Why then, of all the Istanbul palaces endowed throughout the entire period of imperial *waqfs* whereby the endower and his/her family, his/her descendants and even other relatives could be designated as beneficiaries, was only this palace a *meşrût(a)*?

I believe the answer lies in juridical debates concerning private property and usufructuary rights on endowed property in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the Hanafite tradition, authoritative opinions compiled in contemporary fatwa collections constituted the legal framework for transactions involving urban *waqf* property.[137] As we have seen, a new arrangement for renting out *waqf* properties came into practice already in the late 16th century: long-term lease by double rent (*icâreteyn* and *mukataa*).[138] There is also evidence in recorded discussions of provincial jurists (including the Syrian al-Nabulusi, d. 1737) that regulation of real property ownership was changing.[139] Long-term leasing was legalised in order to overcome the losses to *waqfs* resulting from the fires etc. Another cause for loss of revenues was inflation. Particularly in the inflationary periods

Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretnâme* (1106–1133/1695–1721), Tahlil ve Metin, ed. Mehmet Topal, Marmara Üniversitesi, unpub. PhD diss., 2001, 443–444, 455–456. For the location and descriptions of his mansion and waterfront palace at Eyüb, see Yıldız 2011, 192, 194.

134 Answering his last petion to be excused from office, on 4 September the sultan had said: "*...çiftliklerinden murâd eylediğin mahalde meks u ikâmet eylemek üzere hâslar ta'yini ile sana tekâ'üdlük ihsanım olmuşdur...*", and (*...nukûd-ı eşyâsı ve hisârda olan yalısı ve İstanbul ile Edirne arasında olan çiftlikleri taraf-ı mîrîden kabz ve içine bostancılar tâyin olundu...*): Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 735-736. Yıldız said that his cash, everyday objects, waterfront palace, mansion, palace, kasır and farm were confiscated, (adet olduğu vechile), 181.

135 For the *waqf*iyya of Amcazâde's mansion at Molla Gürani, kiosk and gardens at Eyüb, and the summer palace at Anadolu Hisarı, see: VGMA, nr. 502, 13–17. 28–32, after Yıldız 2011, 428–430.

136 For Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's *waqf*s and heirs: Kunt 1994; Topçu 2010; Topçu 2010b; Blaşkoviç 1978; Şimşir 2004.

137 For published fatwa collections: *Ma'rûzât. Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi*, ed. P. Düzenli, İstanbul, 2013; *Netîcetü'l-Fetava. Şeyhülislam Fetvaları*, compiled by Es-Seyyid Ahmed Efendi, Es-Seyyid Hafız Mehmed b. Ahmed el-Gedusi, İstanbul, 2014; *Behcetü'l-Fetâvâ. Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi*, eds. S. Kaya, B. Algın, Z. Trabzonlu, A. Erkan, İstanbul, 2012; *Fetâvâ-yı Feyziye. Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi*, ed. S. Kaya, İstanbul, 2010. Şeyhülislam Meşrepzâde Arif Efendi 's *Câmiü'l- icâreteyn* focuses on the double rent in particular.

138 Deterioration of state finances during the seventeenth century which forced the central government to take greater advantage of the tax-farming system for the purposes of domestic borrowing is a parallel development. The central government began to increase the length of tax-farming contracts from one to five years, and even longer. With the introduction of the *malikâne* system in 1695, revenue sources began to be farmed out on a lifetime basis in return for a large initial payment and regular annual payments thereafter: Genç 1975; Özvar 2003; Genç 1987.

139 Abou-el-Hajj 1991; for the parallel argument for Egypt see: Cuno 1980. For recent studies on discussions amongst the provincial jurists: Leuwen 1999; Mundy/Smith 2007; Joseph 2012.

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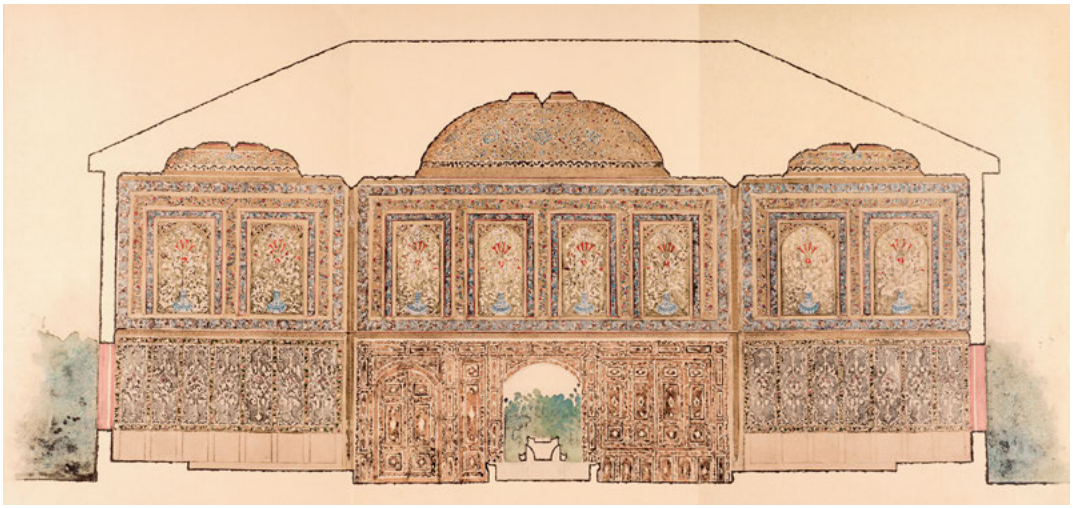

Fig. 8 Divânhâne of Amcazâde's waterfront palace at Anadolu Hisarı.

of the 17th and the 18th centuries, *waqf* administrators in Istanbul turned to the lump-sum payments in the form of *icâre-i muaccele* as a much more substantial contribution to the repair and upkeep of various *waqf* properties. In the course of time, the long-term lease was practised for reasons. Cases of manipulation of *icâreteyn* or exploitation of pious foundations through expropriations and suspicious agreements towards privatisation can be traced in hundreds of documents, involving endless transfers, subcontracting, exchange, dismemberment or alienation of assets and usage rights. As leases became inheritable and the heirs proliferated, *waqfs* effectively lost the capability to adjust terms and to reclaim their own property. In situations of dispute between two individuals over legal rights, Islamic law stipulated that this depended upon written evidence and legal documentation. When such disputes involved numerous parties asserting outright ownership through long hereditary tenure, juridical cases became more and more complex and the documentation enormous. If some documents were lost, privatisation could not be hindered even if the courts sought to preserve the *waqf's* integrity (though often they did not). The fact that Amcazâde's Anadolu Hisarı palace was called *meşrût(a)* perhaps indicates that the rights of the founder and propriator, but also the decisions of the administration were subject to dispute.[140]

Amcazâde's palace at Anadolu Hisarı, built on an immense lot that he had "inherited" from his "family", was a turning point. When he died on 22 September 1702 (29 R 1114), all his movables and immovables were initially confiscated. The circumstances of this severe punishment are not clear – perhaps it was connected with the political intriques in his last years in office, or his debts amounting to 7,042,850 akçes. In fact, there was no need for legal justification. Although never formulated, confiscations were practised in tha case of all officials of the Ottoman state regardless of guilt or failure. According to imperial custom and law, all wealth accumulated by a government official belonged to the state and/or public and was thus under absolute jurisdiction of the sultan. But curiously, when Amcazâde's heirs objected, arguing that together with the konak at Molla Gürani[141] and the palace and gardens at Eyüb, the residential complex on the Bosphorus was also their private property, on 31 January 1703, just four months after Amcazâde's death, the other properties and the "meşrûta yalı" were (re)alloted by imperial decree to his two wives and two

140 "Whilst the judges endured that the law was properly executed in regard to *waqf* properties, *müftis* and other legal scholars articulated the legal reasoning behind such exactions. This did not necessarily mean that every decision made by a Hanafi judge was in line with the Hanafi doctrine on a particular issue; the discrepancies between judges' decisions and *muftis*' opinions is apparent in the sources themselves": Joseph 2012, 55.

141 For the foundation deed registering the mansion at Molla Gürani as "*meşrût*" to the children of Amcazade see Cevdet Evkâf 10186 (n.d.), after Yıldız 2011, 400.

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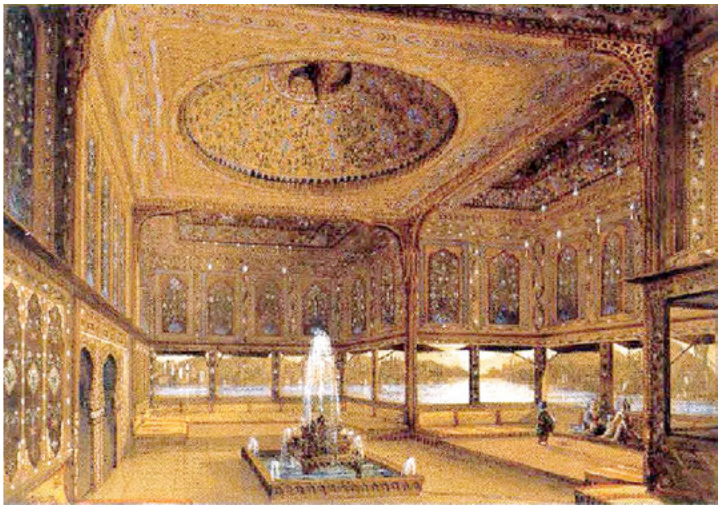

Fig. 9 Amcazâde's waterfront palace at Anadolu Hisarı.

Fig. 10 Divânhâne of Amcazâde's waterfront palace at Anadolu Hisarı.

daughters and their children.[142] Their descendants continued to live in parts of the decaying palace complex until the early 20th century, and some of the land is still in the family to-day.[143]

The palace at Anadolu Hisarı is also remarkable as a model for Ottoman palace architecture in the period of resettlement of the imperial court in Istanbul. (Fig. 8–10) Not long after Amcazâde's death, a military coup ended the reign of Mustafa II. In September 1703 the court returned to Istanbul. In consequence, a number of vizirs' palaces in the vicinity of the imperial palace were rebuilt and refurbished. This remaking of the capital in the early 18th century coincided with an imperial plan for the re-assimilation of power which had been accumulated by members of the lower ruling elite. Under Ahmed III a major step was taken by allowing, and even encouraging women of the imperial family to engage in their own right in public demonstrations of dynastic sovereignty. The princesses – and through them to their military-bureaucratic husbands as junior and subordinate partners – were thereby interpolated between the throne and the lower political elite in order to raise the dynasty's public profile.[144] Soon afterwards, beginning in 1708, collective celebratons of imperial marriage became common practice in Istanbul.[145] An effective instrument in the subjugation of the lower elite was the exclusive prerogative of imperial princesses to construct palaces in the capital. These waterfront-palaces on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus kept in check the officials whom the sultan had chosen as the princesses' husbands by architecturally dwarfing the latters' adjacent residences. This was a major change. Most of the palaces were now called not

142 A group of *bostancı*s were stationed at the yalı in October 1702 to help record the movables and immovables, and perhaps to oversee the transfer of some luxury goods elsewhere; following the reversal of the decision to confiscate, the *bostancı*s were immediately withdrawn: BOA Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD), nr. 5362, 265, after Yıldız 2011, 400; Yıldız 2011b, 190–192, 430.

143 Saladin/Mesguich 1915: 150 folios with thirteen chromolithograph plates, loose as issued in folio. *Édition tirée à seulement 150 exemplaires numérotés de cet ouvrage décrivant une maison ancienne turque, ornée de 12 grandes planches dont 9 en couleurs représentant les décors de la demeure. Chemise abîmée. Rousseurs éparses.* The drawing were made by the students of Sanâyi-i Nefîse Mektebi, Nuri and Ömer Şeref, with the intervention of Lady Lowther, the wife of the English ambassador, and Armenak Bey. For a translation : Gökteke 2000. There are two late 19th century views from the interior of the divânhane. One of these is a woodcut by *H. Catenacci* and J. Jacquemart, produced in London 1878. The other is a small, undated watercolour on paper: 37cm x 52cm, Azize Taylan Collection, Ýstanbul.

144 Artan 2011, 354.

145 Artan 2011.

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after the distinguished husbands but their imperial wives, further enhanced the impact of the new female patronage.[146]

Later in the 18th century it became the custom for Ottoman princesses with households of their own to have at least three palaces: one in the historical peninsula, a second on the shores of the Golden Horn, and a third on the shores of Bosphorus. In constrast to the preference for Üsküdar as the site for summer palaces in the 16th and 17th centuries, the European shore of the Bosphorus, in particular the stretch from Ortaköy to Bebek, were now favoured as the city began to expand. Such waterfront palaces offered unprecedented visibility for the dynasty and led to a new life-style involving frequent outdoor activities and innovative forms of courtly entertainment, with increased movement along the coastline. The interiors displayed a totally different atmosphere, as the polychrome tile revetments of the 16th century were now replaced by lacqured wooden panels of a different color scheme which matched the textile. The decorations were still overwhelmingly floral. (Fig. 8. 10).

What happened to Hadice Sultan's palace and her *waqf*?[147]

In the first quarter of the 18th century Ahmed III's many daughters and nieces, as well as his sister Hadice (the Elder, 1658–1743), paid "rent" on the lots of the palaces allocated to them at the time of their birth or marriage. These palaces were rebuilt and expanded by them, often through the addition of adjoining lots or structures, and were made into endowments for the upkeep of the princesses new charitable foundations. Such endowments were, however, very modest in comparison to their 16th century counterparts; indeed, they were usually annexes to already existing imperial foundations.[148]

By the 18th century some families which had been hereditary holders of 16th century wooden palaces on *waqf* lands had died out. Nevertheless, *waqf* trustees dutifully supervised the leasing and the channelling of the income generated from the rents of these palaces to such public works and religious institutions – or other parties – as had been specified by the original bequest-makers. Thus the 18th century family *waqf* continued to provide a means of safeguarding such immovables from expropriation or levies imposed by the state. On the other hand, in the course of two centuries not only usufruct (or ownership) claims but also account-keeping had become extremely complicated. It is perhaps no coincidence that around this time, a major change took place in the institution of the *waqf*. As most charitable foundations fell into decay, the landed *waqf* lost its advantage as a pool of reserve funds and credit institution. Through the mukataa-sale of *waqf* property by the trustees or through the confiscation of *waqf* properties by the state, the status of several palaces changed, and others disappeared for good.

A case in point is the Üsküdar palace of Hadice the Elder, the stubborn and avaricious sister of Mustafa II and Ahmed III.[149] Hadice had a very long life and was married three times; two of her

146 In contrast, in the 16th century, identity of the princesses was often suppressed. In the case of İsmihan, too, even though she was an assertive patroness, all credit went to her husband. Likewise, the mosque complex of Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Paşa at Eyüp was listed under the paşa's name: Necipoğlu 2005, 335, 337.

147 "An Enigma: History and Layout of Hadice Sultan's Palace at Üsküdar/Salacak", *Symposium on Material Culture: Art, Artisanship and Politics: The Ottoman Construction Site*, Boğaziçi University and Bilgi University, 4 June 2010, İstanbul (forthcoming).

148 Yediyıldız 1985; Yediyıldız 1982.

149 In this study I chose to focus on the Üsküdar Palace only because it involves a transfer from a 16th century palace of a grand vizier who was on par with Sokollu and the others I studied here. The mid-18th century transfers of Hadice's other properties, namely her waterfront palace Ayvansaray/Eyüb and farm at Papa Bergos/Çatalca, are equally interesting and instructive. I intend to study the documents I introduce here in detail as part of my book, provisionally entitled "the Augustan Princess".

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husbands were grand viziers. To the south of the historic centre of Üsküdar, adjoining the grand vizier's mosque in Salacak, her palace was built on a plot which had been endowed by (Gazi) (Koca) Sinan Paşa (d. 1596), grand vizier and conqueror of Yemen (and Tunis).[150] It was from Sinan Paşa's *waqf* that the heirs of Hadice's first husband, Musahip Mustafa Paşa, had resorted to *icâreteyn* to lease the palace in the first decade of the 18th century.[151] Upon Hadice's repeated requests and by the intervention of her brother, Sultan Ahmed III, who finally "granted" the palace to her, the trustees of Sinan Paşa's *waqf* were forced to abandon their rights. Hadice kept paying the ground rent to Sinan Paşa's trustees until her death in 9 May 1743. When she died at nearly ninety, a complex process began for the alienation of the huge urban lot where the palace stood.

In 1758, when her nephew Osman III was on throne, it was claimed that Hadice had purchased all this property with her own money, and that she had endowed the palace in question, as well as her waterfront palace at Ayvansaray/Eyüb and her farm at Papa Bergos/Çatalca, in installments in 1714 and 1716.[152] Following her death, it was said, the previous sultan Mahmud I, also Hadice's nephew, had annexed her (endowed) immovables to his own endowment by claiming that he had obtained the title deeds from Hadice as well as her agreement to the dissolution of her endowment in her own lifetime. In this way two palaces and a farm belonging to her were appropriated and returned to "the Sultan's Household". When Osman III, who followed Mahmud I on the throne, immediately transferred the Üsküdar Palace from Mahmud I's foundation to his *waqf* of Nûr-u Osmanî, the trustees of Hadice's *waqf* appealed to the Evkâf-ı Haremeyn to reverse a series of administrative wrongdoings. Various accusations of her trustees were promptly answered by the authorities, but the confusion did not come to an end until Sultan Abdülhamid I returned the property in Üsküdar to Sinan Paşa's *waqf* in 1764.

Documentation for the 16th century palace of Sinan Paşa is scanty. Likewise, no visual or narrative account of Hadice's palace has been discovered; its bounderies and its ground plan are only vaguely described in the available documentation. One exception, however, is a compilation of correspondence from 22 July to 24 September 1758.[153] This also does not reveal details of construction or architectural features of Hadice Sultan's Üsküdar Palace, but it contains much useful information.

150 On Sinan Paşa's *waqf*s in the Balkans and in the Bilâd al-Shâm, Damascus, imperial roads of Syria, and Alexandria see "Dossier: Koca Sinan Pacha (ca 1520–1596) en ses *waqf*s', *Turcica* 43, 2011, 259–479; esp. Meier 2011, 309–343. See also Bayram 1999; Bayram 2007. Bayram lists nine separate *waqfiyyas* and their various copies from 1581 to 1596.

151 Kal'a 1998, 327–329. A record in the Register of Edicts (*İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*), namely a compilation of the final decisions taken by the Imperial Council (Divân), reveals that Hadice's first husband Musahip Mustafa Paşa's heirs had rented Sinan Paşa's Üsküdar palace from the administrators of his *waqf* by *icâreteyn*. (Since his heirs are not identified, we do not know whether these were Mustafa Paşa's children from a previous marriage or the couple's children together. Historical record maintains that their four sons were dead already in the last decade of the 17th century, and one daughter was married to the governing dynasty in Bagdad.) This document in question maintains that the Üsküdar Palace was confiscated together with her other properties, and that until 1757 (1171), 14 years after her death, its ground rent was paid to Sinan Paşa's *waqf* by the comptroller of inheritances, the *terekecibaşı*. The register of imperial edicts, namely rescript, order or imperial decree issued by the Divân, also sheds light on a *waqf* document dated 1758 (see below).

152 BOA Cevdet Evkâf 29677 (22 July–24 September 1758): Now, the document in question tells a very different story. It disregards the connection to the Sinan Paşa's 16th century *waqf*. It revolves around the complaints of Hadice Sultan's household steward and *waqf* trustee, Yusuf Ağa bin Abdullah. He claimed that after Hadice bestowed the properties in question, a board of the trustees and the personnel for the upkeep of the foundation were simultaneously assigned and the endowment deed was dutifully registered at the Chief Accounting Office (*Baş Muhasebe Kalemi*). We also learn in 1758 that, for more that fourty years, the revenues of these properties were channelled into her endowment. In support of his case he presented several documents, including a copy of Hadice Sultan's endowment deed registered at the Baş Muhasebe Kalemi and a copy of a Hatt-ı Hümayun, a handwritten note by Mahmud I, inquiring the conditions of renting out of the parts of Ayvansaray and Üsküdar palaces. Curiously, some parts of the afore mentioned Fazlı Paşa's palace were demolished and the construction materials were reused in Hadice Sultan's waterfront palace at Ayvansaray in 1715–1722: BOA Bina Emini 15878 (13 Za 1127) and 15870 (1130–1133). See footnote 32 above.

153 BOA Cevdet Evkâf 29677.

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It shows that the palace grounds, enclosed by a stone wall, were surrounded by a *mîrî* lot bordered on the sea and two public throughways and abounded in cypresses. Around the palace was a 2000 *zira* square garden with fruit and other trees; there were also two vineyards and a polo field.[154] Listed are rooms overlooking the sea, as well as pools, kiosks, and service areas such as the bath and kitchen. In another entry in the same document, the boundaries were updated, and together with the palace of Safiye Sultan on one side and the sea on the other, three private passageways are described as adjacent to the palace. At one point there is mention of "a great palace and its annexes that defy description" *(tahrir ve tavsifden müstağni bir bâb sarây-i kebir ve müştemilâtı)*. But examination of the records of massive construction and repair work undertaken fifteen years earlier (just before Hadice the Elder died on 9 May 1743)[155] reveals that what is so extravagantly praised in the document of 1758 was the harem.

At the heart of the 1758 document is a report *(arz)* by Yusuf Ağa, steward of the princess in her lifetime and the trustee of her *waqf*, on the status of Hadice's endowed properties, and the response of a certain Derviş Ağa, then accountant of imperial endowments dedicated to Mecca and Medina *(muhasib-i Evkâf-ı Haremeyn)*.[156] This exchange reveals a complex web of legal and illegal transfers involving Sinan Paşa's and Hadice Sultan's properties. Some 15 years after Hadice's death the surviving parts of the Üsküdar Palace and the palace grounds were rented out to local butchers, candle-makers and tailors, eventually becoming freehold properties. Gradually, a whole neighbourhood called İhsaniye – ironically meaning "what has been donated" or "fruits of beneficence" – emerged on the vast palatial grounds in the former Sinan Paşa quarter of Salacak.

The fate of Hadice's pious foundations provides further confirmation of recent findings that in the 18th century, unlike women of more modest means[157], women of the imperial family were no longer active in establishing charitable foundations.[158] Departing from their predecessors' ways, they did not choose to built mosque complexes, charitable institutions or other public works out of their ample personal resources. Instead they limited their activity to relatively modest additions intended to ensure the integrity of existing *waqfs* set up by their ancestors, their uncles, brothers or nephews. At least in this context they appear to have opted for a lower public profile. It is striking to what lengths Hadice went in order to convince her brothers and her nephew Mahmud I to allocate palaces to her. Her repeated demands were often recorded in scandalised tones by contemporary chroniclers. She got what she wanted but, perhaps in reaction, unlike her many nieces she herself played only a minor part in the new urban development of Istanbul. As we have said, Ahmed III – as his predecessors in the 16th and 17th centuries – turned to the female members of the imperial family to convey new messages of power, legitimacy and longevity, through public displays of the marriages of his daughters and nieces to the most distinguished members of his court. But Hadice was left out; after her second husband's fall from grace and subsequent death in 1711, she did not remarry until 1743, just before her death.

The subsequent dissolution and disappearance of Hadice's *waqf* is useful for the study of changes in the Ottoman administration of agricultural and urban land 17th and 18th century in general, though certain particular details must be considered. Whilst Hadice herself had a very long life, her four sons from her first marriage all died in their early teens, and her daughter Ayşe Hanımsultan, also from the marriage to Eyüplü Hasan Paşa (d. 1723), died in 1717 in Baghdad, where Hasan was governor-general. This may have facilitated the "lawful" reversion of her endow-

154 BOA Cevdet Evkâf 29677.

155 For repeated repair work and reconstruction at the Üsküdar palace in 1715, 1718, and possibly also in 1722 and 1725: BOA Maliyeden Müdevver 17137 (1125–1142). We have a detailed account of repairs at her Üsküdar palace in 1741–1743: BOA Cevdet Saray 7599.

156 Yusuf Ağa bin Abdullah appealed to the Evkâf-ı Haremeyn. In response, Derviş Mustafa Efendi requested the *Nezâret-i Şeyhülislâm* to investigate the wrongdoings concerning some properties of Hadice Sultan.

157 Fay 1998.

158 Yediyıldız 1985; Yediyıldız 1982, 143–164.

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ment to the male line of the House of Osman.[159] Another curious fact is that the tractations in 1758 concerning the unlawful transfers of Hadice's properties began on the eve of her third husband's return to the capital, after a long leave of absence. Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, also an illegal husband because he was the Hadice's (illegitimate) nephew, died in August of that year on his way to Aydın/İstanbul. Hekimoğlu served three times as grand vizier and his second term in office (21 May 1742 – 23 September 1743) coincided with the arranged marriage to Hadice, her death and his settlement at her Üsküdar Palace.[160] This, too, may have the motive behind Mahmud I's intervention, because Hekimoğlu was his half-brother, an illegitimate son of Mustafa II.

Finally, let us turn to Sinan Paşa's palace, his *waqf* and his heirs. An illustrous statesman of the late-16th century, Sinan was appointed grand vizier five times in 1580–1596, and he died in office when he was well over ninety.[161] He was married to a daughter of Selim I and had a son and three daughters.[162] He, too, was an ambitious patron, though his palace on the Hippodrome was the only architectural project that brought him and Mimar Sinan together.[163] His other palace in the Sinan Paşa quarter of Salacak/Üsküdar must have been built after Mimar Sinan's death in 1588.[164] Sinan Paşa set up numerous pious endowments. Curiously, his own descendants were nominated as managers only in tertiary lineage (after Sinan Paşa himself, his freed slaves, and then their descendants).[165] His Istanbul *waqfiyyas* have not yet been studied in detail, but for the administration of his Damascus foundation it was stipulated that only after the line of his most suitable slaves' male children and children's children became extinct should the control of the foundation revert to the most suitable male descendents of the founder. After the extinction of all lineages related to the founder, the last administrator was to be the Muslim ruler of the time.[166] This, too, is curious, and may have served as a quasi-legal pretext for the transfer of the 18th century Üsküdar Palace to Mahmud I.

159 For the decendants of this family see Öztuna 2005, 646–647.

160 I have explored various aspects of this arranged marriage in several lectures: "The Marriage of Hadice Sultan and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa', *700th Celebrations of the Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, *Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients sowie für Turkologie*, in Munich on 2 February 2000; "The Shady World of Kinship Ties in the Imperial Ottoman Household", *Family History and the Middle East Studies*, *University of California*, 7–9 April 2000, Berkeley. See footnote 149 above.

161 7 August 1580–1586 December 1582, 14 April 1589–1 August 1591, 28 January 1593–1516 February 1595, 7 July 1595–19 November 1595 ve 1 December 1595–1593 April 1596. During his long career he was disgraced and punished several times, but succeeded to reassert himself. His various defeats on the battle ground and a series of unsuccessful confrontations with the Habsburgs (culminating in the devastating siege and fall of Esztergom in 1595), brought disfavour not only to Sinan Paşa, but also to his son who was accused of treason. Sinanpaşazâde Mehmed Paşa, was known in the chronicles as "*cebîn* and *menhûs* and *muhannes*", that is, a coward, accursed, and a deserter. He died in the Üsküdar palace in 1605 and was buried in the garden of the adjoining mosque. Sinan was so affluent that he was accused for busying himself with alchemical experiments: İpşirli 2002.

162 An imperial bridegroom, Sinan was perhaps married to a granddaughter of Selim I: Peirce 1993, 246–247. Mehmed Süreyya, however, identifies his widow as a granddaughter of Bayezid II through his son Şehzade Ahmed: Süreyya 1996, vol. 3, 926.

163 For his Hippodrome palace: Necipoğlu 2005, 506.

164 For Sinan Paşa's Salacak Mosque: Yazıcı 2011; The complex at Çarşıkapı, including a madrasa, a sebil and Sinan's tomb, was built by Davud Ağa who followed Sinan as the Chief of the Imperial Corps of Architects.

165 Astrid Meier noted Sinan Paşa's rather unusual choice of administrators and, in search of an explanation, she quoted Muhibbî who characterises Koca Sinan as the most beneficent vizier, especially for travellers, pilgrims, and merchants: Meier 2011, 331, 334–336. Marino added that the descendants of his freed slaves seem to have been in charge of the foundation until the end of the 19th century: Marino 2011, 394.

166 VGM, nr. 43, fol. 24 and p. 53. In the marginalia is the record of (Fâtih-i Yemen Gâzî) Sinan Paşa's *waqf* in Üsküdar, dated 1766 (1180). Apparently, it was re-registered. Sinan Paşa's palace at Salacak was adjacent to a mosque (completed in 1547), fountain, hamam and market place, of which only the first two still stand in the neighboorhood called after him.

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As indicated above, the case did not end until 1764, when the trustees of Sinan Paşa's endowment appealed yet again and the sultan Abdülhamid I ordered the property to be returned to the waqf of Sinan Paşa.[167] Although the trustee of the Nûr-u Osmanî foundation fought diligently to keep it under his control, commoners from Üsküdar were called to testify, and his claims were overruled.

By way of conclusion

In 1993 I remarked on the great continuity and yet constant change in ownership and patronage revealed by combining Ottoman architectural and social history. For instance, the various names given to the Kadırga (or Ayasofya or Süleymaniye) Palace and its survival through confused but nevertheless persistent association with various female members of the imperial family, reflect the of matrices of alliance, modes of legitimation and strategies of cooptation utilised by the Ottoman dynasty to ensure its continued hegemony: permutations which by their very success have given rise to the illusion that it was always the "same" empire.[168]

In the years following various scholars have made contributions to a new periodisation of Ottoman history. There is now an increasing consensus that before the rebellion of 1703 there was a struggle between those who benefitted from sultanic absolutism and those who aspired to limit imperial prerogative, and that after 1703 a new consolidation took place whereby the duties and rights of all political actors were redefined. Location, architecture, ceremonies, patronage and property rights of the imperial palaces all have much to contribute to this subject. The transformation in the 17th and 18th centuries will surely be revisited again and again in future.[169]

167 Kal'a 1998, 327–329.

168 Artan 1996.

169 The transformations of Ottoman social and political structures in the seventeenth century which curbed the political power of the sultan and changed the nature of his relations with other major figures in the state, has led to the concept of a Second Empire (1580–1826), replacing an earlier, patrimonial polity: Tezcan 2010. See also: Abou-el-Hajj 1991.

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Fig. 1: Nakkaş Osman: *Şehinşahname* (1582–1583), TSM Library B. 200, 82b–83a. Reproduced by permission of the Topkapı Palace, İstanbul.

Fig. 2. 3: Nakkaş Osman: *Hunername II* (1588), TSM Library H. 1524, fols. 122b–123a; fols. 119b–120a; Reproduced by permission of the Topkapı Palace, İstanbul.

Fig. 4. 6. 7: Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Inv. Ca. 170/S.013, Blatt 3 (Torgebäude des Palastes), Inv. Ca. 170/S.010, Blatt 4 (Audienzzimmer des Palastes), Inv. Ca. 170/S.016, Blatt 5 (Große Rasthalle des Palastes). Reproduced by permission of the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Photo: Herbert Boswank.

Fig. 5: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 8615, fol. 81v; Reproduced by permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Fig. 8: Henri Jules Saladin / René Mesguich (1915), *Le Yali des Keupruli a Anatoli-Hissar: cote asiatique du Bosphore,* (préface de Pierre Loti [pseud.] et dessins relevés sous la direction de M.T. Terzian par M. Nouri et O. Chéref), Paris. Reproduced by permission of İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul.

Fig. 9: Bahattin Öztuncay (2000), *Vasilaki Kargopulo. Hazret-i Padişahı'nın Serfotoğrafı,* İstanbul: Birleşik Oksijen Sanayii (BOS).

Fig. 10: Tülay Artan (2010), "İstanbul in the 18th Century: Days of Reconciliation and Consolidation", in: *"From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital"*, İstanbul, 302, fig. 2.

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Part V: **Epilogue**

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Albrecht Berger

Byzantium in Bavaria? Ludwig II. and the Great Palace of Constantinople

The early 19th century witnessed the beginning of industralisation which led to rapid changes in society and to increasing demands for democratic reforms by parts of the bourgeoisie. In reaction to this, there arose a romantic idealisation of the Mediaeval past, of which one of the most obvious consequence was historicism in art and architecture. In this context, building in the Byzantine style evoked the memory of the Byzantine Empire as it was then seen by conservative circles, namely, as a symbol for an empire with a Christian ruler, by God's grace, in which church and state were united without religious disputes.

The architectural reception of Byzantium in Bavaria begins in the time of king Ludwig I., grandfather of Ludwig II., with the chapel of All Saints in the royal palace in Munich[1]. Since this church had great influence on pseudo-Byzantine architecture in the time of his grandson Ludwig II., the main topic of this paper, we shall have to begin with a short discussion of this.

Ludwig I. travelled several times to Italy when he was still crown prince and was confronted there with Byzantine art in Venice and in Palermo. He was especially impressed by the palatine chapel of Palermo.[2] When he became king of Bavaria shortly after his second trip to Sicily in 1824, he almost immediately gave orders for the construction of a new court chapel in Byzantine style, All Saints in Munich. The designated architect for this project was Leo von Klenze, and here the problems began, for Klenze preferred the Classical style and was anything but happy with the request to build, of all things on earth, an imitation of the chapel in Palermo.

Mediaeval architecture in Sicily owes its stylistic peculiarity to the fact that the kingdom of the Normans emerged there and in southern Italy in the late eleventh century through the conquest of territories that had previously been under Langobardic, Byzantine and Arab domination; Palermo had been the capital of an Islamic emirate for more than 200 years. As a result, Norman buildings in Sicily were erected in a very eclectic and unbalanced style, with elements of the older Romanesque, Byzantine and Arab-Islamic art. The Palatine Chapel in Palermo was built on a conventional Western European plan, but with a dome in Byzantine style decorated with mosaics and a nave with an Islamic stalactite ceiling[3]. It would have been quite an unreasonable demand to imitate such a building, even for another architect of the time with a less distinctive style than Klenze. Klenze, therefore, tried to talk the king out of his project in the Byzantine style, suggesting rather a building in his own Renaissance design, but without success.

The only choice left to Klenze was to find another, less problematic, Byzantine model; and in the end, the design accepted by Ludwig had little to do with the Capella Palatina in Palermo. The outer shell of the building displays forms of western mediaeval architecture, as found in the cathedrals of Palermo and Monreale, whereas the interior has very little in common with them. At best, one might think the plan of the church of All Saints, with its two consecutive domed bays supported by lateral transverse barrel vaults and galleries, was derived from San Marco in Venice by placing the two arms of this cruciform church one after the another.

But in reality Klenze followed here, albeit in Byzantine disguise, a building type highly fashionable in his time: the church of Sainte Madeleine in Paris, which was built between 1818 and 1842, had a very similar interior with three consecutive domes, hidden behind the facade of a Greek temple, and decorated in ancient Roman, not in Byzantine style[4]. This building was soon known

1 Haltrich 1983; von Buttlar 1999, 232–42.

2 Ringseis 1886, 445.

3 Tronzo 1997.

4 Engbring-Strysch 1989.

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in Germany, and if we did not know the particular history of the church of All Saints in Munich, we would probably assume that it had been intended as a copy of the Madeleine. Its interior was in Byzantine style, even according to our modern conception, though not on account of its architecture, but rather its paintings on a golden background.

Although the church of All Saints represents an architectural type which never existed in the Byzantine East, its impact on the following reception of Byzantium in Bavaria was enormous, and it remained effective as a model also at a time when the art of the Byzantine Empire in the stricter sense had become known in Germany and Western Europe. Its design reappears in several of Ludwig II.'s projects as an architectural pattern for throne halls, as we shall see presently.

Ludwig II was born in 1845 and became king of Bavaria in 1864[5]. Soon he developed fantastic and totally outmoded notions of absolute royal rule and divine right expressed through a strong admiration for Louis XIV. of France and his age on the one hand and of Byzantium on the other. After the Prussian victory over France in 1871, in which the southern German states including Bavaria were also involved, Ludwig was urged against his will to join the new German Empire; and it was he who offered the new German imperial crown to King Wilhelm I. of Prussia in Versailles. Thereafter his psychological problems increased steadily. Ludwig retired from public view and dealt almost exclusively with theatrical performances and numerous building projects, whereby he tried to express his particular admiration for the German Middle Ages and French Absolutism. Contact with his subjects was lost completely, whilst his contact with the parliament and government was limited to the procurement of the necessary funds for his buildings. Finally, Ludwig was put under tutelage in 1886 because of his shyness and extravagance, and then deposed, dying soon afterwards under mysterious circumstances.

Of the buildings actually erected by Ludwig, the most famous to-day are the castles Herrenchiemsee and Linderhof, which imitate the style of the French Baroque, and above all the castle of Neuschwanstein in a pseudo-Mediaeval style. It is perhaps less well known that Ludwig also admired Byzantine art and that among his many construction projects were also several in Byzantine style.

The first of these was the castle at Linderhof, of which the existing drafts by Ludwig's architect Georg Dollmann date to the years 1869 and 1870[6]. These drafts reveal a detailed knowledge of the imperial palace in Constantinople, obviously based on the edition of the *Book of Ceremonies* by Johann Jakob Reiske which was published in 1829[7]. In documents from Ludwig's reign in the Bavarian Secret House Archives, a series of handwritten translations from the *Book of Ceremonies* into German is preserved, including chapters on imperial coronations, receptions of foreign ambassadors and, above all, the games in the hippodrome of Constantinople, whilst descriptions of religious ceremonies and processions through the city are ignored. These translations are neither signed nor dated, but were probably made in connection with the project of Linderhof in the years 1869/70.[8]

5 The literature on the life and time of Ludwig II is vast, but only in a small part of scholarly nature and excessively fixed on the mysterious circumstances of his death. For two introductions to his life in English, see King 1996; Till 2010.

6 Kreisel 1955, 43–45; Baumgartner 1981, 229–238.

7 Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1829.

8 Bavarian Secret House Archive, inheritance of Ludwig II, 55/6/65; cf. Baumgartner 1981, 238 note 3. For these documents, see the list in the Appendix below.

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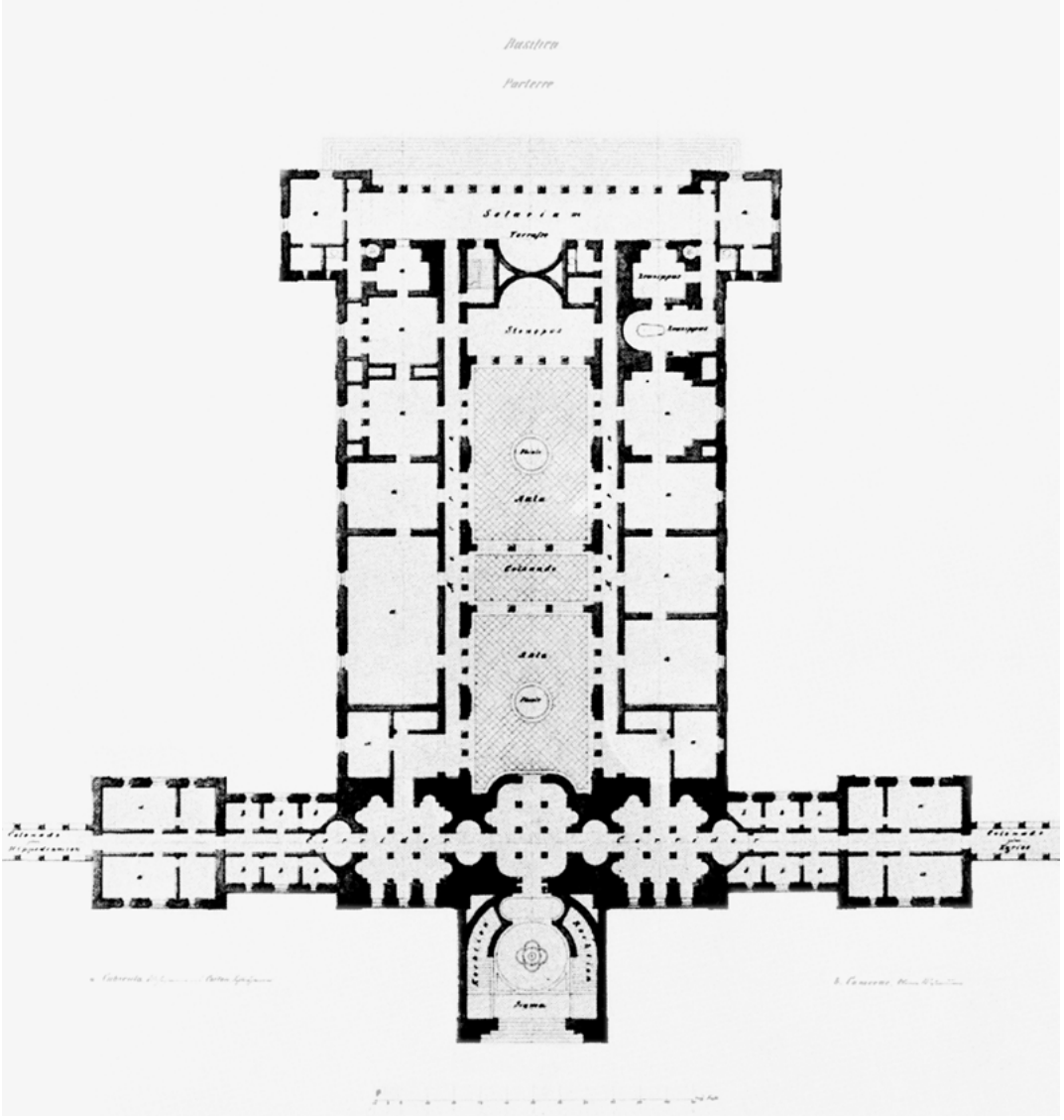

Fig. 1 The Byzantine Linderhof project, plan of the *Basilica*.

In the course of the planning of this palace, that is, from the first to sixth draft[9], the size and room program was steadily expanded. In front of the main building, there was to be a drive for visitors and a patio; the main building itself, which is called a *Basilica* in the master plan, has four wings around two consecutive inner courtyards separated by an open colonnade, with lateral extensions at both sides. It contains a number of state rooms which bear names borrowed from the imperial palace of Constantinople.

Through the *Sigma* a staircase leads to the *Onopus*, from which octagons at both sides give access to the *Triclinium of the Exurbitores* (sic) and to the *Consistorium* in the left, and to the *Delphacus* and *Chalke* in the right outer wing. On the left side of the two inner courtyards lie the *Exaeron*, the *Triclinium of the Nineteen Seats* and the *Magnaura*. The latter was the main audience hall of this palace, again designed as a hall with two consecutive domed bays and lateral galleries, similar to the church of All Saints in Munich.

9 The subsequent drafts are shown in Baumgartner 1981, 230–234. The following description refers to the last of them.

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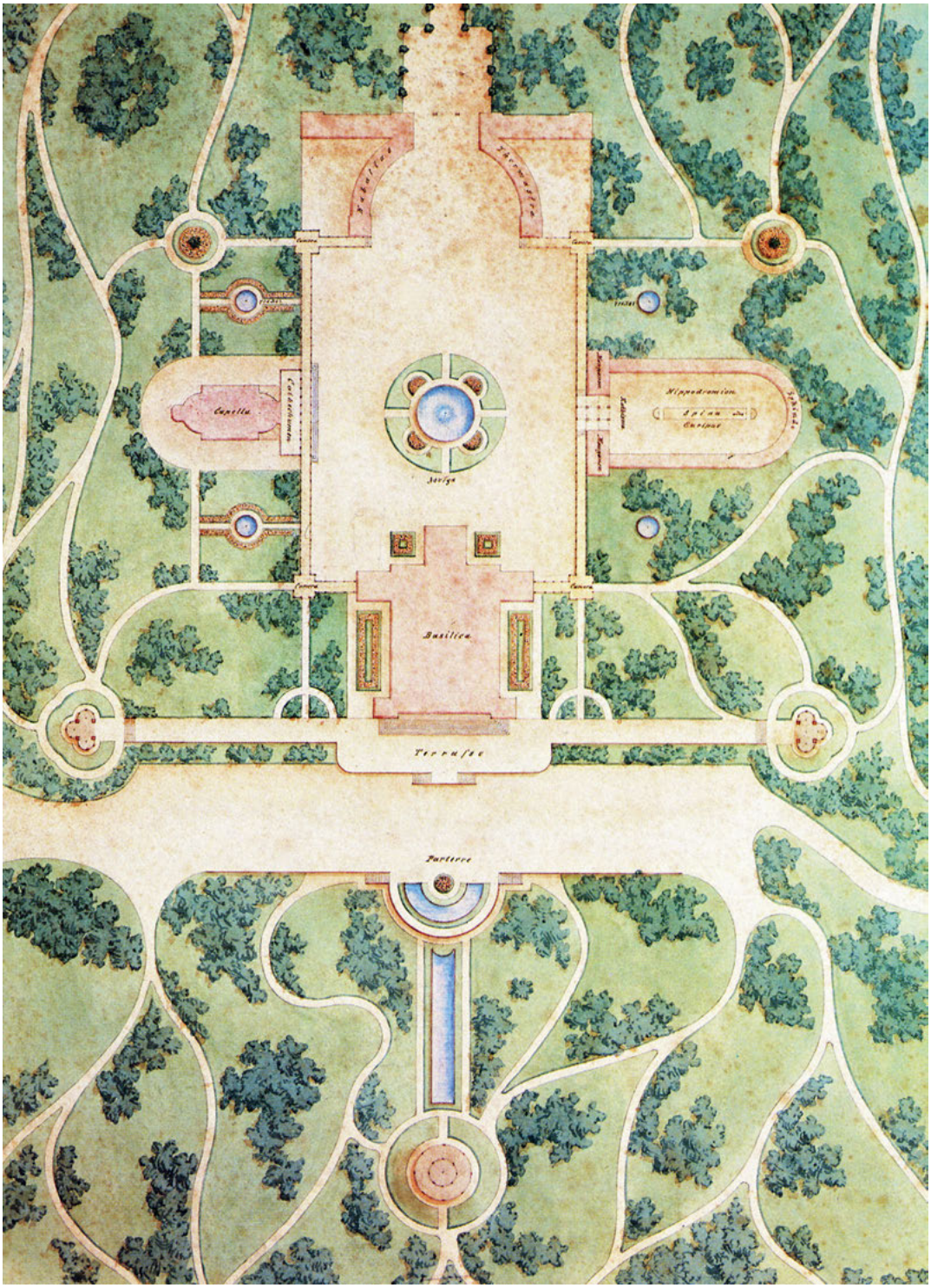

Fig. 2 The Byzantine Linderhof project, plan.

The arrangement of all these rooms within the *Basilica* has little to do with the actual topography the Great Palace of Constantinople, which was known in that time only from literary sources such as the *Book of Ceremonies*. In fact, most of the palace buildings in Constantinople were, apparently, independent constructions, and connected to each other only loosely by galleries and passages. The only resemblance of the Linderhof project to the actual palace in Constantinople is the access to its inner parts through a space called the *Sigma* and an octagon; however, the architect was apparently unaware that the *Sigma* of the Constantinopolitan palace was not a closed room,

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Fig. 3 The Byzantine Linderhof project, view.

but a semicircular courtyard, and therefore also called by its shape the *Onopodion* or *Onopous*, that is, the "donkey's foot" [10].

Behind the *Basilica* lies a large courtyard with a fountain in the middle. Its transverse axis is emphasised on the east side by a church, a reduced and simplified copy of Hagia Sophia, and on the east side by a *Hippodromion*, with two *Manganen* on both sides of its entrance,[11] the *Kathisma* above it,[12] a *Spina* on its longitudinal axis and a *Sphendone* as its terminus. The two quarter-circular buildings, which give on to a large courtyard on the south side, are called *Kaballas* and *Thermastra*.[13]

For this project, a detailed estimate was made by the court architect Georg von Dollmann, putting the total cost at 4,300,000 million guilders.[14] This high price may have tipped the balance in favour of the French project, estimated at only 3,000,000 guilders, instead of the Byzantine one.

The designs for the individual buildings prove that the architect was quite familiar with Middle Byzantine architecture in southern Greece, especially in Athens.[15] On the other hand, the overall plan with its spaciousness and symmetry is modeled on French baroque castles, whilst its inclusion in a landscaped park with free paths recalls English garden design of the later 18th century.

10 Kostenec 2004, 4–9.

11 The *Mangana* (armory) of Constantinople actually lay outside the palace area on the eastern shore.

12 The *Kathisma* is the imperial box of the Hippodrome which lay on its south-eastern long side. In the 19th century, however, it was often believed to have been on the short side over the starting gates, the *carceres*; see Labarte 1861, and still Ebersolt 1910.

13 The *Kaballas* must be the courtyard called *Kaballarios* or "inner Hippodrome" by Byzantine sources, while the Thermastra was a (heatable?) hall nearby.

14 Baumgartner 1981, 231–236.

15 The domes of the *Basilica* with their characteristical double windows, for example, are clearly modelled on those of the church of Saints Theodores in Athens.

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A close parallel to this ensemble of a main building, wide courtyard with fountains surrounded by arcades and embedded in a park with irregular paths, can be found in the Wilhelma at Stuttgart, the Moorish-style summer palace of King Wilhelm of Württemberg, which was built between 1842 and 1846.[16] Indeed, the fountain of Linderhof was planned in Arabian style, following the model of the Alhambra in Granada, and Arabian style elements appear occasionally also elsewhere in the project[17].

With the exception of the church, the design for Linderhof followed the historicising concept of the period, masked only superficially with Byzantine exterior decoration. In the surroundings of the Bavarian Alpine foothills this ensemble would probably have looked rather odd. In the end, this design was abandoned and replaced by the project in Roccoco style[18].

For all subsequent building projects in the Byzantine style commissioned by Ludwig II. Linderhof remained exemplary in two points. Henceforth, the standard plan for throne rooms was a hall with two consecutive domed bays, as in All Saints church, whereas churches were designed in imitation of Hagia Sophia.

Over the next fifteen years, Ludwig II. was mainly occupied with the castle of Herrenchiemsee,[19] in the style of the French Baroque, and with the castle of Neuschwanstein.[20] Neuschwanstein was built in an imaginary style of the Western European Middle Ages, but contains, as the only component in Byzantine style, a throne room based on the designs originally drawn up for Linderhof, though shortened to one bay with an oblong dome, on account of the lack of space.

The throne hall is the only major work actually built on Ludwig's demand in Byzantine style which stands to this day[21]. Ludwig himself ordered that the church of All Saints should serve as a model for its architecture, while all marbles mentioned in Salzenberg's description of the Hagia Sophia should be used in the interior[22]. But it is only the architecture and the style of the wall paintings on gold ground which imitate Byzantine models, while the paintings are completely of western inspiration: in the apse of the throne room, for example, six canonised Mediaeval kings of Western European countries are depicted, including the German emperor Heinrich II. and the French king Louis IX., Ludwig's patron saint[23]. The reception of Byzantium as the symbol of imperial representation on the one hand, and of Christian mysticism on the other, is perhaps characteristic of Ludwig and his whole age.

But at this time, also a third, much more problematic reception began to develop. In 1884, two years before Ludwig's death, Victorien Sardou's drama *Theodora* was released in Paris with Sarah Bernhardt in the title role, and became one of the most successful theatrical plays in France and Germany in the following years.[24] Sardou's *Theodora* is a lurid piece of sex and crime with very limited respect to the ancient sources, showing Byzantium as a decadent state, ruled by a morally depraved, despotic imperial court. Nevertheless, it has become the ancestor of almost all films and musicals on a Byzantine topic, from the first film in 1909 by Ernesto Maria Pasquali down to Charles Busch's musical called *Theodora, She-Bitch of Byzantium*, which was first staged in New York in 1984. King Ludwig allowed a private performance of Sardou's play already in May 1885 at

16 von Schulz 1976.
17 Cf. Kreisel 1955, 46.
18 Baumgartner 1981, 173–198.
19 Baumgartner 1981, 131–172.
20 Baumgartner 1981, 77–108.
21 Spangenberg 1999.
22 In a letter to the court counsellor von Düfflipp from the 30th July 1876, quoted by Petzet/Neumeister 1980, 89–90; see also Salzenberg 1854.
23 The other kings are Casimir of Poland, Stephen of Hungary, Ferdinand of Spain and Edward of England, see Kreisel 1955, 74. Ludwig I., the king's grandfather, had Louis XVI. as his godfather, the last king of the Capet family and descendant of Louis IX.
24 Delouis 2003, 112–140. On the performance in Munich, see Evers 1986, 119, 232–233.

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Fig. 4 The throne hall of Neuschwanstein castle.

the Munich court theatre.[25] A design for the stage of the opening scene by Angelo Quaglio II, which was, however, not used in the performance, again follows the design of the church of All Saints and the throne room of Neuschwanstein[26].

This contradictory picture of Byzantium and its culture apparently fascinated Ludwig greatly, for in 1885 he turned his interest to a new project in Byzantine style, a castle in the vicinity of Linderhof[27]. The explanations of the architect Julius Hoffman to his draft give us an impression of

25 Petzet/Neumeister 1980, 90.

26 Baumgartner 1981, 242; Petzet/Neumeister 1980, 90 fig. 120.

27 Baumgartner 1981, 239–242. For the planned location of the castle, see Kreisel 1955, 45.

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Fig. 5 The castle near Linderhof, project 1885.

the view of Byzantium preferred by Ludwig to that propagated by Sardou's *Theodora* and similar works of literature[28]:

> Meeting the needs and customs of the 5th 6th century, such constructions were intended not only for glory, but also for defense, similar to a fortress. Large solid towers were deemed necessary in order to retreat in grave danger, when the splendid rooms could not longer be defended. Also the gardens, being common in enclosed courtyards, were the chief ornament rather to the inside than to the outside. In this sense, was this complex also designed: a mighty tower which dominates everything, and a courtyard with gardens, enclosed by apartments for living and splendour, and the church; and on the lower floor, a colonnaded gallery, going all around and uniting all parts of the building. Only one small deviation may be allowed: a separate entrance from outside for the servants, so that they do not come into contact with the Highest Sovereign.

A detailed description of the complex follows, which in turn includes a large throne hall with two domes and a church in the form of Hagia Sophia, but this time grouped around a narrow courtyard with the other rooms in a castle-like closed arrangement. The imitations of Byzantine forms are mixed here with the usual ingredients of 19th century Romantic castle architecture, such as the round tower attached to the stairwells with its overhanging battlements.

While the Byzantine style in the early Linderhof project was intended, by recourse to the imperial palace in Constantinople, to consciously evoke imperial representation and the divine right of kingdom, Ludwig is portrayed here as a Christian ruler attacked by enemies, but spiritually unconquered. It is not the Christian claim to political universality which is given prominence in the reception of Byzantium, but escapism and mystical religiosity. The eccentricity and mental instability of the king, which would lead to his downfall and death in the following year, is clearly reflected here in the proposed architecture.

28 Quoted from Baumgartner 1981, 240.

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Fig. 6 The bedroom of Falkenstein castle, project 1886.

The project was, however, soon given up in favour of another, on which Ludwig's architects had begun work already in 1884: the reconstruction of the ruin of a Mediaeval castle at Falkenstein similar to the nearby Neuschwanstein[29]. Georg Dollmann's first draft proposed a comparatively simple rectangular building with a festival hall and a few private rooms[30], but already shortly thereafter Christian Jank, one of Ludwig's stage designers,[31] produced a fantastic veduta showing the castle built in an exaggerated and flamboyant style. The final project returned to more restrained architectural forms, but here too it can be observed, as in earlier projects, that the plans were constantly changed to a more complex and elaborate construction.

29 Kreisel 1955, 75–79; Baumgartner 1981, 115–130; Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 23–67.
30 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 26–29.
31 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 27.

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The exterior of the castle and most of the rooms of state were to display Romanesque and Gothic forms. Only the king's luxurious bedroom was to be designed in the Byzantine style, again modelled on the Church of All Saints in Munich. For this project, several plans by Julius Hoffmann have survived, who had replaced Dollmann in autumn 1884 as senior director of construction at court, and for the interior by Max Schultze.

The Byzantine bedroom was initially planned with a shallow, blind dome over the crossing, which then was replaced at the king's request by a higher drum[32]. To avoid the dome protruding into the rooms of the upper floor, a low mezzanine floor was to be inserted subsequently throughout the building which would also have been visible from the exterior. For the bedroom, extremely luxurious decoration was planned: the floor was to be decorated by a mosaic which was apparently inspired by the description of a chamber at the *Kainourgion* palace in Constantinople from the time of Basileios I.[33]

The bedroom was to contain a winged altar in Byzantine style on the left side, and a Byzantine vanity on the right – both of which objects never existed in Byzantium in this form but were designed here after the model of liturgical objects from Ravenna and Venice[34]. The bed itself was intended to stand in the apse, almost in the place of an altar[35]. The royal bed of state, for which Ludwig used the French word *lit*, had already played a central role in earlier projects, and its ideological and artistic shape were separated from their historical models more than any other component of Ludwig's castles. In Falkenstein, the bed had assumed the form of a sarcophagus under a ciborium: in the king's ideological concept it had become, as also the subjects of the proposed wall paintings and mosaics suggest, the link between worldly and eternal life – an eternal life which Ludwig reached before completing his plans, and rather earlier than he himself could or would have expected[36].

If we compare the successive Byzantine projects of Ludwig II., it is clear that his gradual retreat into a political and religious fantasy world is also reflected here: from imitation of the entire Great Palace of Constantinople, to a fortified refuge and finally to a single pseudo-sacral space. Or, expressed in other terms: the way to Byzantium was, for Ludwig, a metaphor for the way into his own soul.

When Ludwig died in June 1886, plans had been prepared not only for Falkenstein castle, but also for a Chinese palace[37], and the construction of a French baroque pavilion was already underway[38]. In this eclectic cosmos, Byzantium stood for the mystical, inner component of Christianity. It may doubted, however, that Ludwig and his artistic counsellors had any deeper understanding of orthodox Christianity: Byzantium was for the king, after all, nothing more than one of several possible historical masquerades.

32 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 43–49, 58.

33 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 50, 59; Evers 1986, 232; the description of the Byzantine floor can be found in *Theophanes continuatus* 1838, 333.1–10.

34 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 57; Evers 1986, 229.

35 Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51.

36 Evers 1986, 228–235.

37 Baumgartner 1981, 223–238.

38 Baumgartner 1981, 214–217.

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Appendix

Translated passages from the *De cerimoniis* in the Secret House Archive in Munich

This list contains the extracts from *De cerimoniis* in the dossier no. L I 303 of the Secret House Archive in Munich, with the chapter numbers of Reiske's edition in the right margin. The translation of the titles is mine, the numbering of documents in the files has been supplied by me.

Folder A **Small size, all written by one hand, title: Ceremonies of the Byzantine court.**		
1.	Constantinos Porphyrogennetos on the ceremonies of the Byzantine court.	
	On the ceremonies at the emperor's coronation.	I 38/1
	Acclamations of the factions at the emperor's coronation.	I 38/2
	The garlanding of the emperor at the wedding.	I 39/1
	Acclamations to the empress.	I 39/2
	Ceremonies at the empress's coronation.	I 40/1
	Acclamations of the factions at the empress's coronation.	I 40/2
	Acclamations to the emperor.	I 40/3
2.	Customs at the crowning and wedding of the empress.	I 41
	Sepulture of the emperor.	I 60
	Customs at the reception of the emperor in the City. 1. On the eve.	I 62
	Customs at the reception of the emperor in the City. 2. On the morning of the feast day.	I 63
3.	On the 11th May, foundation day of the imperial city guarded by God, a race is held in the following way.	I 70/1
	Customs on the eve of the so-called vegetable circus game, or (!) on the foundation day of the imperial city guarded by God.	I 70/2
4.	Leo elected by God is proclaimed emperor.	I 91
5.	Proclamation of the emperor Anastasius elected by God.	I 92
6.	Customs at the reception of embassadors in the great hall of Magnaura, when the emperor sits on the throne of Solomon.	II 15/1
	On the reception in the magnificent and great hall of Magnaura, in the time when Constantinos and Romanos Porphyrogennetos were Roman emperors in Christ, which happened at the occasion of the arrival of the ambassadors who had come from Tarsos, from the Amerumnes, for the exchange of prisoners and the conclusion of peace (on the 31th May, [on the first day of the week] in the year 946 AD.)	II 15/2, 3
	On the circus game which was held in honour of the Saracens.	II 15/4
	Reception of Delemicius.	II 15/5
	Reception of the Russian Olga.	II 15/6
7.	Customs at the birth of an imperial prince.	II 21
	Customs at the baptism of an imperial prince.	II 22

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Folder B **Bigger size, title: Byzantium.**		
1.	Ceremonial at the coronation of an emperor.	
2.	Ceremonial of changing robes.	
3.	Ceremonial of the Byzantine court.	
4.	On Byzantine constitutional law. p. p.	
First hand		
1.	Celebration of a coronation at the court of Byzantium.	Ioannes Kantakuzenos I 41 (Bonn I 196, 8 – 204, 3)
2.	Ceremonial of the celebration of a coronation of the emperor.[39]	I 38/1
3.	On the so-called Golden Hippodrome or parade feast, i. e. on the feast of the solemn quadriga race, and on the ceremonial at this high festal celebration.	I 68/1
4.	The horse race at night-time.	I 68/2
5.	Address of welcome which the delegates of the Old Rome are to employ towards the Byzantine emperor.	II 48
Second hand		
1.	Ceremonial at the appointment of the racing cavalier.	I 69/1
2.	The ballot box and the ceremonial which has to be observed when turning this box.	I 69/2
3.	Ceremonial observed when a carriage and pair is honoured with the belt.	I 69/7
4.	Ceremonial observed at the time when triumphs of victory were celebrated in the Hippodrome or Circus.	I 69/8
5.	Ceremonial for the victory and celebration of the death of a hostile prince (emir).	I 69/9
6.	On the horse which has contended unluckily at the first palm, or victory race, and in whose place other horses are now to be brought in.	I 69/10
7.	On the replacement.	I 69/11
8.	Contest of the various classes of citizens.	I 69/12
9.	Ceremonial at the solemn distribution of awards.	I 69/13
10.	Ceremonial of the charioteers when the victorious course and the distribution of awards for the victorious course are celebrated.	I 69/14
11.	Horse race at the celebration of the foundation feast on the 11th May, foundation day of the imperial city guarded by God.[40]	I 70
12.	Celebration after the victory gained in the same Hippodrome.	I 71/4

39 Doublet to folder A, document 1.
40 Doublet to folder A, document 3.

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13.	The Luperkal, i. e. the quadriga chariot race of the honourable guild of butchers and greengrocers.	I 73/1
14.	Acclamations or festive wishes of the classes of citizens in the Mazella Hippodrome, i. e. felicitations of the victorious guilds of butchers and greengrocers.	I 73/2
15.	Reception festivities in the great hall of the Mannaura, i. e. the reception hall, for the ambassadors in the time of Constantine and Romanus, the legitimate and orthodox emperors of the Romans, namely during the presence of the ambassadors from the Amerumna, i. e. the emir of Tarsus, for the exchange of prisoners and for the conclusion of peace.	II 15/2
16.	On the reception and its formalities.	II 15/3
17.	Riders' game which was held in honour of the Saracenian guests, at the time when they were present in Constantinople for the exchange of prisoners and for the conclusion of peace.	II 15/4
18.	Reception of the lord of Delem, or emir of Emet, and his ambassadors.[41]	II 15/5
19.	Reception of the Russian princess Elga.	II 15/6
20.	Ceremonial at the triumph in the Circus after vanquishing the enemies.	II 20
Third hand		
1.	Ceremonial of the Byzantine court at Easter.	I 4
	Ceremonial at the celebration of Saint Basil, i. e. New Year's Day.	I 24
	Ceremonial at the entry of the emperor in a city. Preliminary celebration on the day before the entry.	I 62/1 until 278, 12
	On the day of entry.	I 68/2 until 283, 11
2.	Ceremonial of changing robes.	excerpt from I 3
	Ceremonial at the solemn procession of the emperor to the church of Sophia / being a partial excerpt after the Greek emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus:/	excerpt from I 1
3.	Ceremonial when a Micropanite, i. e. a minor citizen, is to be promoted to the rank of major citizen.	I 69/5
4.	Ceremonial during the arrival and presence of the high Persian ambassador in Constantinople.	I 89
	Ceremonial during the presence of the Persian ambassadors after the first audience.	I 90
Fourth hand		
	Ceremonial for the victory celebrations of the charioteers, that is, the distribution of awards which these have earned.	I 69/3
	Ceremonial during the evening race in the Hippodrome.	I 69/4

The translated passages from De cerimoniis are
from Book I: chapters 1 and 3 (excerpts), 4, 24, 38–41, 60, 62–63, 68, 69/1–5, 7–14, 70, 71/4, 73, 89–9
from Book II: chapters 15 and 20–22
In addition, there is also a translation of Ioannes Kantakuzenos Book I, chapter 41.

41 Doublet to folder A, document 8.

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Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4: Baumgartner 1981, 231, fig. 404. 229, fig. 399. 95, fig. 140. 240, fig. 415.
Fig. 5: Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 51.

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Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4: Baumgartner 1981, 231, fig. 404. 229, fig. 399. 95, fig. 140. 240, fig. 415.
Fig. 5: Schröppel/Einsiedler 1986, 51.

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